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**CELTISCHE PHILOLOGIE**

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**VON**

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## THE PREPOSITIONS IN THE WÜRZBURG GLOSSES.<sup>1)</sup>

This paper deals only with the nominal use of the prepositions; and as the treatment is entirely syntactical the forms of the prepositions have not been discussed. The text of *Wb.* used is that of Stokes-Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* I, 499-714, referred to as *TP.* Other works referred to are Pedersen = *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen 1908-9; Thurneysen = *Handbuch des Altirischen*, Heidelberg 1909; Schmalz = *Lateinische Syntax* in Stolz u. Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, München 1900; Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax* = *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen* in Brugmanns *Grundriss* III, Straßburg 1893; Lindsay = *The Latin Language*, Oxford 1894.

In Old Irish the independent use of the cases of the noun has already to a very large extent died out. The possessive genitive, to be sure, remains; there are instances of the locative like *cinn*; of the instrumental or sociative, apparently, in such constructions as *attaam ar ndiis Wb.* 32 a 28; and the dative is used after the comparative; but with these reservations we may say that the state of language as regards the part played by the cases of the noun and by the prepositions is much the same as at the present day. For this reason the syntax of the noun in O. Irish is very largely identical with the syntax of the prepositions; and so, to some extent, nominal syntax in O. Irish cannot be used directly for the study of comparative syntax. Its position is, indeed, very similar to that of, say, French syntax in the older stages of that language. It is obvious that in the case of the latter direct comparison of this or that usage with an apparently similar one in Sanskrit or Lithuanian or Gothic would be of little use except as showing that there is a certain sameness in the methods of human speech. To bring

<sup>1)</sup> In revising the original form of this paper I have made use of one or two suggestions by Prof. Meyer.



French syntax within the scope of a Comparative Syntax of the Indogermanic languages we should have of course to follow its history back to its starting point in Latin — making use at the same time of the other modern Latin dialects — and then and not till then we should be justified in making comparisons with other languages. Our doing so even at that stage would be justified only by necessity: if Latin were known to be a development of an older dialect still represented by considerable remains, then for comparative purposes Latin would cease to have any independent value. And, on the other hand, if everything written in Latin before the independent existence of the Romance languages, and everything written in traditional Latin since, had been lost, then we should be justified by necessity in making comparisons, but very cautious comparisons, between pre-Romance syntax as inferred from the comparative study of the Romance dialects, and e. g. Greek or Sanskrit Syntax.

The student of Celtic syntax might be said to be face to face with difficulties such as would confront one who attempted to unravel the intricacies of Latin syntax with no more material at his disposal than the oldest remains of the Romance dialects. Old Irish is just as far removed from the stage of language represented by Latin and Greek, as O. French is. Whatever may be said of the verb, the noun system, at any rate, is broken down and any original symmetry there may have been is, for the most part, lost. Long ago it was made a reproach to the Celtic languages that they received everything from, and contributed nothing to, Comparative Philology. The charge referred, we may presume, to the field of Morphology; whether it is to be made, with equal truth, in regard to Syntax, in the future, remains to be seen. Up to the present, at any rate, Celtic syntax has been left alone by the Comparative Philologist. But in spite of the apparently discouraging nature of the material, something may be gained from this field. The '*Unursprünglichkeit*' of the language, at least on the formal side, has been mentioned, as well as the difficulties resulting from it. One fact, however, remains which must be taken into account. The oldest written remains of a Celtic language, the Würzburg Glosses, we may take to represent a fairly early stage of literary development. We have to deal, then, in the study of Old Irish, with a language which has not been affected by centuries of

written literary development; and in this it differs from O. French. From the point of view of the syntactician, this is a matter of the first importance. The disguising effect of a written literary tradition on the morphology of a language is, admittedly, so great as to make the exclusive study of literary monuments a futile occupation if our object is to arrive at the history of the language as it actually exists. On syntax the effects of such a tradition must be even more powerful and far reaching. A moment's reflection will enable us to realise that while our conversational *vocabulary* might, without very much embellishment, figure with credit on the printed page, our conversational *syntax* would be quite unsuitable for any but the baldest and most jerky of styles. In a language written, a conventional style of expression will sooner or later oust all others, and syntax will follow style. Many of the so-called 'bold' and 'unparalleled' constructions of school- and college-textbooks are merely the revolt of the natural vitality of the language against the artificial restrictions placed upon it by usage: the fewer we find of them the more effective, we may assume, the literary tyranny has been. Such a language, it is obvious, has been made to a great extent useless for purposes of Comparative Syntax. Now in the case of Old Irish we have *in this absence of a written literary* past a gain which may possibly more than balance what we lose owing to the lateness of the earliest monuments. If they are late, yet they represent the natural development of the language on a course uninterrupted by fashions in style.

It is from such a point of view as this that the study of Irish — and Celtic — syntax must be approached if it is to be of assistance to Comparative Philology. In the present attempt to make a beginning of the Syntax of the noun, the comparative side has not been made intrusive, for a very good reason. The Brittonic dialects have not yet received attention in this direction. To be sure, O. Irish, as the oldest, must be regarded as chief in importance of the dialects, but conclusions as to affinities with syntactical phenomena in other Idg. languages must often be hazardous till it is known how far they are supported by the evidence of the other members of the Celtic group. My main object has been to collect and, as best I could, arrange, material which may facilitate further investigation.

*a, as* [Lat. *ex*, *ἐξ*, Thurneysen, *Handbuch* p. 461].

a) *a* has the original meaning indicating the source from which a thing or an action proceeds:

immormus assinfolud apprisce inna colno, 9 c 10.

arna dich cách assadligud, 9 d 24.

rúna dothabairt á ónsonaib, 12 a 10.

precept essib, *ib.*

abelru imbélre, 13 a 2.

arisabás imbás, 13 d 17.

techt atuáith ituíáith, 15 d 32.

tresinful storidi doresset assathóib, 20 d 13.

nitucthar cenn essib, 27 d 22.

b) In one *ex*, the preposition seems to indicate rest at a distance from:

cenascur sáitha asachiunn, 25 d 16 (*qui penas soluent in interitu in aeternum a facie domini*). Is the construction modelled on the Latin?

c) A slight development on a) is seen in some *exx.* where *a* indicates the instrument or cause:

oinecht appecad, 3 b 3, (*qui mortuus est peccato mortuus est semel*).

d) *a* appears to be used with a repeated comparative to express the idea 'more and more':

bit messa assa messa, 30 c 25. Windisch, *Wörterbuch*, gives '*assa* = und?', and quotes *nesso assa nesso propius propiusque*. One wonders whether the translation 'and' has anything more to support it than the fact that 'and' is used to express the same relation between comparatives in some other languages. I suggest that the word *assa* contains the preposition *a* = *ex* and the relative, Thurneysen § 826 C, cf. *nesso assa nesso*. The meaning then would be 'worse out of which (is) worse'. If this explanation is right we have here an interesting parallel to the use of *ab* in Latin, *doctior illo et doctior ab illo elocutio*, Servius, ap. Schmalz p. 254.

*ar* [: *παρά*, *πάρ* etc.; Goth. *faúr*; Skt. *purā*, Thurneysen p. 453].

From the etymology one might infer that the original sense of the preposition would refer to extension in space, cf. *πορός*, *περᾶν* etc., from which, as in the case of *παρά*, it might come to indicate a point in space. We shall, therefore, be justified in placing first those cases of *ar* in which the sense of 'movement towards' can be still discerned.

#### I. *ar* with the acc.

- a) *ar* has the sense of 'extension or motion towards':

isarchenn focheda dodechommar, 25 a 12.

techt archenn crist, 25 d 25.

- b) *ar* has a final sense indicating the object or purpose of an action:

niarabracham *tantum scriptum est hoc testimonium* ... acht

isdiairfoirbthetuni roscribad, 2 d 2.

niarmaith friu arforchelta, 4 c 37.

artháircud fochricce dúib, 10 b 14.

niarfarnastud inógi, 10 b 14.

isprecept arbiad nammá, 10 d 13.

madarlóg pridchasa .i. armetiuth, 10 d 23, 24, 26.

ished torbe ... aratobarr labrad ilbelre, 12 d 29.

arfartáirciudsi inindocbáil, 13 c 9.

massu arimbethid frec(ñdire) *tantum* dagniu, 13 c 11.

ni arlóg ... pridchimmi soscéle, 14 c 8, 9, 11; 15 b 11.

is ar airchissect dúibsi nidechudsa cucuib, 14 c 40.

isarbethid dúibsi tiágmíni bás, 15 b 28.

isairibsi, 15 c 1.

niar nert indomuin guidmit act isarchrist, 15 d 18.

indoich bid ar formrath, 18 a 15.

combad arthoil doine nopridchinn, 18 c 13 (= *πρός χάριν*).

niarmaith frib, 19 d 28.

nidérsid forsóiri arfognam, 20 b 10.

is arnach nindocbáil móir fodaimim se inso, 23 b 12.

isarindocbáil talman dagniat, 23 d 21.

ar is arbiad pridchit, 24 a 29.

niarlóg na aithi pridchim, 24 d 1.

doreicc arbiad, 24 d 14.

bad arlóg diade, 27 c 10.

aricc cáich, 28 b 5.

niriat nadánu diadi aranindeb domunde, 28 c 2.

asberat isar indeb isdénti tol dá, 29 b 12.

In all those cases, I presume, *ar* marks the object aimed at by the action of the verb, or the person or thing kept in view by the agent. In some of the exx., it is true, e. g. *niarlóg pridchimmi, doreicc arbiad*, the preposition, so far as the mere words go, might equally well be causal = *áirí*, but the general context is in favour of taking it as final.

c) Very near in sense to the above is the use of *ar* to denote the person<sup>1)</sup> in whose interest the action takes place, i. e. *ar* = Lat. *pro*.

ni ar oénfer na diis rocess, 4 b 13.

bauisse hirnaigde erru, 4 d 20.

ismó rochéss crist airi, 6 c 8.

triguidi náirium, 7 a 12.

isairisom rocéss crist, 10 c 10.

ardagní sochuide báas aracharit, 12 b 34.

dobiur tesst nairi, 14 a 20.

ani doluigimse airibsi iscrist dodluigi lim, 14 d 25.<sup>2)</sup>

hóre dorrigeni crist anuileso erunn, 15 d 13.

dothabirt testassa airibsi, 16 a 26.

conroigset dia nairiubsi, 16 c 23.

ismenic anirnichthe airiubsi, 17 a 5.

napadairib far nóinur, 22 d 25.

la irnigdi airib féisne, 27 c 19.

guidid dia eruibsi dogress, 27 d 7.

islerither inso nonguidimse dia nerutsu, 27 d 19.

guide dá erutsu dogréss, 29 d 7.

d) *ar* indicates the external cause, *propter*. Here again it is occasionally difficult to make a sharp distinction between this and the preceding category, e. g. in sentences of the 'suffer for' type. In *actrop ar crist* 18 a 2, to take one instance, it would be hazardous to insist that the writer was conscious of a distinction between the sense of the preposition and that of *ar* in

<sup>1)</sup> It will be observed that in the vast majority of cases the object of the preposition is a personal pronoun.

<sup>2)</sup> Here conceivably *ar* may have a purely locative sense, 'in your case' cf. f (3) *infra*.

*guide de erutsu*, 29 d 7, or, *ni ar oénfer na diis rocess*, 4 b 13. Nevertheless, in most cases the distinction is fairly clear.

*istrideoladacht* didiu ronóibad *ni archomalnad recto*, 2 b 26.

*stipendium* didiu ainm indlóge doherr domiledaib ar-  
mílte, 3 c 1.

isairi, 5 b 12 *et passim*.

arafoirbthetu fadessin, 6 c 19.

arlobri a hirisse .i. ara anfoirbthetu, 6 c 20.

isara miscuis incúrsachad act isaraseircc, 7 d 8.

aragairti, 8 d 22.

atbél arocht *et gorti*, 10 d 24, 25.

airitiu lóge armoprecept, 10 d 31.

arnarala forcubus áiri, 11 b 21.

niarformat fribsi asbiursa inso, 12 c 29.

ararcomoicsi dobás, 14 b 25.

nád cuintgim lóg armoprecept, 14 c 12.

nadran ocprecept dondsochuidi arlainni fesso scél, 14 d 30.

ar seirc dáé dogniam cechtarde, 15 d 9.

fochidi arécin cossin, 15 d 33.

isarfarnimbrádudsi, 16 b 16.

ní bo arseirc móidme, 17 a 13.

actrop ar crist, 18 a 2.

fordobmoinetar niarbarseirc, 19 d 27.

ní fodmat ingreimm archroich crist, 20 c 21.

arméit inpectho *et* ar chosmili infognama dognither  
doib, 22 b 21.

arcáinduthracht, 23 b 15, 20.

iarsindindnidu araneutsa, 23 b 27.

niarséuti na máini robcarsi tiamthe, 23 d 4.

daratsidsi immurgu ar farfoirbthetu, 24 b 21.

ciacheste aririss crist, 25 a 10.

nip arirlami far cúrsagtha, 26 b 23.

trebarnimradud arfarfoirbthetu, 27 a 1.

niarcrist pridchit, 27 a 11.

ardogalarchi dogrés, 29 a 27 (*propter tuas infirmitates*).

sechiter goa ar saint, 31 b 20.

béssti olca doesmet fuili archródatu, 31 b 21.

nád deni ní arachosc, 31 d 12.

dofuthrisse abuith imgnais fein arahireschi, 32 a 9.

attaam arndiis icuimriug archrist, 32 a 28.

- e) *ar* has the sense of the ablative (cf. *παρά, πρός*).  
 nifil nachdielith airi, 1 a 4 (*testis enim mihi est Deus*).  
 aingid imdibe arbibdamnact rectto, 1 d 15.  
 nígette nabrithemnachta becca erriu, 9 c 8.  
 arcelith archách, 9 c 23.  
 ingétt abullu arcrist, 9 d 4.  
 andudesta airibsi, 14 a 33.  
 is amne asruluús airi, 17 d 16.  
 nagatad dia mairi esé *á deo*, 22 b 6.

## II. *ar* with the dat.

- a) *ar* has a locatival sense

1. with *cuít*:  
 nimptha firion arachuitsidi, 8 d 24.  
 archuit indóissa gráid *et* ind áissa foirbthi, 16 d 7.  
 nifetar sa moimthechta arachuitade, 28 c 10.
2. in the phrase *archiunn*:  
 nifarnic sede nach maid arachiun isindomun, 2 a 21.  
 armochiunn, 14 d 29.  
 archiunn, 23 a 29, c 21.

So too,

inirgail arbeólu diabuil, 3 b 11.  
 nibo intain nombeid arsuil *tantum*, 27 c 9. In the sentence  
 28 c 12 isisin rafetar (a)ngil arrobói i(fla)ith arsuidib  
 (f)essin, translated in *TP*. 'for he was in the kingdom  
 before them', should we not read *arsúilib*, 'before  
 (their) eyes', cf. 27 c 9? <sup>1)</sup> There does not appear to be  
 any other example of *ar* alone in the sense of 'in the  
 presence of'.

3. in a few other cases:  
 arnab geintib huilib, 2 a 15, (*causati enim sumus*).  
 dudrigni dia mór dimaith erriu, 11 a 20.  
*mirabilia* dorigeni dia armaccaib israhel, 11 a 28.  
 doire acummisc arúir, 13 d 3.  
 combat foirbthiu archách forúgnimae, 13 d 29 (i. e. that  
 your deeds may be more perfect in the case of each  
 — as compared with its predecessor).

<sup>1)</sup> Prof. Meyer calls my attention to Cormac s. v. *irdaire* i. i. *ar derc* i. *ar súil bis*. *ar súilib fessin* would then be equivalent to *irdaire doibsum*, and the plural *súilib* would be due to attraction.



andorigeni dia airriu, 21 d 11.

aralaith, 30 d 4 (*testificor . . per . . regnum eius*).

b) *ar* with *adrimim* and similar words = 'in the place of', 'representing':

arnaib huilib geintib écnib, 1 b 6.

arnaib foirtrib, 1 b 7.

aracumacthe nangid níarmisom archumacthe, 6 a 1.

ni airmithi arní, 8 c 13 (*neque est aliquid*).

deich mili briathar ar labrad ilbétre, 12 d 25.

ni áirmisom ón archumscugud, 13 d 17.

tichtin inna epistle adrimisom arathichtin fessin, 14 d 2.

ni airmithi ar aithis ambás, 15 d 12.

dobeir inso arnab uilib cumactib, 21 a 13.

manungaibi archarit, 32 a 16.

*cen* [Thurneysen p. 454, connects with Lat. *cis*. ? : *κερός*].

a) The proposition has the general sense of *without*, Lat. *sine*.

buith cen æcne fofera ainfirinni, 2 a 17.

huare nád riarfact furuar buid cenengne *et* cenfirinni, 2 a 18.

cen exceptid, 2 a 20.

indí crettes cen imdibe storide, 2 b 19.

cenfócre *et* cenarigud, 2 d 17.

combad tothim cen éirge nobed and, 5 b 10.

cenchaille nachdatho, 5 c 19.

censerbi pectho, 9 b 12.

ished didiu *anonestum* guide dée cen nachtairmescc

ódethidin inbetho, 10 b 15.

cenlóg, 10 d 29.

canim(ebol) lib ambuid (li)b cenprecept doib (rúne) ind

hesséirgi, 13 c 17.

cenlobad cen legad iarsin, 13 d 2.

nirbu dóinect cendeact, 15 d 16.

niba deicsiu centorbe dano, 25 a 29.

b) *cen* has the sense of 'without taking into account', 'apart from':

aratá brithem and cenutsu, 6 b 25.

So, cenmitha étrad, 9 d 7, (*omne peccatum . . . extra corpus est*).

c) *cen* with nouns of verbal meaning may have the sense of

1. the negative:  
isaithiss doibsom cid anisiu .i. cenprecept dondaís anfiss.
2. a consecutive clause:  
cid atobaich cendilgud cech ancrídi, 9 c 20.
3. a causal clause:  
cenchomalnad indi noprídhim, 11 a 15 (*ne forte, cum aliis  
pradicaverim, ipse reprobus efficiar*). This gloss is  
translated in *TP.* as if it represented a consecutive  
clause, 'so as not to fulfil', but it is equally possible  
to take it as causal, 'because I do not fulfil').  
mabeid ní aratechta uidua maccu .†. tuistídi it cairíghí  
inmaicsi *et* intuistídi cendethidín díssi, 28 d 22.
4. a substantive clause:  
isingir lem cenchretim dúib, 4 b 28.

*co* [of uncertain origin, cf. Thurneysen, p. 456].

- a) *co* marks the *terminus ad quem*, generally with verbs of motion, or implying motion.

cid . . . domberasa cucuibsi, 1 a 8; so, cucuib 9 a 23 *et passim*.

cossín nóin, 2 a 21 (*usque ad unum*).

*co* crist, *ib.*

ní roitea cucu etir, 5 a 3.

airítiu neich cucuib, 7 b 1.

nuie tanicc cucumsa, 7 c 7.

cosse, 7 d 9, *et passim*.

ardoeemalla inmertrech cuicce pecthu indlína dodaaídeala,  
9 d 5.

nitéit cofer naile, 9 d 31.

ní ba cuit adill cucuibsi, 14 a 8.

mathéis cucuibsi riumsa, 14 a 14.

coforcenn foirbthetad, 14 c 14.

ontechtairiu dochoid cucusom, 14 d 30.

hore iscuci rigmí, 15 c 23.

is *co euam* dodechuid *serpens* nicoadam, 17 b 29.

is cuci farmburpe, 19 b 8.

donicfad cucunn, 21 a 3.

bérthi leiss cocenn, 23 a 19.

dondechommar cucuib sí itossogod, 24 c 17.

mothóiste for apstalact cucuibsi, 26 c 2.

amal bidme féin notheised cucut, 32 a 17.

b) *co* is similarly used of a point of time towards which an action or a state continues:

ishósiun conuie dam farsercc, 4 b 29.

colaa poil .†. collaa ambáis, 5 b 4.

cossalaasa, 23 a 17.

cia airet cotichtin nancrist, 25 d 1.

So the cpd. *conricci*, v. Thurneysen l. c.

conricci innaimsirhitaam, 9 a 9.

c) In one ex. *co* indicates duration in time:

cidcohóir, 18 d 10, (*neque ad horam*).

d) *co* like Lat. *in*, *ad*, indicates the end as the result aimed at:

hóre isco burpi asbéram naaill, 17 c 23.

mad comoidim etir, 17 d 19.

*co(m)* [Thurneysen, p. 458; Lat. *com-*, *co-*, *cum*, cf. Walde,

*Etym. Wb.* s. v.].

a) *co(m)* marks the accompanying person or thing:

dofil crist conasoscelu, 4 d 29.

arrufoitea epistil uaidib som conaidchomarcaib cucisom,  
9 d 14.

massu cut séitchi rocretis, 10 a 29.

ætarceirt, 12 d 8.

cosmuilius conécsamlus tra inso, 13 b 25.

icc conindocbáil innatiarmoracht, 30 a 26.

b) *co(m)* takes the place of a conjunction, 7, in uniting two nouns:

conamuntir dochoid less, 14 a 19.

bid cotarsne fridia asoscélu, 26 a 18.

c) *co(m)* with an abstract noun indicates the manner of an action, or the attendant circumstances:

mad condiuiti doindnasatar, 17 a 2.

hóre ropocofailti tuccad, 24 a 26.

trechosc conacarbi, 27 c 6.

d) The Latin construction *orare cum aliquo*, *quaerere cum aliquo* finds a precise parallel in the three following exx.:

niarchuingid tuare cucuibsi, 24 b 14.

cen chuingid neich conech, 26 b 25.

innanebthórtrommad dochuingid neich cuccu, 27 c 24.

According to Thurneysen *l. c.*, *co(m)* does not take the suffixed personal pronoun, its place here being taken by *la*. If this were certain the above *exx.* would belong to *co* = Lat. *ad*, but on the whole the present preposition is the more likely to have been used in such a construction, quite apart from the support of the Latin parallel. The gemination in *cuccu* 27 c 24 proves at the very most that the writer did not distinguish the two prepositions. That here, and here alone, *co(m)* should have been joined with the suffixed personal pronoun may be due to the fact that this was the only construction of *co(m)* in which *la* could not take its place.

*dí, de* [Lat. *dē*, Thurneysen, p. 458 f.].

The preposition *dí* in Irish, like *de* in Latin, besides maintaining its original sense indicating separation, has to a large extent supplanted the *gen.*, for *ex.* the *gen.* of description, of fulness and emptiness, and the partitive genitive. As the simple idea of separation appears to have been the earliest sense of the preposition, I give first those *exx.* where *dí* has that meaning:

a) *dí* has the sense of the original ablative:

andudesta didiu difoibrbhetu for nirisce, 1 a 9.

ni darscigem nech dialailliu, 2 a 14.

romsóirsa rect spirto direct pectho, 3 d 20.

nípat hé indii betathuicsi diundeib, 4 c 40.

léim dindbestatu *et* dind tinchosce innandóine, 5 c 16.

doarchet dichéin, 6 d 8.

acht tremiberar disuidiu, 8 a 5.

notésstae<sup>1</sup> dithir *ettalam*, 9 b 19.

nígatda diib, 10 b 1.

nobsóirfasi dia dinab fochidib, 11 b 4.

focertam fial diinn, 15 b 4.

nonanich dia dicachimniud, 16 a 4.

tesarbae oinloman de, 17 d 2.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>) So Sarauw.

<sup>2</sup>) v. note *a. l.* in *TP*.

dindriuth forsarobith, 20 b 1, (*currebatis bene; quis uos impediuit*).

dindriuth forsataith, 20 b 6.

naanam didénun maith, 20 c 14.

isdicheín immunrordad, 20 d 10.

isdicheín dorogart, 21 d 2.

hóre ronsoir dipeccad, 24 c 18.

aní dodesta dichomalnad cæsta crist, 26 d 8.

cuirid diib innerese *uitiorum*, 27 b 11.

rouic búaid diib, 27 a 22.

diarniris, 31 b 2, (*ut ea quae desunt corrigas*).

amal foiceirt nech aetach de, 32 c 11.

From the above use of *di* the following in which it indicates the source or origin differs, for the most part, merely because the context, and in particular the verb, defines the sense and narrows it down.

b) *di* indicates origin:

ó óinsil rogénartar damacc de, 4 c 12.

gaibid desimrect diacáingnimaib, 7 b 14.

ni béo de, 10 b 27.

condarlicthe tech nebmabrtath immunn dinim, 15 c 13.

imforlinged mór namri de, 15 d 21.

de iudéib dobarnaip digeintib dothit, 18 d 6.<sup>1)</sup>

níbtá torbe de, 19 b 10.

ished dotheíd de, 22 a 11.

orogabthesi dessemrecht dínni, 24 c 8.

odid diib rogab cách deissemrecht, 24 c 14.

bid dibarnágsi ronbiani *corona*, 25 a 3.

orodabsid desimrecht dínni, 26 b 25.

orogbaid desemrecht dicrist, 26 b 7.

ismór indethiden file domsa díbsi, 26 d 19, cf. robodiliu

linn dethiden díbsi, 14 d 13.

The above ex., 26 d 19, shows how from *di* of origin would arise *di* in the sense of Lat. *de*, *περί*, 'concerning'. For the transition of meaning one might compare *Κύριος κηρύσσεται* (cf. *Wb.* 16 b 11) where it is at least possible to hold that the case represents the original ablative, cf. Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*,

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Paulus apostolus de tribu Benjamin, Hieron. quoted by Schmalz p. 271.

I, 213 f. The same change in sense is illustrated by certain uses of *ó, ua* to be noticed in their place.

c) *di* = *περί*, 'concerning':

is dinaib preceptorib sin asrobrad, 5 a 4.

isdiimsa tairrchet, 7 a 2.

dindí sin, 7 a 2 a (*quibus non est annunciatum de eo*).

aris diin asrobrad andedeso, 10 d 8.

air ní diib attáa briathar less, 13 a 16.

dothabirt testassa dinn, 15 a 3.

dobeir teist dinni, 15 a 6.

doguilse dineuch adbaill, 16 b 11.

dobiur forcell dineurt innadeserce, 16 c 4.

asbéram naaill diarúgnímaib, 17 c 23.

isdeidbir móidem disuidib, 17 d 19.

co mbadsissi doberad teist dimsa, 18 a 3.

cáintoimtiu diib, 23 a 22.

aforcell forrogelsamni dúib dilaithiu brátho, 25 d 20.

aforcell doberam díbsi, 25 d 21.<sup>1)</sup>

arishe besad felsub etarcert didúlib, 27 a 10.

Similarly connected with the use of *di* to indicate *origin* is that in which it indicates the *material*. Here too belongs *di* with verbs and adjectives of fulness, where often it is not easy to distinguish from what we should call the partitive genitive. A hard and fast distinction is, from the nature of the case, impossible, but for reasons of practical convenience I place here cases like *lán dífin*, while I restrict the term partitive genitive to such usages as *gabim dífin*.

d) *di* indicates that out of which anything is made:

cid arandéntar pecthach diim, 2 a 10.

arniasse nóib disuidib, 3 d 28.

dogéntar (toich) diétoich and, 4 d 1.

dorigensat indescipuil deu diib, 7 d 10.

ished inso dogní colnidi diib, 8 c 9.

cindas fer diandenid si deu, 8 c 11.

indigén bullu mertrige diib, 9 d 4.

lintar lán dífin, 11 b 13.

nadffletég ledmagtach dogneid dind æelis, 11 d 16.

<sup>1)</sup> Wrongly translated in *TP.* as if *duibsi*.

rosuidigestar æm óinchorp diilballaib, 12 a 30.

ronnir *et* ronlin dirath inspiro, 20 d 11.

With the use of *di* in 2 a 10, 4 d 1, cf. *captiuom de rege facturi*, Just. 7, 2, 11; *inque deum de boue uersus erat*, Ov. F. 5, 616.

*di* with a noun in the sense of the partitive genitive is often almost indistinguishable from the usages in b) and d). In 18 d 6 for ex., *de iudcib dobarnaip*, and in similar cases the close connection between the two uses is evident. It is possible that in the following exx. *di* was to some extent affected by the Latin *de* which in the later language took over largely the function of the genitive in the partitive sense, Schmalz, p. 271.

e) *di* represents the gen. part.

intí nochreitfed diib, 5 a 20.

isdreecht diib nadrochreit, 5 c 2, cf. drécht caichceniúil, *ib.* 3.

amal rombói cuit cáich dinrath diadu, 5 d 6.

is hé céetne fer . . . diáis, 7 b 11.

óin diairchinchib *assiae*, *ib.*

forruillecta beól inchalich dimil, 7 d 9.<sup>1)</sup>

ni sochude diib ataát and, 8 a 17.

conafitir nech diæcnib indomuin, 8 b 4.

nimtharberar fochumactu nach sásta diib, 9 c 31.

anasansam diib, 10 b 1.

airbert biuth dithorud aprecepte, 10 d 14.

isóinfer gaibes buáid diib, 11 a 4.

fil ní de asfir, 11 d 2.

nidichorp atóosa, 12 a 21, 22.

isbecc pridchimmeni dirúnaib dæe, 12 c 6.

faith cachfer dinaibferaib hi sin, 12 d 40.

atá leusom diforcred andudesta airibsi, 14 a 33.

aforóil bess lib dinaib anib, 16 c 22.

dirath .†. diforcitul, 18 a 8, (*quod minus habuistis*).

ibib imról disuidiu, 22 c 7.

intí rochreti dimuntir cessair, 24 b 31.

amal dogní ade cachsiáns<sup>2)</sup> domunud adalti dicachgnim,

24 d 10.

marusbói dihumaldóit, 28 d 29.

<sup>1)</sup> This might equally well be placed under d).

<sup>2)</sup> So *TP.* 656 n. a.



In *immib dicachleith* 17 b 19 the preposition is difficult. Can it have taken the place of an old genitive such as we have in *τοίχον τοῦ ἑτέρου*, Od. 23, 89? Cf. Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax* I, 359.

The partitive use of *di* when dependent on a noun borders on the descriptive use. Here as everywhere in syntax very much depends on the context, and by it we must be guided in making a classification. A theoretically valid distinction between partitive and descriptive genitive would be that the partitive genitive denotes thing homogeneous with, or of the same class as, the governing noun, while the descriptive genitive does not. In practice this does not help much. Possibly all that could be safely said is that the descriptive genitive can be generally replaced by an adjective.

f) *di* with substantive = descriptive genitive:

dí sóinmechaib *et* dóinmechaib, 4 b 5.

dorat mór dimaid dúin, 4 b 10.

ní tha diaméit, 5 b 10.

gním deserce, 6 d 3.

ciadudrigni dia mór dimaith erriu, 11 a 20.

assibsem imróol dirath inspirito nóib, 12 a 17.<sup>1)</sup>

arisball dicrist infer *et* isball dindfiur inben, 22 c 9.

bad didnad deserce, 23 c 8.

ished ambeccsin nammá dogniu dimaith, 24 a 12.

ismó afius deitsiu andorigeni dimaith frimsa, 30 a 8.

g) *di* is used in a causal sense like Latin *de*, *humus ferret de corpore*, Ov. *Met.* 7, 560; *facilius de odio creditur*, Tac. *H.* 1, 34. Cf. Schmalz, p. 272.

iscúrsagad rondúrsagusa dichomitecht . . fri indeu, 19 a 6.

ciddianepirsom anisiu, 19 d 11.

issi apennit dé, 26 b 20.

condodonat arnapat toirsich dimchuiregailse, 26 d 21.

denid atlugud buide dodia dicachmaith dogni frib, 27 a 7.

atlugud boide dodia dibarnicc tritsom, 27 c 2.

arnábadtoirsig dimchuiregsa, 27 c 34.

Here too, apparently, should be placed:

arisdiráith dée dobeir digail fort, 6 a 14.

<sup>1)</sup> Here the omission of *imróol* would make *dirath* purely partitive.

This use of *di* obviously arose from *di* indicating *origin*. The same is true of the following *exx.*, where *di* indicates the *instrument*. For a similar use of Lat. *de* cf. Schmalz, *l. c.*

h) *di* of instrument:

mad ferr cotob sechfider dichosce alailiu, 9 a 23.  
 cote inrinnd diaruba *uitam omnis hominis*, 13 d 25.  
 di imradud dæ, 15 d 7.  
 asber iarum dano arandathidisom dimaith, 21 d 11.  
 corrop ferrassaferr donimdigid deseirc dé, 23 b 1.  
 manisdeirclimmi dithorud arláam, 26 b 16.

i) From this arises the construction whereby *de* is appended to the comparative form of the adjective, H. Zimmer, *K. Z. XXVIII*, 370 ff. *Exx.* in *Wb.* are the following:

atcomlasomfri ardislemnethu de dohicc innafiach, 4 a 10.  
 armbad irlamu de donbuáith, 11 a 7.  
 nipat ferr de, 12 d 28.  
 armbad irlithiu dé *domini mandatis dei*, 22 d 2.  
 combad tressa de hiress apstal, 25 a 14.  
 doadbatar *hic* bríg inna persine dodiccca asmó de  
 focialtar, 29 c 4.  
 combad irlamude indancreitmich dochretim, 12 d 29.  
 islia de creitfess, 23 b 7.  
 itessamnu de, 23 b 12.  
 arimp áighthiude, 23 d 23.  
 bieid bes ferr de tra 32 a 13.

*do* [*< \*to < \*tō(u)*, Thurneysen, p. 482].

If the original sense of this word was that of direction, as Thurneysen *l. c.* surmises, the earliest use will be represented by *do* indicating the *terminus ad quem*, a common use in the modern language. Its other uses are, all of them, substitutes for the original dative in one or other of its uses, though, conceivably, *do* with verbs of *addressing* might be referred to the earlier use. In the case of 'final' *do* it is no doubt possible to see in it too a substitute for the original dative; on the other hand a justification for considering it as an extension of the *do* of *direction* may be found in the parallel development of Lat. *ad, in*. Apart from these two uses, a) and b) *infra*, *do* may be considered as the later representative of the dative.

- a) *do* indicates the *terminus ad quem*<sup>1)</sup>:  
 dothudidin domenman doaidgniu, 1 c 15.  
 arranert ahiress dochretim, 2 d 1.  
 nabid taidchur dúnni dano donchorp marbdu, 3 a 14.  
 todiusgadar dana indanim dodénum maith, 5 c 18.  
 is diam miortun<sup>2)</sup> féisine nimathi nech doib, 6 a 5.  
 isfoirbthetu hirisse attotaig doneoch dogní, 6 c 16.  
 dogrés, 7 b 4 *et passim*.  
 isuisse cumtach donfothu, 8 c 18.  
 fir tête dochath, 9 a 3.  
 frisintectairecht diatuidched, 10 a 28.  
 hóre déte dochorp crist *indigne*, 11 d 7.  
 todiusgud neich dochretim, 12 c 39.  
 nábad do hierúsalem — nobertis, 16 d 4, 7.  
 cid atobaig dó, 19 d 10 a.  
 ninthomoldid dodigail, 20 d 4.

Here may be placed one ex. of *do* used to express extension in time:

cid do náir, 16 b 5 (*etsi ad horam*).<sup>3)</sup>

b) *do* indicating the *terminus ad quem* easily acquires a final sense when the *terminus* is something *consciously* aimed at. It is clear that the distinction between this and the preceding use must be often vague and arbitrary. The exx. are:

isdíar foirbthetuni roscribad, 2 d 2.  
 isdochretim adeachte, 2 d 6.  
 doaurlatu, 3 b 14.  
 doirladugud, 3 b 15.  
 dofarfirianugud, 3 b 27.  
 arisdothabirt diglae berid inclaideb sin, 6 a 13.  
 ná bad diames, 6 b 5.  
 arrocées side móor ninnith doaurlatu *patri*, 6 c 27.  
 mainbed diar nertad ní hifochidib, 6 c 31.  
 domaith friss, 6 d 4.

<sup>1)</sup> This convenient term must be taken in a wide sense so as to include, for example, the object of impulse, cf. 5 c 18, 12 c 39.

<sup>2)</sup> So Strachan *T. P. a. l.*

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. the use of *co* in *cid co hóir*, 18 d 10, (*neque ad horam*).

dothaidbsiu asfirdia, 6 d 6.  
 aris do arroiéitsa *gratiam* doprecept dochách, 6 d 14.  
 airtiu colno dond macc do hicc inchéneli dóine, 7 c 13.  
 combad .. adescipul som donbathis iarom, 8 a 4.  
 amal nirisinse do barcoscsi, 9 a 19.  
 dobarruccu, 9 c 13 (*ad uerecundiam uestram dico*).  
 doirgairiu étrith, 9 d 1.  
 nosnerta insonirt doairbirt biuth inna túare sin, 10 c 3.  
 nidunachoipred ailiu, 10 c 22.  
 rann do loscud foraltóir *et* rann aile doairbirt, 10 d 18.  
 is hed roerpad dom domthoschid, 10 d 27.  
 donuic testimni ... dothaidbsiu indæe, 10 d 37.  
 dochomalnad *euangelii*, 11 a 13.  
 diarcoseni, 11 a 31.  
 anastorbe dosochudi dia nice, 11 c 6.  
 act is ben forchomnuair dofortacht *uiri*, 11 c 15.  
 no indochomainsem ecolsa dagniith, 11 d 6.  
 doirgairiu nasainte beos, 12 d 32.  
 dodemnigud tra *resurrectionis*, 13 b 2.  
 doaccobor pectho, 13 d 27.  
 doaurlatu doib, 14 a 31.  
 dodénum neich asberat, 14 a 36.  
 isdoprecept *et* forcitul, 14 c 20.  
 dothabirt digle *et* doaidbiur foirib, 14 c 40.  
 nidothabirt toirse fuiribsi anisiu, 14 d 14.  
 nidiamóidem dosom, 14 d 37.  
 arloureni doprecept, 15 a 14.  
 do inchosc nadtuicset *filii* israel, 15 a 29.  
 arimp domórad dá uile, 15 c 4.  
 irgala firinne diarnditin, 15 d 39.  
 diarniráil furibsi, 18 a 18.  
 dobartabart ósoscélu, 18 c 9.  
 dochosnam insmachta, 18 c 18.  
 ni do legund and docoadsa, 18 d 6.  
 isdo assindetsom inso dothaidbsiu asniress nóibas, 19 b 14.  
 fonrochled do airtiu hirisse, 19 c 13.  
 isdo dogniat, 20 c 21, cf. 20 d 9.  
 ní donach oipred ailiu, 21 a 7.  
 doratad spirut dún úli diarnóinugud, 21 c 3.  
 dofoirbthigud .i. corropfoirbthe cách, 22 a 10.

gaibid arma dæ foirib dochathugud friðiabol, 22 d 11.  
isdosund rofóided, 23 a 7.

suánemuin dodénum inaidchi doreicc arbiad, 24 d 14.

combad tressa de hress apstal dofulung, 25 a 14.

commimmis angraib dúibsi dogabaa desimrechta diinni,  
26 b 18.

arnidoforcitua an(irl)atad dodechuid, 27 c 8.

ni dodigail forfirianu tuccad recht acht isdochos cin-  
tach, 28 a 3.

ind hi rochualatar inprecept *et* inmairb atathestis donuc-  
cussa do deimnigud moprecepte, 30 a 11.

dofognam duit, 32 a 14 (*ut in aeternum illum reciperes*).

From e.g. *isdosund rofóided* 23 a 7, it will be seen that *do* has acquired its final sense in precisely the same way as in Latin the so-called first supine, *spectatum ueniunt*, came to be equivalent in function to a final clause *ueniunt ut spectent*.

c) As in Latin and Greek the dative case is used to indicate the agent with certain parts, chiefly participial, of the passive verb, so in Irish *do* marks the agent, chiefly with the participle and the verbal noun, the so-called 'infinitive':

indoich ept detsiu, 5 b 29.

iseland tuicse dodia, 5 c 7.

ni dlegar ni dúib, 6 a 24.

nítabartha dímess doneoch fornach nénirt, 6 c 19.

airitiu colno doud mace, 7 c 13.

arropad maith limsa labrad ilbelre dúibsi, 12 c 29.

act cuit ascribint domsa, 13 a 23.

inúrt airiten fochricce do firfanaib *et* .. dophecthachaib,  
13 b 27.

arimp dithnad .. dúibsi foditiu fochide dúnni, 14 b 17.

iár narnetargnu dúib itossuch, 15 a 1.

airiten irisce dochách *et* airiten caich ódia, 15 d 23.

isduthracht linni dano adénim dúib, 16 d 3.

tre atlogud buide donaib nóibaib diatabarr indalm-  
san, 17 a 3.

arnitacair lasuide móidmiche do neuch, 17 c 13.

afulang domsa, 17 c 26.

oeit leu precept domsa, 23 b 13.

foditiu fochide duibsi, 25 d 8.

gnim pectho do bar célib, *ib.*

aní dodesta dichomalnad cæsta crist domsa, 26 d 8.

airitiu colno dochrist, 31 d 2, 3.

d) The effect is somewhat different when the verbal idea is intransitive, that is when there is no genitive dependent on the noun. Though from the Irish point of view the construction is the same in both cases, we can no longer speak of the *dative of the agent*; and, when translated, the noun governed by *do* appears as the subject. For example, in *deuideib dobarnaip digeintib dothit*, 18 d 6, we should apparently understand *buith*, i. e. *buith deuideib dobarnaip* etc. "being of the Jews for Barnabas."

The *exx.* are:

combart do sarre, 2 c 23.

combad æd leu buid domsa iniriss, 5 b 20.

buith dunni issintodochidiu, 12 c 7.

buith dúibsi ipeccad, 14 d 7 a.

dobeir teist dinni cretem dúibsi, 15 a 6.

ronfitirni cach trechretim dúibsi, *ib.* 8.

fochosmulius adóinechtesom dúnni, 18 b 3.

In the *exx.* given in both the last sections the dative is ultimately the *datiuus commodi*, and whether it has or has not the force of the 'dative of the agent' depends on the nature of the verb. Practically speaking, the construction in the last section performs the same function as that of the accusative and infinitive in Latin, cf. *ba ferr limm immurgu buith di inógi*, 10 b 24, *asrochoili . . . buid dondingin inógi*, 10 b 20. In several of the *exx.*, also, *do* might be regarded as indicating possession as in *e* II. So far as overlapping can be avoided between the two sections, perhaps the safest guiding principle would be to place under *d*) the instances in which the governing noun has a verbal sense, while under *e* II we shall place cases like *crúx didiu ainm dogním inchrochtho*, 8 a 5. But here again consistency is impossible.

e) *do* indicates the relation of one noun or pronoun to another, what may be expressed in the old definition of the dative as the *inclinatio rei*. The definition, it must be admitted, is vague, but so is often the distinction between the shades of meaning expressed by *do*.

I. *do* = Lat. *erga*:

*gratia* . . . . la isu dodóinib, 3 a 5.

seircc .. dodia, 12 b 26.

serc dá dúibsi *et* farserc si do dia, 18 b 21.

digal lacách úaib dialailiu, 20 b 12.

ni dir dúib ni disund act homaldóit docrist, 27 a 26.

II. In some of the exx. which follow, e.g. *ní ecne dúnn*, 15 c 18, *do* indicates possession. The relation expressed might often, doubtless, be considered that of the *dativus commodi*, but to attempt a hard and fast division would be difficult, and would secure little advantage.

condib didnad domsa foirbthetu hirisce dúibsi, 1 b 1.

nitorbe do animdibe adchi cách, 2 a 2.

dodcad dochách leosom nochisdoibsom adodcedsidi, 2 b 3.

ba *contra spem* dó, 2 c 24.

iscosmulius aadnacuil acus abáis dúnni, 3 a 15.

itecarit domsa immurgu, 5 c 7.

ammi corp docrist *et* iscenn som duunni, 5 d 2.

bed imthuge dúibsi crist, 6 b 3.

ni duitsiu ismug isdodia, 6 b 14.

nícol dó cid less armbéo *et* armmarb, 6 b 20.

mógisidi uili do dia, 7 d 10.

*crúx* didiu ainm dognim inchrochtho, 8 a 5.

oidainm donchrúnn, *ib*.

ammi mogæ dúibsi, 8 d 26.

madcotecht di cofer, 9 d 32.

issóirchele dodia, 10 a 23.

ni dethiden dosuidiu act fognam *uxori*, 10 b 10.

itbóill docrist, 10 c 11.

isbéas tra donaib dagforcitlidib, 11 b 6.

anastorbe dosochudi, 11 c 6.

ismolad doibsom ón, 13 a 31.

dechor inna pian bete donaib pechachaib inifurnn, 13 c 26.

torbæ immurgu dúibsi, 14 a 35.

isdessimrecht - - dochách, 14 b 11.

ararcomoicsi dobás, 14 b 25.

fochricce dúnni, 15 c 8.

ní ecne dúnn, 15 c 18.

ba ainm leosom *peccatum* dundidbairt, 15 d 20.



niáir doneuch . . , 16 a 24.  
 ní indráigne dúib, 16 b 9.  
 náchgáo dom anasbiur, 17 d 12.  
 iscore doib fribsi, 18 b 19.  
 dontirchomruc nóib . . . , 18 c 2.  
 adibatrab dodia infectso, 21 c 8.  
 nitat ildáni do óenfiur, 21 a 16.  
 nabith icobadlus doib, 22 b 26.  
 dalte side dosom, 23 a 11.  
 nimithoimtiu dúibsi, 14 d 22.  
 ainme dochach friachéile, 27 b 17.  
 [óentad] dúib fridia *et* dodia fribsi, 27 b 22.  
 nitaibre grád fornecho fesor ainruccus dongrádsin, 29 a 22.  
 istrethenc comadas do, 29 c 5.  
 fo besad fir trebuir crenas tiir diachlainnd, 29 d 23.  
 ní ochechrat act ní bas tol doib, 30 c 4.  
 arislocht dosom madolec amuntar, 31 b 7.

f) *do* is used after certain adjectives:

- áil: ní áil dúib áiarfigid, 11 b 21.  
       niáil dún, 17 b 9.  
 anse: is inse nduit, 5 b 28.  
       amal nach annse nduib,  
       amal nát anse dúib, 17 c 11.  
       nipa anse dúib, 19 d 18.  
 coir: ascoir dochách guide dée liachéle 7 a 13.  
       isamlid ba coir do fluss nidol, 10 c 1.  
       bacoir dúibsi, 15 d 8 a.  
       conirmissid taithese coir do cachgrád *et* do cach áis,  
       27 c 29.  
 cotarsne: iscotarsne dondúalig insualig . . . , 9 b 8.  
       nigessamni ní beschotarsne diar nicc, 11 a 24.  
 dedbir: is dedbir duib ciforrgot, 93 b 27.  
       badeidbiriu dodrogniim, 6 a 8.  
       iseiddbir deit áaighthiu, 6 a 12.  
       deithbeir do ceith aneola, 33 c 16.  
 dír: cach cumachte asdiir dodia, 26 a 6.  
       ní diir donoibad aní forchanat, 31 b 17.  
 follus: isfollus dunni, 2 d 8.  
       condip follus dochách, 12 c 37.

- irlam: ammi irlaim hicachláo do dul martre, 4 b 21.  
 aris irlam indanim do thuil dée, 5 c 18.  
 robtar irlim dothecht martre, 7 b 5.<sup>1)</sup>  
 combad irlithi geinti do hiriss, 7 c 14.  
 combad aurlam cách diabathis, 8 a 4.  
 armbad irlamu de donbuáith, 11 a 7.  
 condip irlam do baithius, 12 c 39.
- inrice: indinrice donaib nóibaib, 7 b 1.  
 commin inricec dó, 24 a 11.  
 batir inricei dubáas huili, 5 c 14.
- maith: ished asmaith dúib, 6 c 25.  
 arniba maith a áidlea dúib anétsecte, 18 c 11.  
 ismaid immurgu dosuidiu, 30 b 7.
- toich: batochu doibsom buid and, 5 b 43.  
 istoich dom farúguide, 9 a 13.  
 indoich do neuch<sup>2)</sup> uáib doeprt inso, 13 c 18.  
 batoich deit dano arbafoirbthe hires domathar, 29 d 13.
- uisse: isdo isuisse *gloria* nidodóinib, 18 c 5.  
 bauissiu indfigor do imthlrenugud *ueritatis*, 18 c 10.  
 niluisse *spirituale documentum* dosuidiu, 8 b 15.

Other *exx.* are:

- isnessa dogeintib, 2 b 17.  
 nipadiless duit aní hitái, 5 b 38.  
 baán tairismich doirnigdi, 5 d 22.  
 isesconn immurgu dosuidiu, 6 c 4.  
 is irdirce dúibsi irlatu domaith, 7 c 2.  
 ished astécte dúib, 9 b 17.  
 (is)fius dodia, 10 c 2.  
 iscumme doib, 10 c 3, 4.  
 babecc duitsiu cometecht dossom, 10 c 10.  
 oderna cechball anastoise dialailiu, 12 b 6.  
 cosmuil dúibsi andedeso, 12 d 1.  
 immaircide do eprt *amén*, 12 d 18.  
 amal rombo marb isu donbiuthso, 15 b 25.  
 istacáir dúnn, 15 c 24.  
 am essamin dothabirt testassa airibsi, 16 a 26.  
 isdíriug dúib, 17 b 32.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. irlam techte, 13 c 8.

<sup>2)</sup> So Strachan.

corrupmithich gabáil ferainn do, 19 d 3.  
 madespe dom anopridchim, 19 d 17.  
 indaimser bad chomadas dó, 21 a 1.  
 arisfrecidircside diamrogaib, 22 d 3.  
 sainred do daltu anisiu, 27 d 18.  
 arislour infer diairlabri, 28 b 15.

g) The type of sentence represented by *ismaith intóis éula doaccaldam*, 3 c 4, is fairly common in *Wb.* as it is one of the most striking and frequent idioms in the modern language. The origin of the construction and its precise nature are somewhat puzzling; it is certainly less "schematic", and therefore, perhaps, more "original" than almost any other. This is one of the cases in which Irish may prove more valuable for the purposes of comparative syntax than other languages in which the long development of style in written literature has effaced ancient and natural but ungraceful methods of expression. I first give a sufficient number of exx. of the construction to be representative, and shall then endeavour to show how it may have originated.

I. ardofórmaich fochrice dosom sochude dochreittim tria-precept, 1 b 5.

ismaith intóis éula doaccaldam, 3 c 4.

aris básad leusom - - fid aile do esnid and, 5 b 42.

aris básad leusom infid dothóbu, *ib.*

ished - - - *asapere ad prudentiam* cach réit ararogartsom donebdénú *et* aforchongair dochomalnad, 5 c 23.

airmitiu féid inchinn dothabirt donaib ballaib, 7 d 14.

cepuodono adrad dæ dothabirt dopool, 7 d 16.

ní date leu incoimdiu dochrochad, 8 a 6.

nicoir descad pectho do buith isollummun *agni*, 9 b 13.

is básad inna flatho doem *et* dofich, 9 d 2.

ba uissiu dúib oldáte pecthe dobuid and, 9 d 13.

istaschide timne dée dochomalnad, 10 a 18.

nifiu sercc do thabairt do, 10 b 3.

baferr mochomairle dodénú, 10 b 25.

bés leosom indaim dothúarcuin indarbe, 10 d 6.

arisinsæ inball dothincosc neich asberad cenn, 13 a 19.

madfiu lib moainecha dobreith less, 14 a 4.

isdil laee maid dodénú dúibsi, 14 a 37.

augtortas apstalachte inso tra aainm fessin dosuidigud  
 itossoc(h) naepistle 14 b 2.  
 bás crist doprecept, 14 b 26.  
 arnaconroib dethiden forneuch act tol dæ dodénum, 15 d 11.  
 ansu liumsa indoís anechtir diafius, 16 d 12.  
 niamre limsa didiu ais lobur dodénum diibsi, 17 b 29.  
 isdóire duibsi inso uile dofoditin, 17 c 17.  
 ciadcobrinn móidim dodénum, 17 d 17.  
 ni fiu dúibsi insin doé(it)secht, 18 c 11.  
 isimde dorrindnacht dún, 20 d 15.  
*ascendit* doepert dosom, 22 a 4.  
 amal bid íet limsa moort dogabál darmchenn, 23 b 18.  
 suánemuin dodénum inaidchi, 24 d 14.  
 roerbad dúnni forcill dothabirt dibsi, 25 d 20.  
 niáil tra insin doepirt, 27 c 8.  
 indii adchobrasom dohicc ithé ronicc *tantum*, 28 b 1.  
 isuisse grad nepscuip dothabirt forru, 28 c 8.  
 is sí inso fedb asuisse dogoiri inæclis archuit óisa *et* bésa,  
 28 d 24.  
 ished didiu *a legitime* scarad fri indeb indomuín *et* tol dæ  
 do dénum, 30 a 18.  
 ind hi lasmbi accobur tol dæ ishecen doib ingremmen  
 dofoditiu isin biuth, 30 c 23.

II. For purposes of comparison I give some exx. of a type of sentence which differs from the above in that *do* is omitted.

andugniat ar magistir isferr dún adénum, 14 b 17.  
 ni uisse doneuch - - - buith inaccobor, 15 d 13.  
 isduthracht linn *doctrina* precept dúib, 16 a 10.  
 nirbomebul domsa epert frissom, 16 b 19.  
 isdiring dúib cretem do, 17 b 32.  
 isdeidbir móidem disuidib, 17 d 19.  
 niáil dún buith formáam *legis*, 19 b 20.  
 both dún ifochith, 25 a 13 (*praedicebamus uobis passuros nos*).  
 uisse tasgid *et* æitiud ind áisso gráid *et*legind, 29 a 13.

In 30 a 8 *ished didiu alligitime scarad fri indeb indomuín et tol dæ dodénum* we have both constructions side by side. We may, further, compare *ni uisse doneuch - - buith inaccobor*, 15 d 13, and *uisse tasgid et æitiud ind áisso gráid etlegind*, 29 a 13. From the two last exx. we can see that to translate into Irish such

a sentence as "it is proper to support the clergy" we may say (I) *isuisse indäis gräid dothasgid*, and (II) *isuisse thasgid indäisso gräid*. It is clear that in the latter type of sentence (II) the verbal noun is qualified by the adjective as in *isdíriug dúib cretem do*, 17 b 32 = *honestum uobis in illum credere*, *προσῆγορ ὑμῖν τὸ ἐκτελεῖν πιστεύειν*, or in apposition to a noun as in *nirbomebul domsa epirt frissom*, 16 b 19. In the type of sentence given under (I), on the other hand, the noun which is the virtual object of the sentence is in the nominative. In 28 c 8, therefore, *isuisse grad nepscuip dothabirt forru* the literal rendering is "the rank of bishop is (a) proper (thing) for conferring on them;" so, *baferr mochomairle dodénum*, 10 b 25 is "my advice was (a) better (thing) for doing." Cf. also 3 c 4, 10 b 3. From this it is clear what the relation of the two constructions was, and what determined the choice of one rather than the other. 29 a 13 shows that (I) could be always changed into (II), but e. g. 17 b 32 makes it clear that (II) could not always be readily expressed as (I). This could take place only when the verbal noun could be followed by the genitive or, in other words, represented a transitive verb.

*do* here, then, represents the *dativus commodi*, and would depend originally on an adjective or a noun equivalent to an adjective. From such cases the construction was extended to others where, strictly speaking, it was not justified, e. g. *ished . . . asapere - - aforchongair dochomalnad*, 5 c 23, the hypothetical original form of which would be *isdíriug aforchongair dochomalnad*.

We may perhaps compare the Skt.

táv asmábhyam drçáye sūryāya pūnar datam ásum  
adyéhá bhadram, *RV*, X, 14, 12.

and such constructions in Greek as

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἐμπεδα γυῖα ποδῶν ἢν ὀρηγθῆντι  
οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐπαύξει μεθ' ἐὼν βέλος οὔτ' ἀλεισθῆναι, *N*, 512.

h) *do* is used to complete the sense of verbs of *believing*, *addressing* etc., and nouns of similar meaning:

1. *cretim*: *indi diaruchretsidsi*, 8 c 11.

*cretfite dúnni*, 14 c 4.

*oná ruchretesi doneuch*, 17 a 13.

*isdíriug dúib cretem do*, 17 b 32.

rochreitset doprecept isu, 24 d 23.  
rocreitsidsi dodémun, 26 a 23.

2. asbiur etc.: asberar corp dondlúim máirsin innapecthach, 9 d 5.  
intain asimberar *non peccare* - - - dondógi, 10 b 21.  
cisasberthe *peccatum* di, 15 d 20.  
istempul asberar <sup>1)</sup> doib, 16 a 17.  
comthinól innanóib asberr tempul doib, 21 c 7.  
cachdúil dianeperr ainm nathar, 21 d 4.  
*ascendit* doepert dosom, 22 a 4.  
isairi asberar *ascendit* dó, 22 a 6.

dofarsiged alaill dom, 7 d 11.

ishé *sensus* forchain etargne *domini* dochách, 8 c 2.  
niforcital oisa foirbthi forchanim dúib, 8 c 3.

hore doninfedam etargne crist dochách, 14 d 32.

ished rorélus dúib, 13 a 35.  
ished rofoilsiged dosuidib, 21 c 15.  
ní fitir cid muntar nime ondrofoilsigsetar apstil  
doib, 21 c 22.

lasse forcongur firinni dúib, 19 d 25.  
arniargart recht diinn, 31 c 25.  
farchongrad baás dochách, 32 d 9.

ramúinset doib buid and, 5 b 44.  
istriit doécomnacht dúnni, 14 c 33.  
rommunus dammin dom, 24 b 17.  
rommunus imbed dom, *ib.* 18.

doairfenus doib, 18 d 7.  
otí indaimser doarchet dó, 26 a 11.

So with nouns:

frecre inso - - - dongeintlidiu, 2 a 4.  
frecre inso domenma(in) *iudeorum* 2 b 16.

<sup>1)</sup> It will be observed that with *asbiur* in this sense the place of *do* has, in the modern language, been taken by (*f*)ri.

bacosec carat limm dit agentlidi, 5 b 32.  
 niail atuirem dúib, 24 c 7.  
 frecre dialailib doriltiset hesséirge, 25 b 13.

3. pridchim: hore pridchim soscele dogentib, 5 c 6.  
 indí diarupridchossa hiris, 7 b 7.  
 neich ropricad dúibsi, 7 b 12.  
 intí diarupridchad, 8 c 17.  
 is messe rophroidech doib, 10 c 20.

So,

precept dochách, 5 d 10.  
 doprecept dochách, 6 d 14.  
 precept doib, 8 a 11.

4. scribim: cibcenél tra diaroscribad indepistil so, 3 b 20.  
 anroscribus dúib, 20 c 18.  
 incách diaroscribad, 25 d 4.

5. dúthracim: ni luct corint nammá dianduthraccarsa  
 amaithsi(n) act daduthraccar doneib huilib  
 nóibaib file *inachaia*, 14 b 6.  
 doduthractar olec dunn, 26 b 1.

So,

duthrchtig dochomalnad soscéli, 23 b 4.  
 niarcaínduthracht domsa, 23 b 20.

6. fogníu and similar verbs:

amal foruigensid dopeccad fognid dofirinni, 3 b 28.  
 bad dúdia fognem, 5 d 19.  
 nochisinduine adras dondédiu sin, 9 c 33.  
 bed foammamichthe deacht dondóinacht, 13 c 2.  
 mafogneith dorecht, 20 a 11.  
 infoguama dogníther doib, 22 b 21.  
 amal fogníter ídil *sic* fogníther donaib áuib, 27 b 9.

So,

*in obidentia* dochách, 5 d 9.  
 cumacte diandid cóir infognam, 6 a 9.  
 irlatu domaith, 7 c 2.  
 farnirlatusi dohiris, *ib*.  
 oefognam diachoidid, 8 b 1.  
 fognam dodia, 10 b 9.

dorect fognama dofiur, 10 b 22.  
cen fognam dorecht, 15 b 3.

7. Verbs of *giving, forgiving* and the like:

rogabad gabaál dóib, 7 a 7.  
aconfoiremni .i. a orcital comadas dochách, 8 b 13.  
isairi nibiad doratus dúib, 8 c 6.  
amal fondrodil incoimdiu dochách, 10 a 11.  
arnafóirinse doguilsí dúibsi, 14 d 3.  
mrechtrad innandáne tindnagtar do chách, 15 c 2.  
nicumung donindnagar arforcital dúib, 16 a 11.  
rosdánigestar dúin, 21 b 9.

nimathi nech doib, 6 a 5.  
léicfidir dúib inbrithemnact sin, 6 b 30.  
inti diandilgidsi, 14 d 24.  
darolgea dia doib, 31 a 2.

isdoib asrirther lóg apecthe, 1 c 3.  
dondí creites, 2 b 27, (*credenti reputatur fides*).  
anadruirmed doabracham, 2 d 7.  
docachcenélu aúglaine, 3 b 24 (*exhibuistis membra  
uestra immunditiae*).  
maní coméitis do conalobri, 6 c 6.  
arnáphé som conéit détsó, 6 c 7.  
na coméitged do, 10 a 7.  
hore céitgid doib, 22 a 26.

So with the nouns:

comitecht dundóis nad chaithi cachtuari, 6 c 11.  
nebchomaitect dó, 6 c 12.  
cometect dóib, 6 c 24.  
comaitecht don brathir enirt, 10 b 28.  
trichomaitect donbráthir éinirt, 10 c 2.  
tri chomaitect doib, 11 a 1.  
cometeacht dianécoscaib cenchometecht diambésib  
mainbet mathi, 11 c 5.  
ní fiu comitecht doib, 13 c 16.  
is ar airc hissecht dúibsi, 14 c 40.  
dílud dochách, 14 d 23.  
octindnacul recto dó, 15 a 20.



ni fiú comitech doib, 20 b 18.

trethindnacul innandánæ inspirito dochách, 21 c 2.

8. Verbs of *acquiring, gaining* for one:

doaircim: doáirccei molad dó, 12 c 26.

aní tairci inbrig móir sin duibsi, 12 c 31.

octáircud raith spirito dúib, 14 c 42.

ambás tiagmeni doáirci bethid dúibsi, 15 b 28.

táirced diachéliu, 23 c 14.

doformagim: ardofórmaich fochrice dosom, 1 b 5.

condagim: condaig indocbáil diathigerni *et non sibi ipsi*, 8d20.

immeforlingim: maimfolngi diltud dunbráthir, 10 c 13, 14, 18.

trócaire dé immeforling dunni iris, 15 b 8.

israd dé immidforling domsa, 21 c 20.

imfolngi apthin doibsom, 23 c 5.

9. A few other verbs take *do*:

dligim: dlich<sup>1)</sup> domsa, 32 a 19. Cf. 1 b 8, 20 a 12, 32 a 20.

adfenim: adfether do, 20 b 7.

irladigim: roirladigsetar genti do hiriss, 7 c 16.

lenim: isdindinsci riam lenid, 5 c 16.

alliles dind ancretmiuch 10 a 5.

fristáim: fristait sochuide domsa and, 14 a 13.

So, nafridoirced nech dialailiu *et* do dia, 14 a 27.

ta-: ni nachcin aile no taid dom, 19 d 26.

i) *do* appears to be used once or twice in place of *la* to mark the subject of a judgment:

atroilli dúnn *delegi a nobis*, 2 d 13.

iccach æcnu as æcne dodia, 8 a 10.

k) *do* is used, chiefly with *réir* 'arbitrium', in the sense of Lat. 'secundum'.

nabad doréir farcolno beithe, 6 b 4.

inepbuith dia réir, 14 a 16.

masuduréir spirito ataaith, 20 b 16.

forcomnucuir do deilb spir(to), 22 b 8.

amaicc dia réir, 28 b 27.

<sup>1)</sup> So Sarauw.

*dochum* [This appears to be a compositum of *do* < \**to* and a nominal element, Thurneysen, p. 486].

This preposition is used exclusively with verbs of motion or implying motion to mark the *terminus ad quem*:

nifil taidchur do dochum inchoirpsin, 3 a 14.  
is illánamnas dorograd dochum údée, 10 a 22.  
conosberinn dochum hirisse, 10 d 36.  
is trebartabirtsi dochum nirisce, 14 c 17.  
frimilid rethess dochum lainne buade, 24 a 17.  
docoid *onessimus* dochum poil forlongis, 31 d 19.

*eter, etir* [skt. *antár*, Lat. *inter* < \**enter*, Thurneysen, p. 463. The word is doubtless the comparative of \**en*, and would therefore mean originally 'inside and not outside'].

a) *eter* = 'between', in reference to two opposed things or groups of things:

irbága . . . eter descipulu, 7 d 10.  
eter magistru, *ib.*  
eterlanamnas *et* ógi, 10 b 21.  
dechur eter corpu nemdi *et* corpu talmandi, 13 c 26.  
rombói fial amirisce etaracride, 15 a 29. Cf. the well-known Greek construction.  
nifil fíál etronn *et* crist, *ib.* 32.  
*inmaceries* robói eter dia *et* duine . . . *et* robói eter corpu *et* anmana, 21 b 15.  
córe eter dia *et* duine, 22 d 17.  
dorrónad siid etermuntir nime *et* talman, 26 d 5.

So in skt. *antár mahí bṛhatí ródasīmē viçvā te dhāma varuṇa priyāṇi*, *R. V. VII*, 87, 2.

b) *eter* = 'among'. Instead of referring to the relation of two opposed groups, the preposition refers to the different members of one group:

amal file óentid eterbaullu coirp duinni, 12 b 12.  
ro bo dúibsi cinirbo etruib robammarni, 24 c 22.  
andorogbid etruib, 27 b 18.  
intain rombói etirtuaith, 28 d 25.

In Skt. *tisró dyāvō nihitā antár asmin*, *R. V. 7*, 87, 5.

c) Like the English 'between .. and', *eter* ... 7 has acquired the sense of 'both .. and', Thurneysen, p. 499.

*etir* maith *et* saich, 8 c 20.

*eter* ógi *etlanamnas*, 9 d 26.

*eter* imnetha inbetho frechídirc *et pæna* todóchidi, 14 b 10.

*eter* comalnad *et* precept, 23 c 3.

*eter* sóir *et* dóir, *eter* mug *et* coimdid, 27 c 15.

*eter* mochuimregasa *et* liin diapridchimm, 27 c 36.

*eter* fessin *et* dóini, 28 b 3.

It will be observed that *eter* .. 7 here unites correlative terms which together form one psychological group.

*Fiad* [: \**ǵid-*, Thurneysen, p. 463] = in the presence of:

*fiad* chách, 2 a 1.

*follus* *fiadchách* inductsa, 3 a 7.

*amal* bid *fiadib* nochrochthe, 19 b 6.

*nahuli* dorigniussa *fiadibsi*, 24 b 12.

*fo*, *fu* [: Skt. *úpa*, *ἐπό*, *sub*, Goth. *uf*; Delbrück I, p. 656, Thurneysen, pp. 67, 463].

a) *fo* (with acc.) has the sense of 'movement towards, or into', cf. Delbrück, p. 693, Thurneysen, p. 159:

*roléiced* anintliucht foaréir fadésne, 5 b 3.

*duús* induccatar fohiris, 9 b 19.

*nimtharberar* fochumactu nach sásta diib, 9 c 31.

*dosimbéra* fochumachte inmaicc, 13 b 30.

*techt* fosmachtu rechto, 19 d 11.

*intí* tété forecht nimdibi, 20 a 12.

*doairbertar* foréir dáé, 22 c 10.

With this use cf. *indram* id *kēcinā* *hārī* *sōmapéyāya* *vakṣhataś* *úpa* *yajñám* *surádhasam*, *R. V.* VIII, 14, 12; *úpa* *yāhi* *yagnám*, *ib.* VII, 92, 5; *ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἄγειν*, *Herod.* 6, 72, *ἐπὶ Τροίην πτόλιω*, etc.; *sub* *iudicium* *sapientis* *et* *delectum* *cadunt*, *Cic. fin.* 3, 18, 61, *sub* *terras*, *umbras* *ire*, *mittere*, etc.

Here also belong the *exx.* of *fo* with numerals, Thurneysen, p. 238:

*fothrí* (= thrice), 17 d 4.

*fodí*, 24 b 22.

That the use of *fo* here is ultimately the same as that with verbs of motion may be inferred from such a construction as *ἐς τοῖς*, Pind. *O.* 2, 124.

- b) *fo* (with dat.) indicates locative relation, 'under', 'in':  
*cerubaid fopheccad*, 3 b 19.  
*doadbadar fomáam*, 3 b 20.  
*fobésad cech dachpreceptoro*, 4 a 2.  
*nifochetóir*, 4 c 35.  
*nifóarmáam ataid*, 9 a 1.  
*fobéesad fir tête dochath*, 9 a 3.  
*amal arrograd descad fobairgin isollumun agni*, 9 b 13.  
*fondul toisech*, 10 b 20.  
*mani fessid inni bess fonfogursin*, 12 d 5.  
*cíd fo ó. cíd fo .r. iscésad*, 13 d 21.  
*fochenéle lugi*, 14 c 24.  
*foleith*, 17 d 2.  
*foichlorib*, 19 d 1.  
*fobesad fir trebuir*, 29 d 23.  
*natorthissem inaphthin fobés srotha luaith*, 32 c 16.

Here too may be placed the prepositional phrase *fobith*:  
*fobiith precepte dóib*, 9 b 19.  
*isairi asbeirsom inso fobith inna sáebapstal*, 18 d 1.

It is probable that *fo*, *ἐπὶ* etc. with the dative is later than the construction with the accusative, and was used when the result of the action rather than the actual process was emphasised. An ex. of a use of *fo* which seems on the border line is: *ished rolaad fodeid*, 13 d 9, where *fodeid* is epexegetic, cf. *ἐἶσαν ἐπὶ γέγονε*, *Il.* 5, 693. One suspects that *fomáam*, in *nifóarmáam ataid* is of the same nature, cf. *techt foscachtu rechto*. A similar use of the dative is seen in *ἐπὶ χεραὶ δαμῆναι, ἀλῶναι*. A further development of *fo* is seen in *fobairgin*, *fobésad*, 'in the manner', cf. *sub ea condicione*. *Fo* in *fochtóir* 'at one time' is paralleled by the late use of *sub* in *sub una aestate* 'in one summer', Jerome, *ep.* 77, 10 (quoted by Schmalz, p. 276).

*for*, *far* [Brit. *gyor* < \**uper* : Skt. *upári*, *ἐπέρ*, Lat. *super*, Goth. *ufur*, Thurneysen, p. 465; Delbrück, I, p. 747 ff.].

#### I. With accusative:

- a) *for* has the original sense of \**uper* with the accusative, i. e. extension beyond a point:

dolleicet forru indail, 13 b 13.

nachatelcid fuirib, 15 d 4.

Cf. *dyám ivōpári*, *R. V.* IV, 31, 15; *ayám vičvāni tiṣṭhati punānó bhūvanōpári*, *ib.*, IX, 54, 3; *ἐπὲρ ὧμον ἦλυνθ' ἀκωχή*, *Il.* 5, 16, *ἐπὲρ Ἡρακλείας στήλας ἔξω κατοικοῦσι*, *Plato, Crit.* 108 E; *Lydia super Ioniam procedit*, *Plin. hist. nat.* 5, 29, 30. From the second ex. from *RV* it is clear how easily the transition could take place from the sense of *being beyond* to that of *being above* with no reference to previous motion. In some cases one may detect the sense of *coming from above*, particularly in the numerous instances of *for* with *dígal* and similar words. The *exx.* are:

b) *for* with *dígal*, *breth* and similar words, usually accompanied by *dobiur*:

liit fornn aépirt, 2 a 13.

doberat maldactin forcách, 2 a 23.

dothabairt díglae foir, 4 c 21.

dorat digail foraiB, 4 c 35.

dobeir dígal fort, 6 a 14.

ni fornachnéile, 6 a 15 (*uindex in iram ei qui malum agit*).

hore conicc digail forib, 6 a 17.

nataibred dimiccim foir, 6 b 11.

nitaibrid fornech ní nádaccobra, 6 c 1.

náchbeir fornachnéile, 6 c 18.

nitabarthei dimes . . fornach . . 6 c 19.

nifuirni nech dimiccim foirsom, 8 c 1.

badhé innesso doberthar forn, 8 d 18.

nipur brithemnact fornech naform fein, 8 d 26.

nebmess fornech, *ib.*

nád cóimnacaid brithemnact forsincinsa, 9 b 10.

messimmirni forrusom, 9 c 10.

berir breth foir, 12 d 38.

nitabir dia fornai didiu fochith nádfochomolsam, 14 b 15.

doaidbiur foirib, 14 c 40.

nidothabirt toirse fuiribsi anisiu, 14 d 14.

isindi dofich apeccad forcách, 15 a 16.

nitabir uáil natoris forn, 16 a 1.

nipsa tróm fornech, 17 c 2 (*nulli honerosus fui*).

diarniráil furibsi, 18 a 18.

So, inpeccath forarele, 9 c 19.

In all these *exx.* the *acc.* is justified by the fact that the result expressed by *for* is the outcome of a rationally directed activity.

c) *for* is used to indicate the *terminus* with verbs of motion or verbs implying motion:

ni fortorbe nimdibi tra dotéit som act is formolad *iudeorum*, 2 a 3.

nifarmaid rosnuicc, 5 b 3.

ni asse linn éim léim dindbéstatu . . foraisníis di thuiste dúile, 5 c 16.

oral cúairt fuiribsi, 7 a 4.

docoith digal forru, 11 a 22.

arfóit fortechtairechta, 15 a 15.

techt innan corp fornem, 15 c 22.

ni farcuairt parche docoid, 21 a 12.

ninrucc formaith ar sóire, 21 b 3.

indigal dochoid for diabul iar nimmarmus ar nadecha foir, 28 b 30.

docoid *onessimus* iarum dochum poil forlongis, 31 d 19.

d) *for* is used to indicate the object of attack:

brister immairecc fairsom, 7 c 4.

argebaid inscol foraréli, 8 a 7.

## II. With dative:

a) *for* has a purely locative sense, 'in', 'upon':

amal nád robe mesrugud forsindimmarmus níbia mesrugud forsindigail, 1 d 2.

nipa farnainmsi bias forib, 4 d 2.

intí dothuit foir, 4 d 15.

dobeir pól gluáis fortestimin nafettarlicce, 4 d 25.

is hecen sainecosce . . for accrannaib, 5 a 5.

indaltóir foranidparar (do) idlaib, 5 b 6.

conróbad écosce acheneóil foir, 6 d 6.

comadas . . . immomon forsin mug, 8 b 1.

gluass for *accarnalibus*, 8 c 4.

corp innapethe bite forsinmertrich, 9 d 8.

arbeir biuth ambís foraltóir indidil, 10 c 6.

foraltóir demne, 11 b 13.

cenchaille fora ciunn, 11 c 9.

cid dialeicid cundubairt fordrecht uáib, 13 b 12.

buid fortectairecht hó isu, 13 b 5.

bieid crich fortimtherecht cacha dúlo, 13 b 28.

for brethir, 15 d 5.

act cach lasel dún forimrádud dé insel aile forprecept,  
15 d 9.

arnaconroib dethiden forneuch, 15 d 11.

actisforóis tuaithe arfocarar, 16 d 7.

nifil folad naill fora sernte inoscéle issin act crist, 18 c 8.

dindriuth forsarobith, 20 b 1.

cosc innacoimded inso arnápforóil acumachte foramogaib,  
27 c 16.

gluás forsani asrubart riam, 32 d 2.

b) An extension, perhaps, of this use is the employment of  
*for* = *περί*, 'concerning':

argaibside céil forbáas, 9 a 3.

ocsaigid forsunu, 12 b 23.

arishé besad felsub etarcert didúlib *etsaigid* forru, 27 a 10.

The similar use of *ἐπέω* seems to have arisen from the sense  
'for the sake of', *γροίμεν ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῆς δόξης*, Isoc. 135 B. Is  
this use of *for* in Irish an imitation of the Latin, *multa super*  
*Priamo rogians super Hectore multa*, Verg. *Aen.* I, 750?

*Fri* [frith < \*urt : \*uert : (to)wards, (vor)wärts, etc.,  
Thurneysen, p. 467].

a) The certain etymology of the word indicates that the  
earliest use of the preposition would be to indicate the *terminus*  
*ad quem* with verbs of motion and the like, cf. Lat. *uersus*.  
Exx. are:

frigrecia aniar *et* frietáil anáir, 6 d 17.

oricc frissalind serb, 7 d 9.

desemmrecht . . . frissacomricfea farnaire, 12 c 35.

ataat tri réte *hic* níréd ambrith fricorpu *peccatorum*,  
13 d 4.

benad friachubus fessin, 20 c 8.

concomuir frisinalinn .i. frisinfochricc nemdi, 24 a 17.

intain donairber(ta)r inboill uili fri(c)aingnimu, 25 c 23.

tairbertar súili frideicsin maith, *ib.*

docotar *iterum* fritola inbetho, 29 a 8.

berir dano frilaa brátha, 29 a 28.  
 ocomairsem friarfochric, 33 a 9.

b) As a natural extension of this use *fri* is used to mark the end or purpose of an action:

isbecc inbríg frissandéntar asaitharsin, 11 a 9.  
 bad fricumtach necolso, 13 a 3.  
 ní ruanus fris, 14 d 29.  
 ced torbe frisateicomnacht, 19 c 8.  
 friprecept etforcital, 31 a 5, (*Erastus remansit Corinthi*).  
 amal astoise fribiathad naforcitlaide, 31 d 17.  
 fritinfed nicce dochách, 32 c 3, cf. dothabairt diglae for-  
 pecthachu, *ib.* 4.

c) *fri* is used like Lat. *erga* of attitude or behaviour towards a person or thing:

córe fridia, 2 d 16, 3 d 32.  
 níarmaith friu, 4 c 37.  
 bad fuairrech cách frialaile, 5 d 15.  
 bfid páx libsi fricách, 5 d 33.  
 dognéu maith frissom, 5 d 39.  
 domaith friss, 6 d 4.  
 failte frinóibu, 7 b 2.  
 badchore dúib friu, 7 b 4, 14.  
 format fribsi, 12 c 29.  
 dlegair dochách umaldóit frialaile, 13 a 17.  
 taidb did for ndeseirc friss, 14 d 22.  
 cid doronad friu, 15 a 33.  
 fornét frisáibapstalu, 16 b 4.  
 itmaithi aarilti frib, 16 c 11.  
 iscore doib fribsi, 18 b 19.  
 catte didiu farfailtesi frinn, 19 d 22.  
 níarmaith frib (*aemulantur nobis non bene*), 19 d 28.  
 dénum maith fricách, 20 c 17.  
 badchensi fricách, 24 b 1.  
 conroib deserc leu fricách, 26 d 22.  
 cid incoimdiu dodgné friamug (cid) inmug friachoidmid,  
 27 c 14.  
 ainmne frimpeccad, 28 a 14.  
 leisce fri fognam 31 b 23.



d) Differing from b) and c) often merely in virtue of the context are those instances of *fri* where it indicates hostile relations, Lat. '*contra*':

nipo lobur ahires cepu friaicned *quod dictum est*, 2 c 25.  
 arni asse tuidecht fritoil dé, 4 c 23.  
 adcomcisset ilbéim friss, 4 d 13.  
 ní déne comrud frissinulec, 5 d 38.  
 hóre ronortigestar dia cedono tuidecht friss, 6 a 4.  
 cech ancridi dognethe frib, 9 c 20, 22, 24.  
 nabíth debuith duín frinech, 10 a 8.  
 intimmormus dognither friusom, 10 c 11.  
 fridia, 11 a 25 (*quidam eorum mormorauerunt*).  
 nittatorbi fritoil dée, 11 b 17a.  
 aní tra aschotarsne frihicc, 17 d 27.  
 andorogba cách frialaile, 22 b 9.  
 occath fridiabul, 23 d 8.  
 nabadchotarsne fribarnicc annogessid, 24 b 3.  
 bid cotarsne fridia, 26 a 18.  
 nianse hóre nád comeicnigther nech fritoil, 28 b 1.  
 ní bii debuith do frinech, 28 b 25.  
 ni imbresnat mogníma frimort *et* mothogairm, 29 d 2.  
 arimfresna cách frialaile, 30 c 16.  
 nifrittáit mo hiressa fri hiress innaní as deg rochreitset  
 hicrist, 31 a 6.  
 imfresnat angnime friambriathra, 31 b 30.

e) In sentences expressing similarity or comparison *fri* is used to indicate the thing with which comparison is made:

mad cosmil ahires frihiris abrachae, 2 c 28.  
 is friss nasamlur, 3 c 6.  
 cosmil fricethir, 8 b 14.  
 samaltir inmolad dóinde frilaithe, 8 d 22.  
 arnitaat cosmuli ambésasa fribsi, 9 b 17.  
 ammicosmili frisincethir, 13 c 12.  
 cosmili friadam, 13 d 12.  
 cosmil fricrist fessin, 13 d 13, 14.  
 iscosmuilius fris, 14 c 37.  
 nidan chosmili frisna preceptorí, 14 d 37.  
 níáil dún arcondele friú, 17 b 9.  
 frinn fanisin cotondelfam, 17 b 10.  
 itomus frinech, 17 b 11.

nonsamlafammar frinn fesine, 17 b 12.  
 icutrummus fribsi, 17 b 14.  
 amal nibimmis cutrummi frib, 17 b 16.  
 batchosmulí frinni, 17 c 5.  
 doinscannsom cidcutrummus fridia, 17 c 8.  
 dogníther cosmulius indrechtó fripersana *et* luccu, 20 a 7.  
 nitachummese friusom, 20 c 25.  
 cosmulius lessom inso frimilid, 24 a 17.  
 nípa cosmuil frisintitacht tóisig, 25 d 13.  
 óroisinn cutrummus friss, 26 d 17.  
 cumtach basuisse fri hiriss, 28 b 9.  
 nicosmil frignímu angil insin, 32 c 7.  
 farsamailsi fri talmáin, 33 d 4.  
 ishuisse cerusamaltar fricrist, 34 a 4.

f) *fri* is used in a sociative sense:

adcomla friu fessin infectso, 3 c 13.  
 atcomlasom friu, 4 a 10, 16 a 19.  
 cororannam áorpe fricrist, 4 a 16.  
 congniam fribsi, 14 c 42.  
 adibscriphisi . . . inoentid fricrist, 15 a 12.  
 arcongéna dia frib, 22 d 9.  
 ógní som frimsa ocsuidiu, 26 d 17.  
 oenichthisom *hic* frisnahireschu, 32 d 8.

g) *fri*, by a common analogical transference is used with words indicating *separation*. [Cf. Skt. *viprayuj-* with inst., Eng. *part with, different to, etc.*]

arnachitrindarpíther frisinfirini, 5 b 33.  
 indat *iudei* itirroscar(sat) fri hiris nabarche, 5 b 34.  
 eterscértar acoirp *et*ananmín friu, 8 b 3.  
 eterscerthar anecne friu, *ib.*  
 etarscarad frisuidiu, 9 b 19.  
 ma eterrósca friafer, 9 d 31.  
 na scarad frisinfer, 10 a 3.  
 na scarad frit, 10 a 29.  
 nibscara [fornires] fribarpecthu, 13 b 19.  
 etarscarad . . . friatola, 13 c 6.  
 is assu linn scarad friarcorp, 15 c 22.  
 noscarinn friu, 24 a 4.  
 roscarsam frib, 24 d 26.

marudscarsid fritola tre bás crist, 27 a 30.  
adechur frisacartu fetarlicce, 33 c 10.

- g) *fri* is used with verbs and nouns of address:

epert friss, 2 c 24.  
frigenti asbeir som anisiu, 4 d 17.  
isi moirnigde fridia, 4 d 18.  
cossóit athuaithe fridia inso, 5 a 23.  
asberidsi cid arind epur frit, 5 a 31.  
isfriú asberar *sumite*, 6 b 7.  
*uerba lenia et amicalia* rurádi friu, 7 d 9.  
isairi asbiur frit *stultam*, 8 a 9.  
asbera frib, 9 a 17.  
ni epur frib, 9 b 19.  
epert frissom, 16 b 19.  
biuusa ocirbáig . . frimaccidóndu, 16 d 8.  
nibuide fris, 22 c 15.  
dénid anasberar frib, 23 c 11.  
roart lessom epert friusom, 24 c 10.  
isbuide linn frib, 25 a 39.  
nimchubandom attach trócaire frib, 5 c 17,  
perhaps belongs here.

- h) *fri* with verbs of giving, entrusting:

amal asfriss roairptha, 8 c 12.  
indleire doratsam frisechim gnime adim, 13 d 15.  
fricorpthadid . . . doberat *iudei tóib tantum*, 15 b 2.

- i) *fri* with verbs of listening:

diacoitsea cách frialaile, 13 a 10.  
éitset frisinprecept, 13 a 11.  
niméte dúibsi nicoitsi frinni, 17 b 32.

- k) In a number of cases *fri* with a noun takes the place of the 'accusative of respect'. This may possibly be an extension of the use of *fri* = Lat. *erga*.

nifédligedar .i. alled friabracham, 2 c 3.  
nipochóim less frinn<sup>1)</sup>, 4 b 12.  
alled friss fadessin, 6 c 18.  
dimeccither alled frispirut, 8 b 16.

<sup>1)</sup> Perhaps this should be placed under e), 'in comparison with us'.

amal nondathorisse frissintectairecht, 10 a 28.  
 issain fricath sain friscor . . ., 12 c 46.  
 nigóo dún friarcubus, 14 c 8, 12.  
 arishé aseola friaigne indathar, 19 d 9.  
 badfaitig frisinfoirinsin, 24 a 24.  
 amloor fricachréit, 24 b 16.  
 bat idain fricachréit, 31 c 13.

*fri* is used in a locatival sense,

(a) with *-dei* in the sense of 'in the day time':

isfride intiagam, 6 a 30.  
 precept dosom fridei, 9 a 5.  
 precept fridei, 24 d 14.  
 dénum suainemun inaidchi precept fridei, 26 b 17.

(b) with verbs like *oc* in the sense of being occupied with something:

arnach naurchoisssom som frinii, 8 a 4.  
 inbiam fris, 15 a 1.  
 hóre is *incontumiliam* dúnni nipiam fri aithirge, 30 b 17.  
 nuissie domug dáe fridebuid, 30 b 26.  
 nachitochthad friachoscc ní besire, 31 d 11.

*iar(n)* [Thurneysen, p. 468].

This preposition has two main uses, both of which are represented by the English *after*, German *nach*.

a) *iar(n)* = after, in reference to time:

trichretim . . . isinbeothu itáa ísu iarnesséirgu, 3 c 2.  
 icomairbirt núidi iarfoisitin hirisce cen peccad, 3 c 16.  
 nagníusa iárnairgairiu, 3 c 30.  
 ismoo iárnaarigud *quam ante*, 3 c 35.  
 iarnatobu, 5 b 41.  
 iarrichte, 17 b 6, 7.  
 iár tichte crist, 19 b 20, 21 b 7, 15.  
 iarsintairgiriú, 19 c 3.  
 inchaingnímai aili isiarceín rofinnatar, 29 a 30.

b) in one ex. *iar(n)* seems to have the local meaning of Lat. *secundum*:

intuisque iarsinganim, 11 a 17.

- c) *iar(n)* has the sense of 'in accordance with':

ishé arnathir iarcolinn, 2 b 23.

iarfiach, 2 b 25.

iar cosmilius abáis som, 3 a 14.

amal donbeir docách iarnahiris, 5 c 24.

bad iárndligud hirisse, 5 d 8.

iar timnu isu, 6 d 2.

iárcolinn, 6 d 10.

aní immeraither iarcolinn, 14 c 22.

iarforcitul, 16 a 14.

iarsinchumung bess lib, 16 c 19.

iar fartoimtinsi, 20 a 14.

iarsinchaintoil, 20 d 19.

arisand iscene *et* isfissid cách iar netarcnu crist, 26 d 25.

isbrathir deit iarcolinn, 32 a 15.

It is, I think, probable that the sense of the preposition in c) is a comparatively late development, aided, possibly, by the Latin *secundum* which *iar* often translates. The etymology of the word is difficult. May it not be a compound of \**pē*- a long ablaut variant of *po-*, Lith. *põ-*, Lat. *post*, *pone*, and \**per-*? The ending *-mi* which must, apparently, be assumed, may very well be due to *rem*, *re*, cf. Thurneysen, p. 478.

*im imm* [*< \*imbi < \*mbhi*: Skt. *abhi*, ἀμφί, Lat. *amb-(itus)*,  
o. h. g. *umbi*, Thurneysen, p. 469].

- a) *im* has the original local sense of 'round about'<sup>1)</sup>.

dothinóol áetig impu, 12 b 3.

ðdarlicthe tech nebmarbtath immunn dinim, 15 c 13.

criss firinne immib, 22 d 16.

nataibred cách uáib bréic immalaile, 27 b 12.

Cf. ἀμφί μιν ἄλλος βάλων.

- b) In one ex. *im* appears to have the sense of 'against' usually expressed by *fri*:

cid nombetha imetarceirt amessa imdia.

This sense of *im* is probably an extension of a). It is easy to see how 'dispute round one' might come to be equivalent to 'dispute against one'.

<sup>1)</sup> The use of ἀμφί suggests that the earliest meaning was 'on both sides'.

c) By a very common course of development *im* from meaning 'round about' comes to mean 'concerning', cf. *περί*.

imdethidnea *saeculi* i. doguilse dineuch adbaill, 16 b 11.  
anasbiur sis imchosmulius indfiadnissi, 19 c 1.

So, *καταειν ἀμφί τινα*.

d) A slight advance on the meaning of *im* in c) is seen in those instances where *im* is used, with words expressing desire, to indicate the thing wished for:

imminbidbethid, 15 c 14, (*ingemiscimus*).  
annongeiss cách immachomalnad, 30 b 4.

*in* [*< \*en, \*eni, \*end-: ἐν, ἐνί, Lat. in, indu-; Goth. in; Lith. in, į; Thurneysen, p. 472*].

#### I. With the dative (locative).

a) *in* has the original locatival sense, 'in', 'at'.

##### 1. With pronouns:

manud fel inspirut nóib indiumsa, 11 c 1.  
indib, 16 a 17.  
indiunni, 22 c 16.

##### 2. With nouns:

###### (1) Of place:

isinchétne tuiste, 1 a 1.  
isairdircc icachthír, 1 a 3.  
nitérpi illed nach aili, 1 d 10.  
arrudérged írúnaib innadeacte, 2 b 10.  
arobad innacorp ní inchoissised tóbe *uitiorum* assa  
anmin, 2 c 7.<sup>1)</sup>  
ibartolaib marbdib, 3 b 8.  
arisi retaib nebaicsidib biid *spés*, 4 a 24.  
isnanaicci atái, 5 b 27.  
iccach lucc imbet cristidi, 7 d 1.  
indfir biis innasuidiu, 13 a 12.<sup>2)</sup>

###### (2) Of time:

isindaimsirsin, 13 b 1.  
ammi irlaim hicachláo do dul martre, 4 b 31.

<sup>1)</sup> Contrast: is hecen sainecoscc ... *for* accrannaib; *for* refers to external, *in* to internal relation.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. the use of *oc* with such nouns.

dobérat huili acoibsenā indlaosin, 6 b 27.

hitossuch, 7 d 15 *et passim*.

- (3) Of manner, attendant circumstances, etc.:

isindi nadcreitid, 1 d 14.

masu and is *amplius* inimdibiu, 2 a 3.

im hulecsa, 2 a 8.

is ho isaác dofuisémthar asil *non* inismail, 4 c 7.<sup>1)</sup>

briathar foirbthigedar induine indírqi caingníma, 4 d 6.

atasamlibid si ináiritiu hirisse, 5 a 13.

bii in hiris *ex mortuis*, 5 b 22.

mabeid hibar cumung, 5 d 32.

inéutt .i. hiformult, 6 b 2.

madtairismech hifochidib, 8 d 1.

iscoir . . . indithem issuidib, 15 c 11.

- (4) Here too belong a few cases of *in* with adjectives and verbs of knowing:

ishé dia aseola indiumsa, 8 d 23.

isbecc rofitemmarni irrunaib dáe, 12 c 5.

condan éolich irrunaib deachte, 15 b 19.

nabad eola inarcintaib, 33 b 21.

adib eolaig and cene, 33 c 19.

- (5) *in* marks the ground or motive of an action:

isderb linn is *in praeputiis* ní in imdibiu, 2 c 6.<sup>2)</sup>

arnebmóidem himagistrib, 8 d 26.

fornebmóidem himagistru, *ib*.

hore nom móidim indib, 14 c 18.

isóiri ceneóil, 17 c 15.

The two exx. from 8 d 26 where *himagistrib* and *himagistru* are used in precisely the same sense<sup>3)</sup> show how little suitable a merely formal classification according to the accompanying case would be in dealing with the prepositions in Irish. It is therefore doubtful whether we should place here two exx. of *in* with verbs of 'believing':

- (6) nicretid hícríst, 20 a 13.

nachiberpidsi dano ibarcumachtu, 22 d 6.

<sup>1)</sup> Under (1) if = 'in the family of', but it more probably means 'by means of I.'

<sup>2)</sup> So Sarauw.

<sup>3)</sup> Unless *magistru* be taken as the Latin singular, *magistro*.

The noun in either case might represent the old dative (locative), but it is permissible to suppose that the Latin *credo in* may have been at least partly responsible for the construction.

## II. With the acc.

- a) *in* is used, like Gk. ἐν, Lat. *in*, of extension in time:  
isdia bendachthe isnabithu, 4 c 4.

The Irish is here probably a literal rendering of the Latin *Deus benedictus in saecula*.

- b) *in* is used with verbs of *motion*, *carrying* and the like to mark the *terminus*:

icorpu *et* anmana peccatorum, 2 b 5.  
nifl taidchur do dochum inchorpsin act isicorp spirtálda,  
3 a 14.  
icosmulius collno iróbe peccad, 3 d 23.  
in hétt, 5 a 13, (*ego in emulationem uos adducam*).  
hinephchenéil, 5 a 14.  
nihed notbeir inem, 6 c 9.  
inaurlatid, 6 d 16.  
trimirothoróndiussa indium, 8 d 26.  
conruccea inætarcne cáich, 12 c 32.  
dobartabart . . . . hifortanda rechta, 18 c 9.  
sóiftir iclóini, 26 a 21.  
saibes inobar, 27 a 9.

- c) *in*, again like Latin *in*, is used of the result of an action, or the state or condition to which an action leads:

bid hinoibad duibsi ón, 3 b 31.  
doróigu dia immacu do, 4 b 31.  
ropia anorpe nemde illóg farnirnigde, 27 c 12.

Cf. with 4 b 31, *Pisonem sibi in filium et in regnum adoptavit*, Oros. 7, 8, 1 (Quoted by Schmalz, p. 275).

*le, la, li* [Thurneysen, *o. c.* pp. 67, 474; KZ. 37, 424 ff.].

The most general idea expressed by this preposition is that of possession of one kind or another, of material things or of mental perceptions. It seems probable that the root meaning of the word indicated a locative relation; traces of this may indeed be seen in all the actual usages. The classification attempted here errs, perhaps, in making distinctions where, from



the Irish point of view, none existed. For example, it is more than doubtful if any difference would be felt to exist between the sense of *la* in *sechippé lasambé iustitia legis* a) and in *aris bésad leusom* b), though in translation a distinction is possible owing to the fact that in the second ex. the pronoun is plural. Nevertheless, it is perhaps permissible, if only for convenience, to make a distinction between those exx. where *la* and its noun, accompanied as a rule by the substantive verb, have the sense of the Latin dative of possession, from those in which *la* would be better translated by *apud*. In some cases, naturally, the distinction will seem arbitrary.

a) *la* indicates possession like the dative with *esse* in Latin:

sechippé lasambé *iustitia legis*, 1 d 19.

*fides* .i. robói laabracham recomallnad rechto, 2 c 15.

dudract lib, 3 b 21.

accobor lammenmuin maid doimradud, 3 d 13.

intain bes ninun accobor lenn .i. lacorp *et anim et la-spirut*, 4 a 27.

nisi arsercc less, 4 b 16.

ni linni didiu atá, 4 c 23.

bid héet libsi, 5 a 13.

combad ét leu, 5 b 20.

biid *pax* libsi fricách, 5 d 33.

biid sain láa leiss, 6 b 16.

nibí sainláa lasuidib act is abstanit doib semper, 6 b 17.

ni lanech huáin alaile, 6 b 20.

commimis less huili, 6 b 21.

ní latt aní ararethi *etní* lat incách forsammitter, 6 b 22.

iscian ós accobor lemm farrichtu, 7 a 3.

is amre lim rad údé lib, 7 d 3.

atáa lib uile, 7 d 5 (*ita ut nihil uobis desit*).

irbaga robatar leosom, 7 d 10.

ní cuman lim, 8 a 3.

ni limsa (*supere*)*dificare sed fundamentum ponere*, 8 c 17.

itlib huili, 8 d 15.

is lib atá arogu, 9 a 23.

atá brithem lasuidib, 9 c 2.

nitad lib fésin, 9 d 11.

maniptol lasinfer, 9 d 16.

ar ní dond imdibu colnidu lessom inso, 10 a 14.

cosmuilius aile lessom inso, 10 d 14, 24 a 17.  
 act nirobat pecthe less, 11 d 9.  
 cosmuilius roisc aní siu lessom, 12 c 10.  
 isóentu forcitil linn hóre isoénrad fil linn, 13 b 9.  
 corofessid méit forserce lemsa, 14 d 16.  
 nírbuaithrech limsa, 16 b 6.  
 dineuch bis la nech nad bí lat so, 16 b 11.  
 atá lib anuilese, 16 c 8.  
 taibrid afl lib, 16 c 17.  
 iarsinchumung bes lib, 16 c 19, 22.  
 hóre rommoidisom cumachte less cosse, 17 a 12.  
 attaat scela linn, 18 d 4.  
 ceist limm dúib, 19 b 7.  
 conafil dualchi na accobra colnidi leu, 20 c 1.  
 óenchoimdiu lib, 22 d 7.  
 isduthracht limm cáinteist diib, 23 a 23.  
 isdia rofitir forsercsi limsa, 23 a 27.  
 ished cétmus asaccobor limm fein, 23 b 34.  
 iscuci forsercc linn, 25 a 27.  
 isbuide linn frib, 25 a 39.  
 oíob gním irisce lib inneurt hirisce, 25 d 23.  
 ní nach cuman lib, 26 a 9.  
 conroib deserc leu fri cách, 26 d 22.  
 actrocretea deacht *et*dóinecht crist bitless indhuili dáni  
*et*nahu(ili) timn(e), 27 b 15.  
 dobiursa teist asmór farsercsi less, 27 d 8.  
 nípi ciall lanech dogní insin, 29 b 11.  
 intain ronanissiu domhéisse nírbó accur lat, 29 d 9.  
 attáa lemsa asainredsa, 32 a 5.  
 it les dano indangil, 32 c 2.  
 leissom atech didiu, 33 a 2.  
 indearc bratharde ruboi libsi, 33 d 6.

b) *la* indicates the sphere of action in the widest sense:

arbabibdu báis leusom inti nád imdibthe, 1 d 15.  
 islúud leu teistiu fuile, 2 b 1.  
 aris básad leusom, 5 b 42, 10 d 6.  
 doarrchet dichéin nombiad adrad dáe lagenti, 6 d 8.  
 rongab *scientia* lib, 6 d 12.  
 rofetar níimirchói nachgéin libsi, 7 a 11.  
 atá olcc maill lib, 9 c 3, 7.

bat hé berte bretha lib, 9 c 12.  
 ciatasode lat arécin, 10 a 10.  
 ainfá lib, 14 a 8.  
 bied afortacht linn, 14 c 1.  
 ar ba ainm leosom *peccatum* dundidbairt, 15 d 20.  
 cini inonn riagul linn, 18 a 16.  
 niimdibe dualche robói lasuidib  
 nosíguidsom didiu arnarobat leu inpecthisi, 25 b 9.  
 ni accatar linn, 26 b 11.  
 fortacht dá lib, 32 b 1.

c) A development of the local sense of *la* in a) and b) is *la* indicating the agent. Exx. like *doarrchet . . nombiá adrad dá lagenti*, 6 d 8 and 3 a 5, *inf.* show how easy the transition was from *la* = Lat. *apud* to *la* = Lat. *a*. The exx. of this use are:

tri óenpheccad *la* adam, 3 a 5.  
*gratia ex multis dilictis la* isu dodóinib, *ib.*<sup>1)</sup>  
 indindocbál doratad docrist condartar dúnni less, 4 a 18.  
 rogabad gabáal dóib leu, 7 a 7.  
 maided fair lib, 7 c 4.  
 conaroib diupart neich lelele, 16 c 24.  
 congabtis gabala linn dondóisfoiss inhierusalem, 19 a 4.  
 dogéntar aidchumtach tempuil less, 26 a 8.

d) An extension of a) seems to be the use of *la* in marking a mental attitude. It connects — usually with a pronoun — an adjective, e. g. *serb*, or a substantive equivalent in sense to an adjective,<sup>2)</sup> e. g. *mebul*, to indicate that the adjective or substantive expresses the opinion of the subject. This is one of the commonest uses of the preposition in the modern language: *is beg lim e*. 'I despise him, think little of him'; *b'fhearr linn sud* 'we should have preferred that, considered that better'.

ni mebul lemm precept soscéli, 1 b 10, (*non erubesco euangelium*).  
 isderb linn, 2 c 6.  
 ishé aammus lemm, 2 c 27.  
 isdedbir dúib cidmébul lib ataidmet, 3 b 30.  
 incuntubart lib inso, 3 c 3.

<sup>1)</sup> These two exx. suggest that the starting point of *la* in this sense was its use as here with nouns rather than with verbs.

<sup>2)</sup> But not always, cf. 3 d 5, 5 c 23.

ished *aperficere* lessom, 3 d 5.  
 aní asmaith ladia, 4 b 4.  
 isnessa doinni lemm, 4 b 17.  
 isdilmáin lacách arnorcunni, 4 b 23.  
 act is corpad mithig lessom inducbál dianóibaib, 4 c 37.  
 lour leu gníma recto, 4 d 12.  
 is hecen . . leosom, 5 a 5.  
 badochu lem, 5 b 31.  
 ní asse linn, 5 c 16.  
 ished *aplus sapere* lessom, 5 c 23.  
 isdiamuin leiss cachthúare, 6 b 8.  
 is fearr són lessom, 6 b 10.  
 ní laugi abriig less *quam tú*, 6 d 12.  
 anas maith lacách dínad . . 6 b 18.  
 isintéúir léu, 7 a 6.  
 is amre lim, 7 d 3.  
 nítorbe lasuidiu precept doib, 8 a 11, 12.  
 ní mebol limsa *isstultitia* leusom ón, 8 a 13.  
 indé nád ní libsi, 8 a 18.  
 isbeic lim inbrigsin, 8 d 21.  
 isirdurcu epirt lim són, 9 b 17.  
 ní aidrech limm, 9 b 20.  
 ithé *inimici* lessom, 9 c 25.  
 madmelltach lassinfer, 9 d 17.  
 maith les agnási, 10 a 2.  
 is escon leu, 10 c 3.  
 is frithorcon leu, 10 c 5.  
 anas olcc lasin brathir, 10 c 13.  
 maso dorchide lanech apridchimmeni, 15 b 14.  
 isderb linn, 15 d 10.  
 isferr lium lobre *quam* digallre, 18 a 1.  
 indoich bidfrithorcon lib inso, 18 a 9 a.  
 intain ropomithich lasinnathir nemde, 19 d 7.  
 nibadimicthese libsi, 21 d 3.  
 isamre leu, 22 a 16.  
 istarisse limm inso, 23 a 18.  
 istarisse leu precept oscéli, 23 b 10.  
 ní imned lim, 23 b 24.  
 hóre narbolour linn afoirbthetu, 24 b 20.  
 niairegdu nech alailiu less, 27 b 14.

nabad mebul lat precept crist crochthi, 29 d 18.

móa léu sercc atuille *quam dei*, 30 c 11.

intain rombo mithig less, 31 a 9.

e) Superficially resembling this use of *la* is another in which *la* connects an adjective<sup>1)</sup> with a substantive or pronoun. The relation here is that of the *dativus (in)commodi*, and differs from that in d) in that no judgment on the part of the subject is implied *except when such a judgment is implied in the adjective itself*. Thus *isingir lem cenchretim dúib*, 4 b 28, 'it is painful to me', whereas if the sentence were placed under d) we should have to translate 'I consider it painful' — not necessarily to the writer. So in *ní date leu*, 8 b 6, 'it is not agreeable to them', the judgment is contained in the adjective, not in the relation of the preposition to the noun. The *exx.* are:

nipochoim less frinn, 4 b 12, (*quin etiam proprio filio non pepercit*).

isingir lem cenchretim dúib, 4 b 28, (*tristia est nihi magna*), 24 a 27.

arcessi doneoch besmeldach less, 4 c 19.

hore nárbubae laiudeu creitem 5 b 12.

ní date leu, 8 a 6.

isdiliu dó inti lasmbi æcne, 8 d 10.

isglé limm, 9 d 9.

isglé limsa rombia buáid, 11 a 10.

isdiliu lemm, 11 a 17 a.

nidiliu nech limm alailiu, 23 a 14.

ished asdilem limm ciatcoid, 26 a 2.

f) *la* is used in a *sociative* sense, 'along with', with verbs of going, e. g. 30 d 17, 'in the presence of', e. g. 6 a 11. In those cases it is equivalent to *co(m)*, which it had already begun to supplant, cf. Thurneysen, p. 458.

rotbia less lóg dodaggníma, 6 a 11.

ní lanech atchí *sed fide*, 6 c 17.

ascoir dochách guide dée liachéle,<sup>2)</sup> 7 a 13.

corran célide libsi, 7 a 17.

ní biesi hicobodlus lasuidiu, 9 b 17.

<sup>1)</sup> A substantive in 4 b 28.

<sup>2)</sup> Here *la* is on the point of assuming the sense of Lat. *pro*.

proind less hitaig, 9 b 23.  
 conamuntir dochoid less, 14 a 19.  
 gigestesi dia linn, 14 c 2a.<sup>1)</sup>  
 cininfil lib, 16 b 9.  
 islabendachtin doindnagar, 16 d 14.<sup>2)</sup>  
 niepeirsom arandiltad lasuidib, 17 d 11.  
 nilegend rollegusa lapetor, 19 a 6.  
 nepproinde lageinti, 19 a 10.  
 amal mibis cometid lammaccu, 19 c 15.  
 arnarobat lib, 22 b 2.  
 aratá torad lagnímu soilse, 22 b 26.  
 combad accomaltisi limsa, 23 a 26.  
 atcomlasom *hic* lasnahi dofuircifea bráth imbethu, 25 b 16.  
 immaircide . . . cerubet ipéin ladiabul, 26 a 23.  
 orobith inindobáil lacrist, 26 a 28.  
 madháe farmbethusi crist robia indobál less, 27 b 6.  
 la irnigdi airib féisne,<sup>3)</sup> 27 c 19.  
 (oro)ibtis ocdenum rectche la riga, 28 a 1.  
 conarobat dualchi lat, 30 b 8.  
 ni epil fir neich less, 30 d 14.  
 dothuidecht lat illei, 30 d 17.  
 istacir deit nitáirle lat, 30 d 20.  
 laairitin *onessimi*, 32 a 26.

g) In one or two instances *la* with a pronoun appears to be used as a sort of 'ethic dative':

bacoscc carat limm dit a gentlidi . . 5 b 32.<sup>4)</sup>  
 décce lat corintiu, 10 c 20.

*ó, úa.* [Etymology uncertain, cf. Thurneysen, p. 476.]

All the uses of this preposition have the *ablative* idea in common, and may most easily be derived from an original sense of *separation*.

a) *ó* indicates *material separation*, removal or freeing from:  
*recedens a lumine uerilatis* i. ósoilsí étarcni dé, 1 b 18.

<sup>1)</sup> The sense of Lat. '*pro*' is here the predominant one.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. *mad condiuiti doindnasatar*, 17 a 2.

<sup>3)</sup> *la* here approaches to the modern instrumental sense.

<sup>4)</sup> Unless we are to understand *limm* as in d). This is however impossible in the case of 10 c 20.

condanfrianichthi uadib, 2 d 14 i. e. *peccatis nostris*.  
 léic uait innabiada mílsi . . 6 c 7.  
 imdibthe ólanamnas, 10 a 14.  
 amal doberthe . . . ófolt, 11 c 12.  
 tóiniud flatho óróma(nib), 26 a 5.  
 bás *etadnacul* itheside immafolnget imdibe ódúalchib,  
 27 a 13.  
 óntrédiu asrubart riam, 27 d 27 (*a quibus quidam aberrantes* . . ).

b) *ó* indicates the *origin* or the *material* from which a thing is made, or the impulse from which an action springs:

indóinecht araróit som ónni, 4 b 19.  
 isúadib crist, 4 c 2.  
 is ho isaác dofuisémthar asil nairegde, 4 c 7.  
 ó oínsil rogénartar damacc de,<sup>1)</sup> 4 c 12.  
 ond óentoísrinn, 4 c 31 (*ex eadem massa*).  
 asbeir cate infirinne hó hiriss, 4 d 23.  
 innaní . . . immechuretar cori horigaib, 5 a 5.  
 níp sain anasberthar hogiun . . 5 d 14.  
 commari farúdígal huaimse, 5 d 37.  
 manip hodia, 6 a 2.  
 berar animchumarcc huáib, 7 b 4.  
 aris húad cach necne, 7 c 15.  
 anasberaid hó bélib,<sup>1)</sup> 7 d 10.  
 ní onach ailiu, 8 a 19.  
 ósechide humaldóit huáimse, 8 d 26.  
 isónspirut rouiccius brith, 9 b 6.  
 ondeacht, 9 d 10.  
 ished inso anaithescc noberid uaimm, 9 d 15.  
 cen nachtairmescc ódethidin inbetho .i. ósétchi, 10 b 15.  
 ná bith fochunn uaimm fein domæcúduch, 11 c 1.  
 dorigeni dia corp duini ó ilballaib,<sup>2)</sup> 12 a 29.  
 ón(dair)cur, 14 b 12.  
 trecúrsagad uáimse, 14 d 5.  
 furóil serce hopool doilsom, 14 d 30.  
 maic inso tra ógnim *et non filii naturae*, 21 b 2.  
 uisse inboill dóass ónchiunn, 22 a 17.

<sup>1)</sup> *ó* here has almost the instrumental sense.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. *rosnidigestar* óm óinchorp díilballaib, 12 a 30.

bad hothoil infognam, 22 d 5.  
 isuíb fesin achenél, 27 d 6.  
 isuaidib arróit colinn, 32 d 10.

Here belong the exx. of *ó* with verbs of hearing:

doneuch rochuale cách huanni, 5 a 7.  
 doneuch rochualammarni huaitiu, *ib*.  
 amal bid odia rachlóithe, 24 d 21.  
 rochúala uaimse, 28 c 22.

c) From uses like *commari farúdigal huaimse*, 5 d 37, arose easily the use of *ó* to mark the agent, cf. ἀπό, ἐκ, Lat. *ab*.

amal nonnertarni hodia, 14 b 13.  
 adibscripthisi ón spirut, 15 a 12.

d) Similarly the use of *ó* to mark the *instrument* in the widest sense would begin in cases like *anasberaid hó bélib*, 7 d 10. The exx. of instrumental *ó* are:

ocach indirgi, 1 c 41, (*repletos omni iniquitate*).  
 ocech cenélu serbe, 2 a 22.  
 hothuil mochollno, 3 d 1, (*quod enim operor non intellego*).  
 fudumne indfiss hoaricc dia ácenele údoine, 5 c 16.  
 saithar hó lámaib, 9 a 5.  
 nilabrátar uili ó ilbélib, 12 b 22.  
 cid asbere siu ond fógur *tantum*, 12 d 13.  
 intoichther andruailnitheso honnebdruailnithiu, 13 d 20.  
 anasberim obélib *et* ani immeradim óchridiu, 14 c 23.<sup>2)</sup>  
 óderchóiniud, 14 d 20.  
 hóchretim inisu crist, 19 c 16, (*ut ex fide iustificemur*).  
 ó adchaib *secundapostolorum*, 22 a 14, (*fluctuantes*).  
 ócachathig, 22 a 15, (*circumferamur omni uento*).  
 óduthracht, 22 d 4.  
 ósoilsi deachte crist, 26 a 17, (*quem destruet inlustratione adventus sui*).

e) *ó* marks the cause:

hoamiris, 2 c 29, (*non hesitavit defedentia*).

<sup>1)</sup> In such cases as this whether we speak of 'instrument' or 'material' is doubtless indifferent.

<sup>2)</sup> *óchridiu* here seems better taken as the 'instrument' than as the 'origin', another example of how the context (*immeradim*) is the determining factor.



bad fuairrech cách frialaile ondesercc brathardi, 5 d 15.  
hóairegas, 7 b 11.

ni ó aicniud nacétne tuisten act is oaicniud pectho do-  
forchosalsam, 21 b 4.

niognimaib firinne rechto, 31 d 4.

f) In a few cases *ó* indicates that in respect of which the predicate holds of the subject. We may look on *ó* here as *causal* or *instrumental*.

basa iudide ó écosc, 10 d 34.

nipsa iudide ó béssaib, 10 d 35.

condamarb hóthoil cholno, 19 a 17.

With this use of *ó* we may compare a use of Latin *ab*, which corresponds in most respects to *ó*: *uastus a natura*, Sall, *Jug.* 48, 3, *sanus ab illis*, Hor. *sat.* 1, 3, 129 (quoted by Schmalz, p. 270).

g) A development of the original sense of *ó* is its employment to express distance in time:

ishósiun conuie dam farsercc, 4 b 29.

o aimsir bicc, 5 c 2.

iscian ós accobor leum farríchtu, 7 a 3.

óthossuch 7 b 11.

doforchossol cách inrecht sin ho adam, 13 d 27.

doforchosalsam ó adam, 21 b 4.

h) *ó* like *di* is used in a partitive sense, a development of the use to indicate origin:

nítaidirsed nech huann, 4 d 9.

ní lanech húain alaile, 6 b 20.

ní ba *unus* gebas ambuáid huáibsi, 11 a 6.

isdrécht uáibsi as debthach, 11 d 2.

arafogna talland cáich uanni dialailiu, 12 a 12.

fordrecht uáib, 13 b 12.

nech uáibsi, 14 a 5.

rann uáibsi .†. rann diarforcitulni, 14 c 15.

ma beith miduthracht etdígal lacách uáib, 20 b 12.

cách uáib, 25 a 34.

It will be observed that in regard to the partitive use there is this distinction between *ó* and *di* that *ó* is used only with the suffixed pronoun, while *di* is used with substantives as well. The difference is well brought out in 14 c 15, *rann uáibsi* but *rann diar forcitúl*.

*oc, ac, ic* [*< \*aggu-*, Thurneysen, p. 477, cf. Walde, *etym. Wb. s. v. ango*].

All the uses of *oc* indicate, in one way or another, the sphere within which an action takes place, or the activity in which a faculty is exercised. The classification of the uses of the preposition must therefore rest on those differences in sense due to the context.

#### I. *oc* with verb or verbal noun:

a) *oc* indicates the occasion of an action, or the conditions, whether of time or place, under which it takes place, or the circumstances of a state:

foditíu cech imned . . . *oc asgnam gloriæ et honoris in futuro*, 1 c 18.

rosariged *mandatum* *occo*, 3 c 24.

ishécen ainmne *occo*, 4 a 26.

ninfortéitni inspirut *ocsuidiu*, 4 a 27.

dontlathur diasúdisiu robói hirúnaib innadeacte octuiste dúile hitossuch, 5 c 16.

is *occ* maid atáa, 6 a 18.

óinmenme lib *occo*, 6 d 3.

manidéatar ferte *occa*, 8 a 11.

óis foirbthe bíte *ocbaithius*, 9 a 11.

adláig bite *oc pennit*, 9 c 11.

locc imbítis primsacairt *ocirnigdi*, 10 d 15.

ocairbirt biuth coirp *crist*, 11 b 14.

cogniam fribsi octáircud raith *spirito dúib*, 14 c 42,

doarbas *gloria* octindnacul *legis*, 15 a 18.

b) In 9 a 11, *supra*, we see the beginning of the modern use of *oc* and a verbal noun with the substantive verb as a substitute for a continuous tense, present or past. Further *exx.* are:

cerudbatar *iudei* *occathindnaculsom*, 4 b 13.

imba immalei do *occartaitchricc et occarnáinsem*, 4 b 16.

nífil nech and *occtadrad* so acht meisse móinur, 5 a 25.

ciabethir *ocfar* ningrim, 5 d 33.

céin mbiis *ocfognam* diachoidid, 8 b 1.

áis biis *ocirchollud*, 9 c 27.

bete banscala *occar* timthirect, 10 c 22.

induili bíte icoitsecht, 13 a 14.  
ataat octimthirecht apastolorum, 14 a 30.

## II. *oc* with adjectives:

nitatsóir huili *oc* tintuúth, 12 b 23.  
arigliccsom ocaslug inphectho, 14 d 27.  
cidtrén octecmallad, 16 c 25.  
ciabolobor octecmallad, 16 c 26.

Here perhaps should be placed  
ocprecept soscéli, 7 c 6, (*cognati mei*).

## III. In one case *oc* and its noun express the preventing cause:

armain bed accuiss napreceptesin, 9 b 19, (*alioquin de-  
bu[e]ratis de hoc mundo exisse*).

*oc* I would connect with ἐγγύς, cf. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, p. 212, more immediately with an ablaut variant \*ὀγγύς. The primary sense of the preposition would thus be 'near to', a meaning still retained, cf. mod. Gael. *aig na dorsaib* = ἐγγύς τῶν θυρῶν. For the possessive sense which the preposition has acquired, and which in mod. Gael. threatens to supplant entirely the possessive pronouns of the 1st and 2nd p. pl. we may perhaps venture to compare οἱ Ζηρόες ἐγγύς, Aesch. fr. 155. From such a use as this the possessive meaning would almost inevitably be developed. How the other characteristic modern use of *oc* + verbal noun = present participle, could be derived from a meaning 'near to', may be illustrated from ἐγγύς τοῦ τεθράναι = ἀποθνήσκειν practically.

*ós* [Thurneysen, p. 477. Perhaps we should connect with √ \*auǵ-, Skt. *ójas*, ἀΐζάω, Lat. *augeo*, etc. Hence *ós* < \*auk-s. For the form cf. *es*, *as* < \*ek-s].

The original local sense has developed into a metaphorical one:  
*isósib atá*, 2 b 7, (*super omnes*).  
*oscech anmimm ainmnigther*, 21 a 14.

*re*, *ri* [Thurneysen, p. 478].

The preposition indicates precedence in point of time:

*diuitte linn et firinne ut fuit* adam rénimarmus, 9 b 16.

ished rorélus dúib recachréit, 13 a 35, (*tradidi enim uobis inprimis*).

mathéis cucuibsi riumsa, 14 a 14.

resindalmsinsin, 16 c 6, (*semel ipsos dederunt primum Domino*).

arndip maith nairlethar amuntir ritecht gráid foir, 28 b 32.

doberr teist diib ritecht gráid forib, 28 c 4.

tre ailli gaibther reproinn, 28 c 20.

*sech* [Skt. *sácā*, Av. *hacā*, Delbrück, I, p. 752, Lat. *secus*, Lindsay, p. 591, Walde, *etym. Wb.*, p. 558, Thurneysen, p. 480].

For the most part, the predominating idea of the preposition in O. Irish is that of *preference* or *precedence*.

a) The preposition may be translated 'in preference to':

æit leu precept domsa seccu, 23 b 13.

b) In a larger number of cases *sech* refers to a difference in degree between two things in respect to a quality. Here, therefore, the idea of comparison is more prominent than in a).

sechani ittúo, 17 d 24, (*ne quis me existimet supra id quod uidet in me*).

sech mochomáessa, 18 c 16, (*et proficiebam in iudaismo supra multos coactaneos meos*).

sechcách, ib. 17, (*habundantius aemulator*); 13 b 22, (*miscrabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus*); 16 b 23, (*et uiscera eius abundantius in uobis sunt*).

c) In one ex. the idea of *preference* has developed into that of *opposition*:

nisechcomairli dáe dano, 29 d 1, (*per uoluntatem dei*).

The original force of the preposition was probably that seen in Skt. *sácā* in *asmé indra sácā suté ní šadā pítāye mádhū*, *R.V.* VIII, 97, 8, (quoted by Delbrück *l. c.*) and of the Lat. *secus* in the ex. given by Charis, 80, 18 k, *secus illum sedi, hoc est secundum illum* (quoted by Lindsay, *l. c.*). If we start with this as the original sense we can, I think, see pretty clearly how the idea of *superiority* to was developed from such an example as that that cited from *R.V.* Here Indra is invited to seat himself beside his worshippers. In such an assembly Indra would be first in rank and all the rest nowhere, so that so far as the sense

goes we should be justified in rendering 'sit at our head, over us'. Beyond this stage of meaning the *Wb.* ex. of *sech* 23 b 13 implies little, if any, development. The only advance on this in the exx. given under b) is that in the latter the idea of comparison is enforced. In c) *nisechcomairli dē dano* the preposition has reached the stage of *W. heb* and the Lat. adverbial *secus*, cf. a curiously similar use, *ne quid fiat secus quam uolumus*, Cic. *Att.* VI, 2, 2.

The preposition could doubtless have acquired the sense of a) and b) at least, if, as Lindsay suggests *l. c.*, it had originally meant 'following and going past'. This theory, indeed, derives support from the use in mod. Gaelic, e. g. *cha teid e seach so*, 'beyond this', *seach an doras* 'beyond the door'. But it does not explain how *sācā* came to have the sense it bears in the *R.V.* passage quoted, and elsewhere, e. g. II. 17. 7, *amājūr iva pitrōh sācā satt*, VI. 57, 4 *yād indro ānayad rīto mahīr apō vṛīṣantamaḥ tātra pūṣābhavat sācā*. On the other hand if we suppose, as is scarcely doubtful, that the original sense of the √\*seq\* was 'accompany', 'be in the neighbourhood of', it is more likely that the stages in the history of the preposition were in the reverse order to that implied by Lindsay's theory, and that the sense of 'outstripping' came from the idea of the predominant partner in an association. Once the sense of 'being beyond' came in this way to be connected with the word, its use with a verb of motion would lead to the development of the meaning 'past', and, finally of that of 'separation from'. The latter which seems to be the only meaning of Av. *hacā*, Delbrück *l. c.*, is illustrated by the use of Mid. Ir. *sechnaim*, mod. Gael. *seachainn* 'avoid'. Here, as in the Lat. *secus* and *sech* in *nisechcomairli dē*, the alleged original sense of 'following' appears transformed into its opposite.

*tar, dar* [skt. *tiráḥ*, av. *tarō*, Thurneysen, p. 481, Delbrück, I, p. 746, Schmalz, p. 269].

a) *tar* seems to have had for its original sense the idea of motion over a space, cf. Lat. *trans*, as in the following exx.:

caníralsid súil torunn, 15 a 1.

otuidchissed *uita* tarsin corpsin, 15 c 16.

rolasid súil torunn itossuch, 15 d 1.

b) In the above *exx.* it is implied that something coming from without passes over and beyond the space indicated by the governed noun. When reference to anything outside that space is absent, the preposition naturally indicates rest over a space, as in:

conaroib temel ... tarrose fornanme, 21 a 8.

c) *tar*, like *per* in Latin, marks the *cause* in  
dardimne recto dognither intimmarmus, 3 c 36.

d) *tar* indicates the thing sworn by:

ducuitig tarais fadeisin arnicobe nech bad huaisliu  
taratoissed, 33 d 10.

This use might conceivably be explained as of the same nature as the last, i. e. indicating the *instrument*, but it is tempting to take *tar* as referring to the practice of placing the hand over the object on which the oath was taken.

From *tar* are formed two compound prepositions *tarcenn* and *tarési*.

1. *tarcenn* has the sense of:

a) 'on behalf of', 'for the sake of':

frecre inso dar cenn ind iudidi dongeintlidiu, 2 a 4.

taiccéra cách daráchen fessin, 6 b 28.

robtar irlim dothecht martre darmchen(n), 7 b 5.

hóre rombebe crist darcenn indóesa lobuір, 10 c 11.

fornét frisáibapstalu dar(m)chensa, 16 b 4.

biuusa ocirbáig darfarcennsi, 16 d 8.

asririnsa mochumang darfar cenn, 18 a 14.

rocathichsiur darachenn cosse, 24 a 3.

itáu darcenn sosceli, (*in uinculis euangelii*), 32 a 10.

In 16 b 4 and perhaps in 32 a 10 there may be detected a shade of meaning approaching that of Lat. '*propter*' 'because of'. This sense is the predominant one in:

b) ba ainm leosom *peccatum* dundidbairt adoparthe dar cenn  
*peccati*, 15 d 20.

darcenn *peccati* didiu síl adim adropredsom, ib.

2. *tarési* has the sense of:

a) 'after', 'behind':

badcháich darési áréli, 13 a 5, 9.

nidéccu darmmési, 24 a 13.

b) From the sense of 'coming after' that of 'taking the place of' could easily be developed, as in:

*dabo uobis (cor) carniūm* .i. tarési *lapidei* (i. e. first stone and after, in place of that, flesh).

acheile dothuidect darahési, 13 a 20.

athuidecht icride tar ési dá, 22 b 5.

doanad dartéssi siu, 31 d 13 (i. e. to remain after, instead of).

c) From the meaning 'in place of' it is an easy step to that of 'in return for', *árrí*:

ronbia indocbáal tarahési, 4 b 6.

olcc tarési nuilcc, 5 d 28 (*malum pro malo*).

ishé dobeir lóg deit tarhési do dagnímo, 6 a 11.

nímbia fochricc dar hési moprecepte, 10 d 23.

tar hési tomalte innatúare, 11 c 2.

rotbia indocbál darahési, 13 d 32.

dober dithnad darahési, 14 b 15.

atluchfam buidi dodia darahési, 17 a 2.

madudéll ní taibred ní taraéssi dobochtaib, 22 b 7.

rambia dígal tarhési adrognímo, 27 c 13.

uisse sún darési césto, 32 d 3.

*tri, tre.* [< \**trejont*, a neut. participial form, Thurneysen, p. 483.

Cf. Lat. *trans* < \**trajant*].

a) *tri*, like *trans*, is used of motion or sensation 'through' or 'across' a space or an obstacle:

berir dano andedesin trisintestiminso, 10 b 19.

adcií nech ní triscáath, 12 c 11.

nípifirderb anadchiher trilhémel, 12 c 12.

The etymological connections of the word, Lat. *trans*, Skt. *tirás*, Av. *tarō*, Delbrück, I, p. 146 f., indicate that this must have been the original sense of the preposition. With *adcií triscáath* cf. *tirás támō dadγcē*, R.V. VI, 48, 6. But just as in Latin, *per*, starting from a very similar local sense (*περάω, πέρας, πορεύω*) acquired an *instrumental* force, so *tri* has in Irish. Cf. *tar, supra*. The exx. which show this sense are by far the most numerous. It will be convenient to make two subdivisions according as the

preposition marks the instrument (= *per*), or the cause (occasion). The distinction is often, naturally, a very fine one, and in some of the *exx.* either sense would suit the context equally well, e.g. in

inirect rósárichset istriit atbélat, 1 d 4,

where we might translate 'it is on account of it they shall perish', or, 'it is through, by means of, it they shall perish'.

b 1) *tri* gives the cause or occasion of an action or event:

trichomaitect donbráthir, 10 c 2, (*si quis autem diligit Deum hic cognitus est ab illo*).

trethairmthecht recto, 19 b 16, (*quicunque enim ex operibus legis sunt sub maledicto sunt*).

condartar ainm napstil doib treprecept nimdibi dúibsi, 20 c 24.

adib dessimrecht si tra dosin tre foditin ingremmen, 25 d 8.

2) *tri* indicates the instrument or effective cause:

istri isu predchimse, 1 d 9.

istrichretim *iesu christi* isfirian cách, 2 b 6.

trihiris incháich cretes áhic tria fuil, 2 b 11.

trignim(u) rechto, 2 b 13.

istriit ata *gloriatio*, 2 b 15.

istrihiris rofirianiged ní trignimu rechtidi, 2 b 24.

istrideolodacht didiu ronóibad, 2 b 26.

cain ronóibad abracham trihiris intree áem didiu fanacc, 2 c 4.

trinephthóbe, 2 c 9.

istriahiris rambái cachmaith, 2 c 13.

nibiad *promisio* dosom madtrerecht duairngerthe, 2 c 17.

anadruirmed doabracham .i. firinne trihiris, 2 d 7.

isfollus dunni triahesséirgesom asfirdia, 2 d 8.

tri énpheccad, 3 a 5.

istriit atá *gratia*, 3 a 10.

ni triit fadeisne, *set per Deum*, 3 b 22.

ciabeid crist indibsi trefóisitin hirisse *in baptismo*, 4 a 6.

ismarb incorp immurgu trisnasenpecthu, 4 a 6.

trithabairt diglæ foir, 4 c 22 (*ut annuntiatur nomen meum in universa terra*).

niirmadatar firinni trirad, 5 b 2.

trisinintamail sin, 5 b 20.



cofardumthésidse triguidi náiriam . . 7 a 12.

anadchodadossa trithorad moprecepte, 7 a 16.

trilathar demuin, 9 d 24.

dús inrictar triagnáissi, 10 a 3.

dús inrictar indalanái trialaille, 10 a 4.

conroib búaid precepte duun tresanícatar hili, 27 c 20.

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## ZUR IRISCHEN GRAMMATIK UND LITTERATUR.

### 1. *adsúithe* LU 86 b 7.

Seit Zimmer KZ. 30, 98 f. gezeigt hat, dafs zum Infinitiv *atúd* 'anzünden', der später *fatód*, neutr. *adughadh*, *fadóghadh*, *fadughadh* geschrieben wird, als deuterotonierte Form das obige Imperf. Pass. *ad-súithe* gehört, zu dem sich seither noch das Präs. *ad-súi* LL 35 a 35, mit Metathesis *astói* R. Celt. 6, 188, pl. *astuat* Expulsion of the Dessi (Rawl. B. 502, ed. Meyer § 20) gesellt hat, gilt es als ausgemacht, dafs ein Kompositum mit *soud* 'wenden' vorliege. Das geht soweit, dafs Strachan in dem posthumen Werk *Stories from the Táin*, an das er ja freilich die letzte Hand nicht mehr hat legen können, S. 7 das Präs. *ataiscom* beider Handschriften in *adsói-seom* verwandelt, um eine echter altirische Form zu bieten. Im Glossar allerdings beginnt sich sein Gewissen zu regen; hier findet sich als Stichwort neben *ad-sóim* in Klammern *ath-sóim*. In der Tat, welche Präposition soll man ansetzen? *Ad-*, an das Zimmer dachte, ergibt mit anlautendem *s* nicht *at* (= *add*), sondern *as(s)*, vgl. *asseilbiud*, *as-sarcaigthe*, *aslonud*, *aslach*, *astud* usw. Aber auch für den Wandel von *aith-* vor *s* (= *h*) zu *add-* liefse sich kein Analogon finden. Erstlich gibt *th* vor *s* seine Lenierung nicht auf, vgl. *athsárgud*, *athséolad* (Contrib.) — *seccu* ist nicht regelrecht aus *sech-su* entstanden (Handb. § 448) —; und namentlich wäre unerklärlich, wie es vor *h* zum stimmhaften Verschlusslaut werden sollte. Denn dafs *t* diesen Wert hat, wird ja ausser durchs Neuirische schon durch die alte Schreibweise *ra-addái*, *naro-addaide* (Contrib.) erwiesen.

Somit mufs diese Erklärung aufgegeben werden. Vielmehr ist *atúd* zweifellos aus *\*ad-douth* kontrahiert und ein Kompositum des Verbs *doud* 'sengen, brennen' (Rev. Celt. 9, 482), das heute *dóghadh* geschrieben wird, und das gr. *δαίω*, korn. *dewy*, *dywy*,

*dewe* (meiner Ansicht nach auch bret. *devi*, kymr. *deifio*) entspricht. In allen Formen reimte das Verb mit *impúd* 'Umdrehen' aus *\*imb-soud*; das hat zur Folge gehabt, daß nach dem Muster des deuterotonierten *im-soí* gelegentlich *\*ad-soí* (*ad-suí*) statt *\*atoí* (*ataí*) und ähnliche Formen gebildet werden. Aber ursprünglich haben die beiden Verben nichts miteinander zu schaffen.<sup>1)</sup>

## 2. *ól n-gúala*.

In der Einleitung zu der Ausgabe der *Tidings of Conchobar mac Nessa* nach LL 106 a verweist Stokes (Eriu 4, 21) zum Ausdruck *ól n-gúala* auf *Cóir Anmann* p. 358; dort sei dieser Name erklärt. Aber die Erklärung hat für den vorliegenden Text natürlich nur dann Bedeutung, wenn *Cóir Anmann* älter ist als er. So wenig wir uns über die Bedeutung des Graals in Chrétien's Perceval bei Wolfram von Eschenbach oder gar bei Richard Wagner Aufklärung holen dürfen, so wenig kann man in der irischen Litteratur die älteren Texte durch die jüngeren aufhellen, ohne Gefahr zu laufen, dem älteren Erzähler Anschauungen unterzuschieben, von denen er sich nichts träumen liefs. Denn daß die Sagenüberlieferung dieser Jahrhunderte im wesentlichen eine rein litterarische war, hat schon Zimmer in seiner Analyse der Sagen in LU (KZ. 28) ausgesprochen und hat sich durch die seitherigen Ausgaben immer mehr bestätigt. Die späteren Erzähler fußen auf älteren Erzählungen, die auch uns grofsenteils in Handschriften vorliegen, und formen sie bald nach eigener Phantasie, bald durch Kontamination mit andern, gleichfalls geschriebenen Sagen um, wie ich das an zwei evidenten Beispielen, an der Seereise von Snedgus und Mac Riagla (Halle 1904) und an *Fled Bricrend* in dieser Zs. 4, 193 ff. habe zeigen können. Man sollte also endlich aufhören, die ganze mittelirische Litteratur als eine einheitliche Masse zu behandeln und die Fassung, wie sie jüngere Texte zeigen, als authentische Interpretation der Älteren hinzunehmen, wie vielfach geschieht.

Das an sich unbedeutende Beispiel *ól n-gúala* greife ich heraus, weil man an ihm die Verzweigung der Tradition besonders deutlich erkennen kann. Mir sind im ganzen fünf Belege für diesen Ausdruck bekannt, aufser den zwei schon erwähnten einer

<sup>1)</sup> Korrekturnote: Durch K. Meyer erfahre ich, daß auch Zimmer seine frühere Erklärung zu Gunsten der richtigen aufgegeben hat.

in *Tochmarc Emire* und je einer in beiden Prosaversionen von *Tochmarc Ferbe*.

I. Der für uns älteste Beleg ist der in dem an sich nicht sehr alten Text *Tochmarc Emire* LU 121 b 8 ff. = Zs. 3, 230 (Harl. 5280). Nach der einleitenden Schilderung von Conchobars Zechhalle Craebruad beginnt scheinbar die Erzählung: 'Als einmal die Ulter in Emain Macha mit Conchobar beim Trinken des *iarngual(ac)*<sup>1)</sup> waren' ... Dieser Ausdruck bewegt jedoch den Verfasser, vorerst die Erzählung wieder abubrechen, um ihn zu erklären: 'Hundert *bruth*<sup>2)</sup> an Getränke pflegten um jede None (d. h. zu jeder Hauptmahlzeit) hineinzukommen. Das war das *ól n-gúalai*; das genügte für alle Ulter auf einmal<sup>3)</sup>'. Die Schilderung des Treibens im Craebruad fährt dann fort, ohne das Riesenfafs weiter zu berühren.

II. Das Gedicht *Tochmarc Ferbe* (Ir. T. III, 2, 518—528), welches, als *remscél* zur Táin frei erfunden, den gleichbetitelten Prosaerzählungen zu Grunde liegt, enthält unsern Ausdruck nicht. Es berichtet nur Str. 21, in dem Augenblick, als Conchobar in Gergs Burg in Glenn Geirg eingedrungen sei, sei man dort dabei gewesen, ein Fafs aus Kupfer mit Wein zu füllen. Fernerhin wird des Fasses nicht weiter gedacht, auch am Ende nicht, bei der Zerstörung der Burg durch die Ulter (Str. 30).

Erst in der älteren Prosaauflösung des Gedichtes, die in Eg. 1782 erhalten ist (Ir. T. III, 2, 549 ff.), findet er sich. Der Prosaist folgt zwar dem Gedicht im allgemeinen ziemlich genau; aber wie er zu Gergs Burg kommt, kann er sich einer kurzen Schilderung der Pracht der Waffen der Versammelten und der Ausstattung des Hauses, wie sie in den Prosasagen üblich war, nicht ganz enthalten. Sie schließt S. 550, 32: 'Ein Fafs aus Kupfer mitten in der *both* ('Bude' übersetzt Windisch) wurde eben mit Wein gefüllt. Das hätte für alle für die Zeit von drei Tagen und drei Nächten genügt'. Am Ende des doppelten Kampfes läßt der Erzähler dann die Burg durch die Ulter plündern und fährt fort (S. 552, 65): 'Und sie bringen das Fafs

<sup>1)</sup> *oc ól ind ierngúali* LU, *ic ol ind iarngualai* Harl.

<sup>2)</sup> *bruth*, eigentlich 'so viel Metall, als auf einmal im Schmelzofen geschmolzen wird', wird auch für eine entsprechende Quantität anderer Flüssigkeiten gebraucht, vgl. AL IV, 310, 8.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ba sísin (síside Harl.) ól ngúala (ól ngolai Harl.), is sí no fired (furað Harl.) Ultu uli i nóensist.*

aus Bronze (so!) ins Land der Ulter und räumen da mit diesem Heere der Connachter völlig auf vor der Heimkehr und kamen siegreich nach Hause. Dieses Fafs, das die Ulter mitnahmen, ist ein Teil der in-Bewegung-Setzung von Westen her, den Stier zu holen (d. h. war einer der Beweggründe für die Connachter, später ostwärts nach Ulster zu ziehen, um den Stier aus Cúalnge zu entführen). Es (das Fafs) pflegte für sie (die Ulter) alle zu genügen, wenn sie dann auf gemeinsamem Wege oder bei einer Zusammenkunft waren. Daher stammt *ól n-gualu* bei den Ultern, auch (der See) *Loch n-gual(u)*; der ist auf (der Insel) Devenish im Gebiet der Ulter'.

Der gelehrte, auch in der Sprache altertümelnde Prosaist identifiziert also Gergs Fafs mit dem *ól n-gúalai*, das er vermutlich, wie wir, aus *Tochmarc Emire* als im Besitze Conchobars befindlich kannte, und benutzt den Ausdruck ferner, um den Namen *Loch n-Gúalai* zu erklären, wie ja die etymologische Deutung von Ortsnamen ein Hauptvergnügen der Sagen-erzähler war.

III. Die zweite Prosaerzählung, die der Abt Aed von Terryglas in das 'Buch von Leinster' aufgenommen hat (LL 253 ff., Ir. T. III, 2, 462 ff.), fußt auf der ersten, zugleich aber auf dem Gedicht, das sie sich zum Schlufs ganz einverleibt, ähnlich wie die erste Prosaversion von Snedgus und Mac Riagla mit dem ihr zu Grunde liegenden Gedicht getan hat. Während aber die ältere Erzählung den holperigen, gehackten Stil der älteren Heldensage zeigt, ist der Verfasser der zweiten ein gewandter Erzähler und Dichter, der die Geschichte frei ummodelt und mit Flickern aus vielen uns bekannten Texten wie *Táin bó Fráich*, *Cophur in dá muccida*, *Táin bó Cúalnge* (jüngerer Version), *Bruiden Da Derga* ausschmückt. Natürlich hat er sich die Episode mit dem Fafs auch nicht entgehen lassen; in der Mitte der Geschichte heifst es auch hier (S. 476, 196): 'Da wurde auch ein Fafs von Kupfer dort im Haus hingesetzt, das später den Namen *Ol gualai* hatte. Und man war dabei es zu füllen'. Es wird aber im folgenden fester mit der Erzählung verwoben als in II (Z. 197 ff.). Am Schlufs (S. 516) wird dann erzählt, wie Conchobar aus Gergs erstürmter Burg mitnahm, was sie an Kostbarkeiten barg. 'Er nahm auch das Fafs von Kupfer mit, das in dem Haus war und das, mit Getränke gefüllt, für das ganze Land der Ulter zu genügen pflegte, und das von

den Ultern *ól n-gúala* genannt wurde, weil ein Kohlenfeuer (*teni guail*) im Haus zu Emain zu sein pflegte, wenn es getrunken wurde. Und davon ist *Loch Guala Umai* auf Devenish im Ultergebiete benannt; denn unter ihm ist es heute verborgen'.

Hier treffen wir zuerst den Versuch, den Ausdruck *ól n-gúalai* durch das Wort *gúal* 'Kohle' genauer zu deuten. Auch wird näher motiviert, warum der See auf Devenish nach dem Fafs benannt sei, was der Erfinder der Etymologie unausgesprochen gelassen hatte.

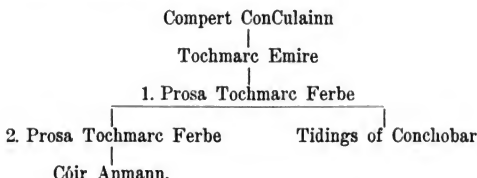
IV. In dem späten, zusammengestoppelten Text LL 106 a, von dem wir ausgegangen sind, lautet § 22 der Stokes'schen Ausgabe (Eriu 4, 30): 'Dreißig Krieger (pfligten) auf Conchobars Ruhebett (zu sein) zum Trunke. *Ól n-guala*, das ist Gergs Fafs, (stand) mitten im Haus, immer voll. Das war aus Glenn Gergg gebracht worden, als Gerg durch Conchobar getötet worden war'.

Diese Notiz ist deutlich aus der ersten Prosaversion von *Tochmarc Ferbe* (oben II) geschöpft; sie weiß noch nichts vom Kohlenfeuer (III). Ob das Fafs 'immer voll' war, weil es immer neu gefüllt wurde, oder ob ihm der Verfasser die neue Eigenschaft beilegt, von selber immer voll zu bleiben, wie dies ältere Sagen von Fässern im Land der Elfen berichteten (z. B. Ir. T. I, 218, 29), mag dahingestellt bleiben. Nach § 13 wäre das erste wahrscheinlicher; aber ein Schriftsteller dieser Art vergift schnell, was er vorher geschrieben hat.

V. Endlich *Cóir Anmann* § 160 (Ir. T. III, 2, 358) lautet: '*Ól n-gúalai*, das ist ein Fafs aus Kupfer. Das brachte Conchubar mac Nessa aus der Burg von Gerg mac Faeburdil nach der Zerstörung der Burg und nach der Tötung Gergs. *Ól n-gúalai* war es genannt, weil ein Kohlenfeuer im Haus zu Emain Macha zu sein pflegte, wenn es getrunken wurde. Davon ist *Loch n-Gualai* auf Devenish im Ulstergebiet genannt; denn darunter ist es heute verborgen'. Es folgt dann nur noch der Stammbaum Gergs bis zum Allerwelts-Stammvater Rudraige, vielleicht vom Verfasser hinzuerfunden, wenn er nicht etwa im verlorenen Anfang von III enthalten war.

Die Notiz ist, wie schon Windisch, Ir. T. III, 2, 452 bemerkt, fast wörtlich aus der zweiten Prosaversion von *Tochmarc Ferbe* (III) ausgezogen; sie lehrt uns, daß der Fehler *Loch Guala Umai* statt *Loch n-Gúalai* in älteren Handschriften von III noch nicht vorhanden war; sonst wäre er mitkopiert worden.

So genügt es, auf den einen Ausdruck zu achten, um die zeitliche Folge der Entstehung einer ganzen Reihe von Texten mühelos zu bestimmen. Beachten wir dann etwa weiter, daß *Tochmarc Emire* den Text *Compert ConCulainn* grossenteils in sich aufgenommen hat (vgl. Ir. T. I, 324 f. = Zs. 3, 235 f. mit Ir. T. I, 141 f.) und zwar mit schlimmer Vergewaltigung der Sprache (z. B. *rom-ebail* als Präteritum!), so kommen wir noch um eine Staffel höher hinauf. Die Reihe ist:



Aus allem vorhergehendem wird klar, wie verkehrt es wäre, aus den späteren Texten Belehrung darüber zu suchen, was der Ausdruck *ól n-gúalai* für den Verfasser von *Tochmarc Emire* bedeutet hat; sie wußten es genau so wenig wie wir. Soviel ist deutlich, daß er an ein gewaltiges eisernes Gefäß dachte (*ind iarngualai*), während es von II auf ein kupfernes Fafs übertragen worden ist, das sich unter der Hand eines Abschreibers einmal weiter in ein bronzenes verwandelt hat; ferner, daß bei ihm nur der Genitiv *qual(a)i* (und *iarn-qualai*) das Gefäß bezeichnet, während spätere den ganzen Ausdruck *ól n-gúali* als Name des Fasses verwenden. Zunächst fällt auf, daß in *Tochmarc Emire* einmal der Artikel gesetzt ist: *oc ól ind iarngúalai*, das zweite Mal nicht: *ól n-gúalai*. Das erklärt sich leicht, wenn wirklich das irische Wort für 'Kohle' darin steckt, wie der Verfasser von III meint. Grammatisch ist es möglich; ein zweisilbiger Genitiv *guaile*, *guaili* kommt AL IV, 310, 23; V, 474, 5; Imram Maile-Dúin Str. 62 vor, allerdings mit palatalem *l*. Der Bedeutung nach geht es nur an, wenn man annimmt, die dunkle Farbe der eisernen Kufe habe den Anlaß zur Benennung gegeben; denn das Eisen galt den Iren als schwarz (s. Cormac s. v. *hiarnbelra*). Man hat dann zuerst zu übersetzen 'beim Trinken [aus] der Eisenkohle', dann 'der Kohlentrunke'.

Das scheint mir die einzig mögliche Auffassung, wenn der Verfasser von *Tochmarc Emire* den Namen erfunden hat. Denkbar ist freilich auch, daß er ihn einer anderen, für uns verlorenen Quelle entnommen hat, wo er irgendwie motiviert war. Zimmer hat Zs. f. deutsch. Altertum 35, 165 ff. an ein Mißverständnis von altnord. *ölkjóll* 'Bierschiff' gedacht. Das liegt lautlich nicht sehr nahe, und namentlich scheint mir die Auflösung des Kompositums durch den Iren unwahrscheinlich. Eben solche Bedenken hat es, gr. *γαλός* beizuziehen, wozu etwa die Glosse verlocken könnte: *cupa seu uagna βοῦττις μεγάλη, ἥρ τιτις γαλόν καλοῦσιν* Corp. Gloss. Lat. VI, 296. Aber im lateinischen Westen ist dieser Ausdruck nur als Schiffsname nachgewiesen, z. B. *gaulus genus nauium pacne rotundi* (so!) CGL. V, 569.

Doch nicht diesen Ausdruck zu erklären war der Zweck dieser Zeilen, sondern zu einer etwas mehr philologischen Behandlung der irischen Sagentexte anzuregen. Wir können das Verdienst eines guten Erzählers (wie oben Nr. III) nur würdigen, wenn wir genau wissen, was er von anderen übernommen und was er daraus gemacht hat; nur auf Grund solcher Analysen ist eine künftige Litteraturgeschichte des irischen Mittelalters denkbar. Und auch der, den die Sagen vornehmlich ihres antiquarischen Inhalts wegen interessieren, hat genau darauf zu achten, was der einzelne Autor hinzuerfunden, was er von früheren übernommen hat.

### 3. *ind aradach*.

Dem großen Fafs, das man sich in Conchobars Zechhalle dachte, haben zwei Texte, die denselben Titel *Fled Bricrend* führen, aber inhaltlich voneinander abweichen, einen anderen Namen, nämlich *ind aradach* gegeben. Ich komme darauf nur zu sprechen wegen der absonderlichen Behandlung, die Zimmer in den Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Akad., 1909, S. 462 ff. sowohl ihm als Windisch und mir angedeihen läßt, die wir jeder einen der obigen Texte übersetzt haben. An der einen Stelle (Ir. T. I, 291, 15) heisst es: *ro-linad iarom ind aradach dabach Conchob(air) dóib* 'nun wurde die *aradach*, Conchobars Fafs, für sie gefüllt'; an der anderen (Ir. T. II, 1, 173): *ro-linad ind aradach Conchoba[ir]*. Da ein durch einen Genitiv bestimmtes Substantiv keinen Artikel zu sich nimmt, schlägt Windisch (ebend. 173 A. 1) vor, auch hier *ind aradach dabach Conchobair* zu lesen. Das



bestimmt Zimmer (a. a. O. 463) zu der sonderbaren Behauptung, Windisch und ich hätten geglaubt, *aradach* sei das vorangestellte Adjektiv zu *dabach*,<sup>1)</sup> und er erlaubt sich freundlichst, dieses Irisch, das er eigens für uns konstruiert hat, mit dem Deutsch des Baron Mikosch zu vergleichen und mit diesem edlen Vergleich die Schriften der k. preussischen Akademie zu zieren! Vermutlich möchte er dadurch bei seinen Lesern den Glauben erwecken, er könne besser Irish als wir anderen. Nebenbei vergißt er, der die Lesart *ind aradach Conchobair* vorzieht, aber völlig zu bemerken, wie er sich den Artikel erklärt.

*Ind aradach*, auf ein Fals (*dabach* f.) bezüglich, kann nach der Bedeutung des Suffixes *-ach* für einen Iren nur bedeuten 'das mit Leitern (oder mit einer Leiter) versehene'. Der Verfasser der zweiten *Fled Bricrend* hat sich und seinen Lesern das verdeutlicht durch den Zusatz: 'denn daher stammte (der Name) *aradach*, weil von aufsen und innen eine Leiter daran war; und so wurde es ausgeschenkt'. Nun ist zwar wohl kein Zweifel, daß diese *Fled Bricrend* etwas jünger ist, daß ihr Verfasser den Titel und auch die Situation von der anderen (speziell der Version A nach meiner Bezeichnung Zs. 4, 193 ff.) entlehnt hat, zugleich mit dem Namen *aradach*. Aber mich dünkt, er hat ihn richtig gedeutet; das mag in der Tat ungefähr das Bild sein, das dem Erfinder des Namens vorgeschwebt hatte, mag das nun der Verfasser der älteren *Fled Bricrend* selber sein oder mag der ihn einer uns unbekannten Quelle entnommen haben.

Sollte einem anderen eine bessere Deutung von *aradach* einfallen, so werde ich mich nicht dagegen sträuben; aber dieser andere scheint mir jedenfalls Zimmer nicht zu sein. Ein häufiges Wort für 'Trinkbecher' heisst altir. *credech*, *cridech*, *airidech*, *airedech* (f. *ā*-St.), in späteren Hss. *aredeg*, *airigech*, *airdech*, *irdeoch*, AD sg. *airdig*, *érdig*, *ardig*, ein einziges Mal in einer Hs. des 14.—15. Jahrhunderts *aradig* (Stokes, *Lives of Saints* 325, 3). Zimmer meint, das könne kein anderes Wort sein als das obige *aradach*, und er läßt ein paar Seiten lang seiner Phantasie die Zügel schiefen, wie ein — ganz geläufiges — Wort für Trinkbecher das Riesenfals Conchobars bezeichnen könne. Da die

<sup>1)</sup> Bei mir, der ich den Ausdruck in 'Conchobars Leiterfals' zusammengezogen habe, ist dieses Mißverständnis bei gedankenlosem Lesen allenfalls begreiflich; bei Windisch, der Ir. T. II, 1, 187 '*aradach*, das Fals Conchobars' übersetzt, sollte es ausgeschlossen scheinen.

beiden Wörter gerade in den älteren Texten lautlich weit auseinanderliegen, fehlt aber für die Identifikation jede Grundlage.

*Eredech* sieht aus wie ein Kompositum mit der Präp. *er-*, *air-*; ob es wirklich eines ist, weiß ich nicht, da der zweite Bestandteil bis jetzt nicht klar ist. Über die von Zimmer als möglich erwähnte Etymologie, die das Wort mit der Bezeichnung der Zecher als *συμποσίον ναῦται καὶ κυλίκων ἐρέται* bei dem Elegiker Dionysios Chalkus zusammenbringt, deckt man besser den Schleier des Schweigens.

Auch seine etymologische Erklärung von *amdabach* oder *damdabach* (a. a. O. 459 ff.) scheint mir mehr als bedenklich, besonders was den zweiten Bestandteil angeht; weder Vokalismus noch Konsonantismus stimmen zum westeuropäischen *doga* 'Fas-Daube'.

#### 4. *Conall Cernach clóen.*

In denselben Sitzungsberichten (1909, S. 3 ff.) verwendet Zimmer fast zwei Druckbogen auf die Darlegung, daß ich u. a. mit der Übersetzung von *clóen* durch 'bucklig' die Anschauung der alten Sagenerzähler erheblich gefälscht habe. Ich brauche kaum zu bemerken, daß ich meine Übersetzungen nicht für fehlerlos halte und daß ich heute mehrere Stellen anders, ich hoffe getreuer übersetzen würde. Aber speziell mit *clóen* verhält es sich folgendermaßen.

*Clóen* 'schief' steht im Gegensatz zu *diriuch* 'gerade'. Wo es sich auf einen Menschen bezieht, kann man von vornherein nicht sagen, ob es auf die Haltung und den Wuchs seines Körpers oder auf seinen Blick geht; denn für den schiefen Blick, das Schielen, ist es gut bezeugt. Auf den berühmten Ulter Kämpfen Conall Cernach wird es nur viermal angewendet, einmal in *Serglige ConCulaind* (Ir. T. I, 206); dann — und zwar unverkennbar aus diesem Text entlehnt — in der jüngeren Erzählung *Talland Etair* (Rev. Celt. 8, 60); ferner in dem gleichfalls späten *Cath Ruis na Ríg* (ed. Hogan, S. 56). Hier sagt Conchobar zuerst in Prosa: *menbad Chonall is forainne bad róen* 'ohne Conall wären wir geschlagen worden' und wiederholt es dann im Vers: *munbad Conall Cernach clóen | ropad forainne bad róen*, wo das Epitheton *clóen* als Reimwort zu *róen* und als Alliteration zu *Conall Cernach* hinzugefügt wird, vermutlich nach derselben Quelle. Endlich steht in dem Schlußgedicht der jüngeren Version von *Tochmarc Emire* (Zs. 3, 262): *Lægairi Cas,*

*Conall Clæn.* Jedenfalls kann man aus diesem Vorkommen nicht mit Zimmer S. 5 folgern, daß *clóen* ein festes Beiwort von Conall Cernach gewesen sei. Denn an den zahllosen Stellen, wo er sonst in Vers und Prosa erwähnt wird, fehlt es überall. Und daß der König des 7. Jahrhunderts *Congal Clæn* 'Congal der Schieler' (ein Bienenstich hatte ihm ein Auge verletzt) darum seinen Stammbaum auf Conall Cernach zurückführe, weil sie das gleiche Beiwort hatten, wie Zimmer S. 27 vermutet, wird schon durch den von Zimmer zitierten Text *Fleadh Duin na n-Gedh* (ed. O'Donovan, S. 32) unwahrscheinlich gemacht, wo als einzige Ähnlichkeit zwischen ihm und seinem Stammvater erwähnt wird, daß sie, wenn die Kampfeswut über sie kam, Freund und Feind nicht mehr unterschieden.

Nur an einer der vier obigen Belegstellen ist ohne weiteres deutlich, wie der Verfasser den Ausdruck *clóen* verstanden haben will. In *Talland Etair* heißt es: 'Conall *clóen* hatte er bis dahin geheissen . . . Conall legte aber den Kopf (des erschlagenen Leinsterkönigs Mes-Gegra) auf seinen Kopf, so daß er über seinen Rücken rollte (*conid tarla (d)ar-a ais*), so daß er von Stund an gerade (*díriuch*) war'. Also sein Rücken, sein Rückgrat war bis dahin nicht gerade gewesen. Meine Übersetzung 'bucklig' erkennt daher auch Zimmer für diese Stelle als im wesentlichen richtig an; aber er meint, der Verfasser von *Talland Etair* habe eben den älteren Text *Serglige ConCulaind* mißverstanden. Das wäre an sich natürlich sehr wohl möglich. Immerhin hätte ihn die Stelle, wenn er sie früh genug beachtet hätte, vor dem Satze (S. 6) bewahren können: 'Für jeden, für den die Texte der altirischen Heldensage mehr als eine Schatzkammer von interessanten Verbalformen für eine altirische Grammatik oder eine Sammlung seltener Vokabeln für ein irisches Wörterbuch sind, muß es ganz unerträglich sein, sich den Conall Cernach als buckelig oder mißgestaltet zu denken'. Mag er mich vielleicht in diese Kategorie rechnen, der Verfasser von *Talland Etair* gehört ganz gewiß nicht hinein.

In *Serglige ConCulaind* wirft bekanntlich Leborcham dem CuChulaind vor, durch ihn hafte einer der drei Makel *clúine*, *minde*, *guille* an den Frauen von Ulster. Weil er in der Kampfeswut das eine Auge völlig in den Kopf hineinzog,<sup>1)</sup> würde auch

<sup>1)</sup> 'so daß ein Kranich es nicht in seinem Kopfe erreichte' übersetzt Zimmer (S. 4) wohl genauer als ich: ('daß kein Kranich in seinen Kopf hätte

jede in ihn verliebte Frau einängig, wörtlich: 'sie vereinängigte (*no-gollað*) ihren Blick (*a rose*) nach Ähnlichkeit CuChulaind's und aus Liebe zu ihm'; jede in Cúscraid Mend Verliebte bringe gesteigerte *minde* (*forminde*) über ihre Rede; jede in Conall Cernach Verliebte sei *clóen* (*ba clóen*). Also die einen erhalten einen Defekt im Sehen (einängiges Blicken), die anderen einen im Sprechen — denn das bedeutet *minde* (s. u.) —; die dritten, meint Zimmer, zeigten wieder einen Sehdefekt, nämlich sie schielten. Ich glaube, niemand, der beide Bedeutungen von *clóen* kennt und der ohne Voreingenommenheit an diese Stelle herantritt, würde auf diese Auffassung verfallen, so wenig es der Verfasser von *Talland Etair* getan hat. Das Natürlichste ist, dafs neben den Defekt im Blicken und im Sprechen einer in der Körperhaltung tritt: die Frauen halten sich nicht gerade, sind also *clóen*. Zum Träger dieses Defekts hat der Erzähler, da nun einmal in diesen Sagen aller guten (und schlechten) Dinge drei sein müssen, den nächst CuChulaind berühmtesten Helden Conall Cernach gewählt. Dieser gewaltige Kämpfe wird, mit CuChulaind verglichen, öfters als etwas plumper gedacht; *mailli do cheim* 'langsamer ist dein Schritt' wirft ihm CuChulaind in *Fled Bricr*. 34 vor. Es war also keine grofse Sünde des Verfassers von *Serglige ConCulaind*, ihm eine etwas gebückte Kopfhaltung anzudichten, und gewifs hat sich keiner seiner Zuhörer, wie Zimmer meint, darüber entsetzt. An einen ausgetretenen Rückenwirbel braucht man ja bei *clóen* nicht gleich zu denken; bucklig nennen wir unsere Kinder, sobald sie den Kopf nicht hoch halten.

Auch mit meiner Übersetzung von *mend* durch 'stammelnd' ist Zimmer (S. 14, Anm. 1) nicht einverstanden, weil das heute veraltete, auch früher schwach belegte Wort in einem Wörterbuch des 18. Jahrhunderts durch *dumb* übersetzt wird. Ob diese Übersetzung den ganzen Sinn des Wortes ausdrückt, wissen wir natürlich nicht. Heute heifst 'stumm' in Irland und Schottland gewöhnlich *balbh*, manks *bulloo* (aus lat. *balbus*), das aber nach Dinneen daneben noch 'stammering, inharmonious' bedeutet. Zu der Bedeutung 'stumm' schlechthin scheint mir das Substantiv *for-minde* schlecht zu passen, da man Stummheit nicht

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langen können'). Aber man mufs dann wohl *conna[cha] roche* das Objektspronomen schwer missen kann.

steigern kann. Für die genauere Bestimmung der Bedeutung von *mend* in der älteren Sprache liegen bis jetzt nur zwei Stellen vor. Der Verfasser von *Scél mucci Mic Dá Thó* (Ir. T. I, 103) hat sich den Beinamen *Mend*, den Cúscraid führt, so zurecht gelegt, daß Cet mac Matach ihm eine Lanze durch den Hals geschleudert habe, 'so daß (seither) kein Wort bei dir in richtiger Ordnung (*i córaí*) erfunden worden ist'. Nehmen wir an, daß nur der Kehlkopf verletzt war, so würde allerdings die übrige Artikulation nicht notwendig gelitten haben, sondern nur eine geflüsterte Sprache die Folge gewesen sein. 'Vielleicht hat es sich nur um ein gelegentliches Aussetzen des Stimmtons gehandelt', sagt Zimmer S. 9, als ob es sich um den authentischen Krankheitsbericht einer historischen Person handelte. Ich bezweifle aber, daß sich der Erzähler die Folgen des Lanzenstichs so anatomisch genau ausgedacht hat. Jedenfalls haben das auch im Mittelalter andere nicht so aufgefaßt. Denn der Verfasser von *Cóir Anmann* Ir. T. III, 2, 404 modelt den Bericht dahin um: 'Cet verwundete den Cuscraidh durch den Mund, so daß er ihm den Zipfel (*barr*) der Zunge abschnitt, so daß er späterhin *mend* war'. Also *mend* ist für diesen einer, der wegen gestutzter Zunge nicht mehr ordentlich sprechen kann. Ich halte daher für alle diese Stellen den umfassenderen Ausdruck 'stammelnd' (lat. *balbus*) für die treffendste Übersetzung, wie wir die Rede von Kindern und Ausländern, die unsere Wörter nicht richtig herausbringen, ein Stammeln nennen. Dagegen in *Talland Elair*, wo ich *guil* in Anlehnung an die andere Stelle gleichfalls durch 'stammelnd' übersetzt habe, hätte ich vielleicht besser 'stumm' gebraucht, wie Zimmer will. Der Verfasser verwandelt die Einäugigkeit der Ulter Frauen in 'Blindheit';<sup>1)</sup> so kann er auch ihr hochgradiges Stammeln (*forminde*) in 'Stummheit' gesteigert haben.

Endlich noch eins. Zimmer (S. 9f.) glaubt, die Frauen von Ulster hätten die Unsitten ihrer Geliebten absichtlich nachgeahmt. Mir ist wahrscheinlicher, daß ihre Liebe, wie eine Zauberkraft, sie zwang, also zu handeln. Aus dem Wortlaut kann ich das freilich nicht beweisen, die Entscheidung ist Sache des Stilgefühls. Höchstens darauf kann ich mich berufen, daß

<sup>1)</sup> (*d)aill* liest wenigstens Stokes (Rev. Celt. 8, 60); das Faksimile von LL. gibt allerdings *guil*.

es auch der Verfasser von *Talland Etair* wohl so aufgefaßt hat. Er bemerkt, daß die Frauen den Defekt nur zu zeigen pflegten, *cotacall*-; das heißt doch: 'bis sie sich mit ihm treffen konnten'?<sup>1)</sup>

In der scheltenden Anrede CuChulainds mit *a cláin trúag Fled Bricr.* 43. 98 gebe ich dagegen völlig zu, daß schwer zu sagen ist, wie man *cláin* fassen soll, und ich habe meine Übersetzung 'bucklig' nie für sicher gehalten. Zimmer denkt mit andern daran, daß CuChulaind wegen seiner zeitweiligen Einäugigkeit 'Schieler' gescholten worden sein könne. Vielleicht war *clóen-trúag* ursprünglich nur eine Steigerung von *trúag* 'elend', ähnlich wie *lomm-thrú* von *trú*. CuRoi schilt CuChulaind ebd. § 98. 100 (Rev. Celt. 14, 454) daneben auch *cuil-truag* und einfach *trúagán*. Doch trennt die jüngere Version deutlich beide Scheltwörter: *a clainain* (*cloenan* Cod. Voss.) *truagh*.

### 5. *Tarmchossal.*

In den Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Akademie 1908 S. 1100 ff. hat Zimmer eine Reihe von irischen Wörtern, die einen Stamm *s.l-* enthalten, wie mir scheint, nicht immer glücklich behandelt, auch ganz abgesehen von dem verfehlten Einfall, sie könnten das spätere *siubhal* = kymr. *syfl* 'wandern' etc. in sich schließeln. Es lohnt sich wohl mit ein paar Worten auf die Wortsippe einzugehen.

Zu Grunde scheint mir die keltische Wurzel *swel-* zu liegen,<sup>2)</sup> deren Bedeutung am deutlichsten in kymr. *chwyl* f. m. 'a turn, a turning, a course, a revolution, a rotation, a while, an event', *chwel* dass., *chweylo* 'to revolve, to rotate, to turn or wheel round, to run a course, to bustle about' etc. (Silv. Evans), *adchwelu*, 'zurückkehren', *dychweyld* 'umwenden, zurückkehren' u. a. zu Tage tritt. Danach darf man den gallischen Ortsnamen *Nantoesuella*, der in der Inschrift von Saarburg zur Ortsgöttin erhoben uns entgegentritt, als 'Talwende, Talbiegung' fassen (s. Holder s. v.). Im Irischen lebt der ursprüngliche Sinn noch in den Komposita *de(i)ssel* und *túathbel* (*b* aus *f*, *sv*) 'Wendung nach

<sup>1)</sup> Zur Form der Präposition vgl. *cotadaig* 'bis zur Nacht' LU 67 b 12. Stokes übersetzt 'while conversing with him', faßt es also wohl gleich 'cond acallaim oder 'co acallaim. Die Handschrift Harl. 5280 liest nach ihm einmal dafür *ocoddescin*.

<sup>2)</sup> Vgl. Stokes zu O'Dav. 627 *docoislet*.

rechts, nach links' und in neutr. *seal an mhuilinn* 'eine Umdrehung der Mühle' (ebenso *manks shall*) fort,<sup>1)</sup> während sonst *sel* in Ausdrücken wie *sel bec* 'eine kleine Weile', *cachla sel.. in sel aile* 'bald.. bald' u. ähnl. eine etwas abgeblasste Bedeutung zeigt.

Das Substantiv war im Irischen maskuliner *o*-Stamm (\**suelo-s*). Von ihm sind mehrere Verben abgeleitet. Zunächst mit *to-uss-* ein Deponens für 'entgleiten, gleiten, ausgleiten', das öfters lat. *elabi, labi* glossiert: II. sg. *-tuislíder* Ml. 30 c 10, Fut. *-tuslifea* 27 b 18; in deuterotonierten Formen tritt das von der Pröp. *fo* entlehnte *f* ein: *do-fuislim* Sg. 146 b 1, *du-fuisledar (-edor)* Ml. 30 c 10, Karlsr. Beda 34 c 1. Das alte zugehörige Substantiv *tuisel* m. bedeutet außer 'Ausgleiten, Fall' (AL, Glossar) auch 'Kasus', wie kymr. *dychwyl, dychwel*; es ist dann ein neues Verbalabstraktum *tuised* (\**to-uss-selad*) für 'Gleiten, Fehltritt' geschaffen worden.

Gleichfalls intransitiv ist das aktive Kompositum mit *com-*, dessen Belege K. Meyer, Contrib. s. v. \**con-selaim* zusammenstellt: Imper. *coisle* 'gehe!', gebildet wie *comainse* Ml. 22 b 2 (Handb. § 586), Prät. *con-scla, con-selai, cot-scla* 'er ging (weg)', pl. *conselsat*, Fut. *ní-choislebat*. Die Bedeutungsentwicklung wie bei engl. *I went*.<sup>2)</sup>

Transitiv ist das Dekompositum mit *fo* in der Bedeutung 'wegnehmen': *fo-coslíder* Gl. 'tollitur' Trierer Enchiridion 76 b, *foda-coisle* 'der sie wegnimmt' AL. IV, 202 usw., Prät. *fo-rróxul, 'tulit de medio'* Wb. 27 a 19 (mit irrigem Längenzeichen?)<sup>3)</sup>, pl. *fo-rochsalsat* Ml. 18 d 11, Pass. *fo-roxlad* 31 a 5 mit dem Ab-

<sup>1)</sup> Zimmers *seal* 'Geld zum Wechseln, Kleingeld' (Kelt. Stud. I, 176) wird von anderen nicht verzeichnet.

<sup>2)</sup> Zimmer erwähnt von diesen Formen nur *coisle*, wodurch seine Ausführungen etwas Schiefes erhalten und die Bedeutung des Verbs nicht deutlich hervortritt. Nicht klar ist, wie sich zu den erwähnten Formen mit palatalem Wurzelvokal des Präs. *con-sla* 'er geht' verhält, unsicher gelesen Ml. carm. 1 (Thes. II, 292), aber sicher AL. I, 266, pl. *cota-slaad* Eriu II, 33, Z. 1, Fut. *coslafa* Rev. Celt. 13, 272. Enthält es einen andern Stamm und gehört dazu etwa der Imper. *colla, collaa* 'gehe!' (Contrib.)? Oder ist *con-sla* nach dem Abstraktum \**cossol*, \**cossal* falsch gebildet, wie *ad-cobra* neben *accobur*, *ad-comla* neben *accomol* stand?

<sup>3)</sup> Wie kann Zimmer 1106<sup>1)</sup> sagen, *forróxul* für \**fonróxul* sei 'getreue Übersetzung von *ipsum tulit*'? Das würde doch altirisch \**farroxl* heissen. Wegen des *rr* s. mein Handb. § 244, 2.

straktum *foxol*, *fochsul*, *foxal*, von dem *foxlid*, *foxlaid* 'Ablativ' abgeleitet ist.

Ebenso ist transitiv das noch um *to-* vermehrte Verb. Am deutlichsten tritt seine Bedeutung hervor in der Glosse *to-fox-laitis* zu *tractaturis* Ml. 47 a 13, da diese Glossen die lateinischen Ausdrücke zunächst wörtlich, ohne Rücksicht auf den Zusammenhang zu übersetzen pflegen. Es bedeutet also 'schleppen, hinter sich drein ziehen', und Zimmer hat Recht, die transitive Bedeutung des Präteritums *do-forchosol*, *do-forchosalsam* Wb. 13 d 27, 21 b 4 gegen Stokes zu verteidigen. Wenn *uerriculum* Sg. 53 b 4 mit *tóxal* übersetzt wird, so ist dagegen durchaus nicht sicher, daß dieses im Irischen konkret 'das Schleppnetz' bezeichnet hat, wie Zimmer meint; es kann eines der vielen Versehen des Glossators sein, der in *uerriculum* das Abstraktum zu *uerrere* sah, da er unmittelbar vorher 53 b 3 *diuerticulum* zu *diuertere* richtig mit dem Abstraktum *diall* übersetzt hatte.

Nicht so deutlich ist die Konstruktion des direkt zu *com-sela-* gebildeten Dekompositums *to-com-sela-*, das der Gesetzes-sprache angehört (Atkinson, Glossar zu AL., S. 375). Einmal mindestens scheint es mir deutlich intransitiv, nämlich in *beich do-coislet* V, 318 = IV, 184 'Bienen, die auswandern (schwärmen)', vgl. O'Dav. 713. Daneben wird es transitiv gebraucht wie *fo-coislea* und scheint '(als Pfand) nehmen' zu bedeuten.

Indem ich noch *ardon-sela* Fé. 23. Juni erwähne, dessen Bedeutung mir nicht klar ist, komme ich endlich zu Zimmers Ausgangspunkt, dem Wort *tarmchossal* in Fiaccs Hymnus 38, wo es heisst: '(die Iren) gingen alle mit dem Teufel (*la císel*); der *tarmchossal* hat sie in die tiefe, große Grube (d. h. die Hölle) gestürzt, bis der Apostel zu ihnen kam' usw. Was *tarmchossal* bedeutet, ist uns glücklicherweise klar bezeugt durch die Glosse *tairmchoslaidib* zu *praeuaricatoribus* Ml. 74 b 8. *Praeuaricatio* ist bekanntlich im kirchlichen Latein, abwechselnd mit *transgressio*, die Wiedergabe von gr. *παραπτώσις*, häufig von dem Sündigen gegen das Gesetz des alten Testaments gebraucht — in *redemptionem earum praeuaricationum quae erant sub priori testamento* heisst es Hebr. 9, 15 — auch von Adams Übertretung von Gottes Gebot. Da das Primitivum *-coislea*, Abstr. *\*cossal* das Gehen bedeutet, ist also *tarmchossal* eine ebenso gute Übersetzung von lat. *transgressio* wie das daneben gebräuchliche *tairmthecht*, und so haben es Stokes und andere in Fiaccs Hymnus



aufgefaßt. Das ist völlig verkehrt, meint Zimmer, und die Quelle des Irrtums ist, 'dafs die Übersetzer die Atmosphäre, in der der Dichter lebt, den Ideen- und Gedankenkreis, aus dem heraus obige Zeilen entstanden sind und verstanden sein wollen, nicht kennen oder nicht beachten'. Da *to-fo-cosl-* 'schleppen' bedeute, also lat. *ducere* wiedergeben könne, auch *fo-cosl-* einmal *subducere* glossiere, sei *tarmchossal* eine sklavische Übersetzung von *tradux*, womit die Pelagianer die Erbsünde bezeichneten. In der Tat hat ja der Pelagianer Caelestius eine Schrift *Contra traducem peccati* geschrieben. Somit bekommt der Text für Zimmer den ihm angenehmen Geruch des Semipelagianismus, den er in Irland bekanntlich überall wittert. Allein da *cosl-*, *com-sel-* eben nicht *ducere*, sondern intransitiv 'gehen' heifst, hätte der Verfasser des Hymnus (etwa im 9. Jh.), selbst wenn er das Wort *tradux* noch gekannt hätte, nicht auf den Gedanken kommen können, es mit *tarmchossal* zu übersetzen. Das ganze Gebäude, das Zimmer errichtet, entbehrt der Fundamente, und ich fürchte, die Atmosphäre, in der die alten Dichter gelebt haben sollen, ist lediglich eine Nebelschicht, die er um sich selber geschaffen hat.

Nicht glücklicher ist er in der Erklärung von *cisel* 'Teufel' in Fiaces Hymnus, *kýsel* in der Vita Findani (Gloss. Hib. 273), beidemale im Reime mit *isel*. Die irischen Glossatoren, die das Wort auch nicht mehr analysieren konnten, nahmen wohl mit Recht an, dafs darin *cís* (*census*) in der häufigen Bedeutung '(Fleisches-)zoll, Sünde' stecke. Zimmer glaubt, das ganze Wort sei das lateinische *censualis* 'Tribut-Abschätzer', das in Britannien auf den verhafsten Eintreiber des Tributs und schliesslich von den Christen auf den Höllenfürsten übertragen worden sei. 'Die Schwächung des *ā* in unbetonter Silbe vor ursprünglich palatalem *l* zu *e*' ist nach Zimmer S. 1124 'lautlich in Ordnung'. Vielmehr würde das ja ir. *\*císail* ergeben; nur zwischen palatalem *s* und dunklem *l* kann schwachbetontes *e* stehen (wie in *isel*). Die Endung bleibt also unerklärt. Eine Anlehnung des Namens des gefallenen Engels an *aingel* anzunehmen, wäre wohl zu kühn. Stokes' Vermutung, es sei aus lat. *pistillus* entlehnt (Rev. Celt. 27, 87), bedarf kaum der Zurückweisung.

### 6. *Imram Curaig Máile-Dúin.*

In *Imram Snedgusa ocus Mac Riagla* haben sich die poetischen Stücke als die Grundlage des Prosaberichts herausgestellt. Die

Vermutung lag nahe, es möchte sich bei der Meerfahrt von *Máel-Dúin* ebenso verhalten, wo freilich nur in zwei von vier Handschriften Verse neben der Prosa überliefert sind. Nur die letztere hatte Stokes Rev. Celt. 9, 447; 10, 50 zum Abdruck gebracht. Nachdem nun in *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* I, 50 auch das Gedicht publiziert ist, ist jedermann die Beantwortung der Frage leicht gemacht. Und zwar behält hier Zimmer völlig recht, der sich Zs. f. deutsch. Altertum 33, 149 so ausgedrückt hat: 'Daran darf, wie mir scheint, kaum ein Zweifel obwalten, daß es sich nur um Versifikation der älteren Prosa handelt, nicht um eine ohne die Prosa verständliche Poesie.' In der Tat, man mag beliebige Stücke vergleichen, etwa die Einleitung oder den Schlufs oder ein beliebiges Abenteuer, überall ergibt sich die Poesie als ein kümmerlicher, oft kaum verständlicher Auszug aus der Prosa, nicht die Prosa als Ausführung des Gedichts. Das Muster für den Versifex war vermutlich eben die Seereise von Snedgus und Mac Riagla — sie folgt im Yellow Book of Lecan unmittelbar darauf —, die in der Überlieferung gerade diese Gestalt bot, Prosaerzählungen mit anschließenden Versen desselben Inhalts. Auch im Metrum (*dechnad cumaisc*) ist er seinem Vorbild gefolgt.

Im Schlufssatz der Version ohne Verse (Egerton 1782) heisst es: *ro-chóruid im. Aed Finn ardecnuid Herinn in sgél sa, amal atā sunt* (Rev. Celt. 10, 94). Diesen Schlufs hat die Prosa in YBL nicht, aber hinter dem Gedicht in anderem Metrum (*Rannaigeacht mór*) die Worte (Str. 223): *Imrum moltach Mæli Duin . . ro-gab Æd Find . . grian an ccna indsi Fail* 'die preisreiche Seefahrt von Mael-Duin . . Aed Find hat [sie] gesungen, Irlands Sonne der Weisheit'. Darnach könnte man annehmen, daß Aed Find der Versifikator sei, und so hat es K. Meyer (*A Primer of Irish Metrics*, p. 27) gefaßt. Das würde aber voraussetzen, daß Eg. 1782 auch die jüngere Version mit den Versen gekannt und ihr die Notiz über Aed Find entnommen hätte. Da dafür aber sonst gar nichts spricht, liegt es näher in den Schlufsversen nur die versifizierte Notiz der Prosa zu sehen. Auffallend ist allerdings, daß der Verfasser einer Prosaerzählung mit Namen genannt wird. Oder ist Aed Find gar keine reelle Person? Soll damit etwa der sagenhafte Dichter Aed als Gewährsmann für die fabelhafte Geschichte bezeichnet werden, der in der irischen Verslehre (Ir. T. III, 1, 66) als einer ihrer Autoren genannt wird?

7. Zur Präposition *oss-*, *uss-*.

Am Schlufs meines Handbuchs (II, 99 f.) habe ich noch angemerkt, dafs die Präposition, die man bisher als *ud-*, *od-* angesetzt hat, im Irischen vor Vokalen vielmehr als *oss-*, *uss-* erscheint und vortonig mit *ess-* in der Form *as-*, vor Pronomen *at-* zusammenfällt. Zu den dortigen Beispielen *osnad* (\**oss-anad*) 'Seufzen', *con-osna* 'ruht, hört auf', *-fúasna* (*fo-oss-*) 'verwirrt' (eigentlich 'schnauft von unten hinein'), *as-oilgg* 'öffnete' Abstr. *oslucud*, *ar-osailci* 'öffnet', *túasulcud* 'Lösen' möchte ich noch zwei hinzufügen. Erstens altir. *fursundud* 'Aufhellung' *MI. 74 b 1*, mittellir. *for-osnai* (aus *-osndai*) 'er hellt auf, erleuchtet'<sup>1)</sup> aus \**for-uss-andud* zu *andud* 'Anzünden, Entflammen'. Ferner hat schon Zimmer KZ. 36, 454 f. *diuscart* 'schaffe fort!' Inc. Sg. (dafür *díscart* LU 63 b 9), *diuscartai* 'deponendam' *MI. 115 a 15* (vgl. *diuscartach* 'deponens' Sg. 196 b 1) zum Simplex *cartaid* 'er schafft hinaus' gestellt, indem er es in *di-od-ess-cart-* zerlegte. Es genügt aber die Trennung *di-uss-cart-*; vor *c* erscheint unsere Präposition als *os-*, *us-*, wie die Präp. \**eks* vor *c* zu *es-* wird (*escarae*, *escart* usw.). In *dom-foscartae se* 'exponebar' *MI. 127 c 20* beruht das (stumme) *f* auf der häufigen Vermengung unserer Präposition mit *fo*, vgl. *du-fuisledar* oben S. 77.

Auch darauf habe ich a. O. hingewiesen, dafs im Britanischen diese Präposition im allgemeinen nicht von mkymr. *uch* = ir. *ós* unterschieden ist, vgl. kymr. *uchenaid*, *uchafael*, wenn auch der Vokal in mkymr. *drychael*, *drychafael*, *dyrchael*, korn. *drehevel* = air. *turbál* (*to-ro-uss-gab-*) kurz erscheint. Vielleicht beruht also auch die Länge des Vokals in ir. *ócbál* Karlsr. Beda 18 d 2 nicht auf einer Analogiebildung, wie ich Handb. § 837 annahm, und ist selbst *ósnad* Fled Bricr. 89 (LU) kein blofser Schreibfehler.

KZ. 37, 57 wurde bemerkt, dafs unsere Präposition auch als Verbalpartikel, wie *ro*, *ad*, zu fungieren scheint in *con-oitechtatar* Wb. 8 a 14 neben *con-aitecht*. Ein zweites Beispiel ist *cot-n-omalt* Fled Bricr. 82 zu *con-meil* 'zerreibt'; auch hier steht daneben *con-ammelt* Cormac s. v. *Mugéme*.

<sup>1)</sup> Meine Vergleichung dieses Verbs mit gall. *sonno-* Zs. II, 535 war verkehrt.

## ZUR KENNTNIS DES GALLISCHEN.

### 1. Der Wandel von *e* zu *i*, bzw. *a* in den französischen Ortsnamen gallischen Ursprungs.

Unter den französischen Ortsnamen gallischen Ursprungs, welche Meyer-Lübke in seiner Abhandlung: „Die Betonung im Gallischen“ (Sitz.-Berichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wiss., phil.-histor. Klasse, Bd. 143, 1901) anführt, finden wir mehrere, welche *i*, bzw. *a* für gall. *e* aufweisen. Bekannt ist der Ortsname *Limoges* < *Lemovices*. Dazu bemerkt Meyer-Lübke (l. c. 48), daß das *e* in *Lemovices* durch alte und häufige Überlieferung gesichert sei. Zu demselben Stamm *lem-* gehören auch die Namen *Lemausum* > *Limours*, *Lemoialum* > *Limeil*, *Limeuil*, *Liméjoul*s. Meyer-Lübke stellt mit Rücksicht auf das im Französischen auftretende *i* einen Stamm *lim-* mit langem *i* als Grundlage auf und meint, ob nicht vielleicht ein dialektischer Unterschied in gallischer Zeit vorliege, derart, daß indogerm. *e* in einzelnen Gegenden zu Cäsars Zeit noch nicht bis *i* fortgeschritten sei und dann in der schriftlichen Überlieferung als *e* fixiert wurde und erhalten blieb. Er denkt auch an volksetymologische Anlehnung an lat. *limum*. Doch spricht, wie ich glaube, die griechische Schreibung mit *ε* in *Αποορίτζες* bei Strabo gegen ein ursprünglich langes *e*, das wohl durch *η* wiedergegeben worden wäre, namentlich, wenn es zu *i* neigte, da zu dieser Zeit griech. *η* schon als *i* gesprochen wurde. Wir werden daher bei dem Stamme *lem-* mit kurzem *e* bleiben. Unzweifelhaft liegt gallisch kurzes *e* in den mit *eburo-* zusammengesetzten Ortsnamen zugrunde, da gall. *eburo-* dem germ. *Eber* entspricht. Auch in diesem Falle treffen wir *i* im Franz. an, vgl. *Eburodunum* > *Yverdon*, *Eburiacu* > *Ivry* (Holder, Altkeltischer Sprachschatz). Hierher gehört auch *Breviodurus* > *Brionne*, *Briare*, woneben *Brivodurum* > *Briare*, *Brîères*,

*Brieuilles* vorkommt. Holder (Altk. Spr.) leitet den ersten Namen von dem Eigennamen *Brevios* ab, den letzteren bringt er mit gall. *briva*-Brücke zusammen und übersetzt ihn daher mit „Festung der Brücke“. Meyer-Lübke (l. c. 39) hält beide Namen für identisch, nimmt aber *Brivodurus* als die ursprüngliche Form an und übersetzt mit „Brückentor“, da *Brevioduro* zu \**Broyerre* oder \**Broyerre* hätte werden müssen. Dagegen möchte ich einwenden, daß der Ausfall des *j* in den Formen mit *i* wie in *Brivodurum* gegenüber *Breviodurus* und *Brevidorum* erkennen läßt, daß die Form mit *e* in der ersten Silbe die primäre, die mit *i* die sekundäre ist. Ein ähnlicher Fall liegt in *Clippiacu* > *Clichy* vor, das von dem römischen Namen *Cleppius* gebildet ist (Holder, Altk. Spr.). Besonders interessant ist die Entwicklung von *Nemausus*, von gall. *nēmos* abgeleitet, zu frz. *Nîmes*. In den beiden letzten Fällen liegt unzweifelhaft kurzes *e* zugrunde. Im südfranzösischen, provenzalischen Sprachgebiete treffen wir *a* aus gall. *ē*, entsprechend dem *i* des Nordfranzösischen an, z. B. *Clippiacu*, eigentlich *Cleppiacu* > *Clapiers*, *Eburodunum* > *Averdon*, *Elariacu* > *Alleyrat*, *Elaver* > *Allier*, *Petroniacu* > *Parignargue*, *Āmiliacu* > *Amillac*. Auch außerhalb des Provenzalischen begegnen uns in einigen frz. Dialekten Formen mit *a*, z. B. *Eburiacu* > *Avry*, *Elariacu* > *Larrey* bei Dijon, *Eliniacu* > *Alligny*, *Āmiliacu* > *Amilly*, *Eponiacu* > *Appoigny*, *Cregadunum* > *Craon*. Was nun den Übergang von *e* zu *i*, bzw. *a* betrifft, so habe ich in der Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie XXXIV, 153 ff., darzutun versucht, daß dieser Wandel nur bei offenem (kurzen) *e* eintrat, wenn dasselbe einen Nebenton trug und infolgedessen seine offene Aussprache bewahrte, während sonst im Romanischen alle offenen unbetonten Vokale geschlossene Aussprache annahmen, vgl. lat. *venire* > frz. *venir* gegenüber lat. *vēnit* > frz. *vient*. Als Beispiel für den Wandel von nebentonigem offenem *e* zu *i*, bzw. *a* könnte man erwähnen: lat. *eccu* (*ecce*) *illu* > afrz. *icel*, aprov. *aquel*, aicel, span. *aquel* (it. *quello* infolge Abfall des anlaut. *a*), *ebureu* von *ebur* zu frz. *ivoire*, it. *avorio*, aprov. *avori*, germ. *Reþulf* > afrz. *Rioul*, prov. *Raoul*. Der Nebenton auf dem *e* geht, wie ich ebendort zeigte, auf einen Hauptton — so in germ. *Reþulf* — oder auf einen Nebenton zurück, der verschiedenen Ursprungs sein kann. Da es sich um zusammengesetzte und abgeleitete Wörter handelt, vgl. *eccu illu*, *ebureu* von *ebur*, so geht der Nebenton in diesem Falle auf einen Hauptton im Grundworte zurück.

Außerdem trägt in mehrsilbigen Wörtern im Romanischen die erste Silbe einen Nebenton, auch wenn sie im Grundworte nicht betont ist, wie in *Thèodorittus* > aprov. *Taudoret* oder in *Āmiliācu* > *Amillac* von *Āmilius*. Da die erwähnten gallischen Ortsnamen durchwegs Zusammensetzungen oder Ableitungen sind, so ist der Nebenton auf der ersten Silbe im Romanischen erklärt. Es handelt sich nunmehr noch um den Nachweis, daß das nebetonige *ē* offen oder, da im Romanischen nur kurzes *ē* und *ō* offene Aussprache besaßen, kurz war. Am deutlichsten ist dies an *Āmiliacu* ersichtlich, *Petroniacu* ist von *Petronius* und dieses wieder von *Petrus* abgeleitet, das nach dem Zeugnis von it. *Pietro*, frz. *Pierre* kurzes, offenes *ē* hat. In *Eburodunum*, *Eburiacu* können wir die Kürze des *ē* aus dem dem Bestandteil entsprechenden germ. *ēbur*, agls. *cofor* erschließen. Kurzes *e* liegt auch in *Eporedia* > oberit. *Ivrea* zugrunde, da gall. *epo-* dem lat. *ēquus* entspricht. In anderen Fällen deutet uns die lat. oder griech. Überlieferung die Kürze des *e* an wie in *Lēmovices* (griech. *Λεμοονίκες*). Wo alle diese Hilfsmittel versagen, können wir die offene Aussprache des *e* erst aus der Weiterentwicklung dieser Namen in den romanischen Sprachen erschließen wie in *Brevioduru* oder in *Segisamon* > span. *Sasamon*. Wie ich l. c. zeigte, ist der Wandel von nebetonigem offenem *ē* zu *a* eine romanische Lauterscheinung. Anders verhält es sich mit dem Übergang dieses *ē* > *i*. Dieser Wandel tritt nur in jenen Gegenden auf, wo der Einfluß des Gallischen auch sonst in der Sprache sich am stärksten bemerkbar macht, was im Nordfranzösischen, Rätoromanischen und Oberitalienischen der Fall ist. Es liegt daher die Vermutung nahe, daß wir es hier mit einer gallischen Erscheinung zu tun haben. Tatsächlich finden wir einen solchen Übergang von kurzem *e* zu *i* innerhalb des Gallischen in zusammengesetzten und abgeleiteten Wörtern, vgl. *Venedotio* > *Guined*, *Demetia* > *Dyfed*, *teg* zu *tigirn*, *Sigo-* in Zusammensetzungen neben *Sego-*, *Virgilius* neben *Vergilius*. Kürze des *ē* ist gesichert in gall. *teg*, da es griech. *τέγος* entspricht und die Ableitung *\*tegia* im Oberit. *tēga* mit offenem *ē* lautet, in *Sego-*, das germ. *Seg-* in *Segomerus* bei Tacitus entspricht, das später zu kurzem *i* in ahd. *sig* wurde, ebenso in *Vergilius*, dessen Grundwort *\*vergo* griech. *φέργος* und germ. *werk* entspricht. Auch im Gallischen trug in Ableitungen und Zusammensetzungen das Grundwort, wenn nicht den Hauptton, so doch einen Nebenton,

später allerdings stets den Hauptton. Es scheint daher, daß im Gallischen eine ähnliche Erscheinung eintrat wie im Romanischen, nur mit dem Unterschiede, daß nebentoniges (oder haupttoniges?) offenes  $\epsilon$  im Gallischen  $i$ , im Romanischen hingegen  $a$  ergab. Dieser Wandel muß im Gallischen gleichzeitig oder nur kurze Zeit früher als im Romanischen eingetreten sein, da sonst das kurze gallische  $i$  im Französischen zu  $e$  mit dessen weiteren Entwicklungen geworden wäre, vgl. gall. *Brīga* > frz. *Broyes*. Da dieses  $i$  somit späteren Ursprungs ist, blieb es im Französischen, Oberitalienischen und Rätoromanischen erhalten. In einzelnen nordfranzösischen Mundarten wird dieses offene  $\epsilon$  ebenfalls zu  $a$  wie sonst im Romanischen oder es bleibt als  $\epsilon$  z. B. in *Eburovices* > *Évreux*, wofür man in Analogie zu *Eburiacu* > *Ivery* eine Form \**Iveux* erwartet. Andererseits treffen wir  $i < \epsilon$  auch im Südfranzösischen, so in dem Gaunamen *Lemovicinus* > *Limousin*, der zu *Lemovices* > *Limoges* gehört. Offenbar war hier der Einfluß des Gallischen stärker. Wie der Wandel von nebentonigem offenen  $\epsilon$  zu  $a$ , bzw.  $i$  in romanischen Lehnwörtern beweist, gehört derselbe der Zeit des Überganges vom Lateinischen zum Romanischen, also dem Vorromanischen an, das wir vom 2. oder 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. ab datieren können. Gallische Namen, die aus dieser oder der späteren Zeit überliefert sind, weisen daher häufig an Stelle des nebentonigen offenen  $\epsilon$  ein  $i$  im nördlichen Gallien und ein  $a$  auf dem übrigen Gebiete auf, z. B. *Veragri* — *Varagri*, *Erminius* — *Arminius*, *Eravisci* — *Aravisci*, *Petovio* — *Παταβίωv*, *Cleppiacu* — *Clepiagum*, *Lemovices* — *Λεμωvιxoi* (bei Ptolemäus). Auch zur Deutung von Ortsnamen kann uns dieses Lautgesetz gute Dienste leisten. So können wir aus aprov. *Naiac* auf ein Etymon *Nēviacu* schließen, das vom römischen Gentilnamen *Nēvius* gebildet ist. Für frz. *Nieuil-les-Saintes* setzt Holder (Altk. Spr.) *Naioialos* an. Es findet sich nämlich für frz. *Nueuil-sous-Faye* die Schreibung *Neioialo*. Die letztere Form ist als die richtige anzusehen, da das  $i$  in frz. *Nieuil* nur auf ein  $\epsilon$ , nicht auf ein  $a$  zurückgehen kann. Beide Namen stellen die jüngere Form von ursprünglich *Nevio-ialus* = 'Neufeld' dar (vgl. *Neviodunum* neben *Noviodunum*). Aus Thracien führt Holder den Namen *Naiodunon* an, der bei Procop *Ναιοδοvνv* lautet, aus Liburnien den Namen *Nedinum*, jetzt Gradino bei *Nadin* in Dalmatien, bei Ptolemäus *Νιδινov*. Alle diese Formen gehen auf ein ursprüngliches *Neviodunum* = 'Neu-

stadt' zurück. In diesem Falle entwickelte sich das *ε* nach dem lat.-rom. Prinzip zu *a* in *Nadin*. Die Schreibung *Njδwov* bei Ptolemäus läßt vermuten, daß es im Gallischen mit *i* gesprochen wurde, da zu dieser Zeit griech. *η* schon *i* lautete. Wenn ich aprov. *Naiac* nicht mit *Nevio-* = 'neu' in Zusammenhang gebracht habe, so liegt der Grund darin, daß Ortsnamen auf *-acu* nur von meist lateinischen Gentilnamen, nicht von Adjektiven gebildet wurden, vgl. *Amiliacu*, *Petroniacu*. Wir finden schließlich auch *a* für *ε* in Fällen, wo im Lateinischen auf dem *ε* kein Nebenton ruhte, z. B. *Adnama* zu *nēmos* gehörig, *Adnamatos*, das wohl zu *Nēmetes* zu stellen ist.

## 2. Die gallischen Ortsnamen mit *lēm-* und *brīg-* in der ersten Silbe.

Da wir stets die Schreibung *Lemovices* für frz. *Limoges* antreffen, so muß das *ε* des Stammes, wie ich im vorausgehenden zu zeigen suchte, offen oder, vielleicht besser gesagt, kurz gewesen sein. Holder führt im Altkeltischen Sprachschatz zwei Stämme *lem-* an, von denen der eine 'Ulme' bedeutet und dem ahd. und mhd. *ēlm* (*boum*) entspricht, während er den zweiten mit 'Stimme' übersetzt. Er leitet die mit *lem-* zusammengesetzten Namen von einem Personennamen *Lemos* ab, den er, wie es scheint, mit dem zweiten Stamme in Zusammenhang bringen möchte. Welche Bedeutung sollten aber dann diese Namen haben? Zieht man aber Namen wie *Nemausum* von *nemos* = 'Hain', *Cassanoialum* von *cassanos* = 'Eiche' zum Vergleiche heran, so wird man *Lemausum*, *Lemoialum* ohne Zaudern von \**lēmos* 'Ulme' ableiten. Wenn nun auch *Lemovices* von dem Personennamen *Lemos* gebildet ist analog *Eburovices* von *Eburos*, so hängt dieser Personenne doch mit *lemos* = 'Ulme' zusammen. Derselbe Stamm liegt auch zugrunde in *Lemannus*, *Lemane*, *Limane* > *la Limagne*, in *Lemanae*, pl. nom., das d'Arbois de Jubainville als ligurisch ansieht, Name eines Hafens in England westlich von Dover, der ae. *Limene*, heute *Lympne* lautet. Nur bei *Lemonum*, *Limonum* nimmt Holder Herkunft von *lemos* = 'Ulme' an.

Es entspricht somit gall. *lēm-* einem germ. *ēlm-*, lat. *ulm(us)*. Dem lat. *ulm-* sollte aber im Gallischen eine Form *lim-* entsprechen, da sonantisches *l* und *r* im Lateinischen *ul*, bzw. *or*



(aus *ur*), im Gallischen aber *li*, bzw. *ri* ergeben, vgl. gall. *ritum* < *pr̥itum* = lat. *portus*, das auf ursprüngliches *pr̥tus* zurückgeht. Ein anderes Beispiel ist gall. *lit-* in *Conco-litanos*, *Litumara*, das auf *p̥ltanos* zurückgeht (vgl. griech. *πλατῖς*). Dieselbe Abweichung, die wir im Gallischen finden, besteht bei diesem Worte auch im Germanischen. Sonantisches *l̥* und *r̥* werden im Germanischen zu *ul* (später *ol*) und *ur* wie im Lateinischen. So entspricht gall. *ritum* ein germ. *furt*, gall. *litan* ein germ. *foldan*. Das bekannteste Beispiel ist gall. *briga* gegenüber germ. *burg* aus *br̥g*. Es sollte daher dem lat. *ulmus* im Germanischen eine Form 'Ulm' entsprechen, die aber erst im Nhd. vorkommt und aus dem Lateinischen entlehnt ist (vgl. Kluge, Etym. Wtb.). Die eigentliche germ. Form ist *ēlm*. Ein ähnliches Verhältnis wie zwischen *ēlm* und zu erwartendem *\*ulm* besteht noch bei *burg*, neben dem, von derselben Wurzel stammend, noch germ. *berg* mit kurzem (offenem) *e* vorkommt. Im Gallischen hatte *briga* sowohl die Bedeutung von germ. *burg* als *berg*, da heute noch ir. *bri* (akk. *brigh*), kymr. *bre* 'Berg', 'Hügel' bedeutet, was sich wohl daraus erklärt, daß sichere Städte, 'Burgen', nur auf Bergen möglich waren. Nach Analogie von *ēlm* — *lēm* — sollten wir zu germ. *berg* eine gall. Form *\*br̥eg* erwarten, die nicht vorzukommen scheint. Wir müssen also annehmen, daß im Gallischen bei der Weiterentwicklung von sonantisch *l̥* und *r̥* ein ähnliches Ablautverhältnis bestand wie im Germanischen zwischen *burg* und *berg*. Es steht dann der Zusammenstellung von gall. *lēm-* mit germ. *ēlm* und lat. *ulm-* nichts im Wege. Vielleicht könnte man auf germ. *wēr*, ir. *fer* gegenüber lat. *vir* hinweisen, wo ebenfalls das Gallische und Germanische den gleichen Ablaut aufzuweisen scheinen.

### 3. Die Ortsnamen frz. *Nîmes* und *Blismes*.

Ein schwieriges Problem stellt der Ortsname frz. *Nîmes*, prov. *Nemze* < gall. *Nemausum* dar, einerseits wegen des Wandels von *e* > *i*, andererseits wegen der Zurückziehung des Akzentes. Daneben existiert ein frz. Ortsname *Nemours*, ebenfalls aus gall. *Nemausum* entstanden, der hinsichtlich der Betonung mit anderen gall. Namen auf *-ausu* wie *Lemausu* > frz. *Limours* übereinstimmt. Der Wandel von *e* zu *i*, der uns nach dem Vorausgehenden keine Schwierigkeit bereitet, zeigt uns an, daß auf der ersten Silbe im Romanischen ursprünglich ein Nebenton

ruhte. Kurze und offene Aussprache des *e* in *Nemausum* ergibt sich aus der Überlieferung *Ναμαυσιμαβο* und aus dem Adjektiv *Namausatis* mit *a* aus nebentonigem offenen *e* nach dem lat. Lautgesetze (s. oben). Die Zurückziehung des Akzentes kann daher erst später im Romanischen eingetreten sein. In Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil. XXXIV, 157 habe ich an einem griechischen Lehnwort im Romanischen, nämlich griech. *λεπάζ*, *-άδος* > nprov. *lapedo* mit Betonung auf der ersten Silbe und span. *lapa*, zu zeigen versucht, wie man sich diesen Vorgang ungefähr vorstellen kann. Während aber bei diesem Worte der Akzent nach dem lateinischen Betonungsgesetze auf die erste Silbe verlegt wurde, müssen wir bei den gall. Ortsnamen annehmen, dafs zunächst nach dem lat. Betonungsgesetze die lange vorletzte Silbe betont wurde, später aber der Akzent unter dem Einflufs des Gallischen auf die erste Silbe rückte, die schon vorher im Vorromanischen einen Nebenton trug. Nach dem früher Gesagten müßte dem *i* in frz. *Nîmes* im Provenzalischen ein *a* entsprechen. Aber nach Meyer-Lübke, Rom. Gram. I, § 162, wird im Provenzalischen offenes *e* vor Nasal zu geschlossenem *e* und bleibt als solches erhalten, daher prov. *Nemze*.

Größere Schwierigkeit bereitet der Ortsname *Blismes* < gall. *Belisama*. Daneben kommen die Namen *Belismius*, *Blesamius* und *Blesamus* vor. Dazu bemerkt Meyer-Lübke, Betonung im Gallischen, S. 9, dafs man darin einen Grund gegen Anfangsbetonung sehen könne, da betontes *bel-* nicht zu *bl-* werden konnte. Da aber die Form *bel-* Gallien und Britannien angehört, der *Blesamius* ein Galater ist und *Blesamus* sich in Italien findet, so verlieren, meint er, diese zwei Formen jede Beweiskraft für die Gallia transalpina. Aber der ähnliche Klang aller dieser Wörter und das Nebeneinander von frz. *Blesmes* und frz. *Bellême* mit und ohne Erhaltung des *e* von *bel* läßt uns vermuten, dafs sie alle zu demselben Stamme *Beles-* gehören, dessen erste Silbe allerdings unbetont war. Ich möchte daher *be* als Präfix auffassen, das dem germ. Präfix *bi* mit kurzem *i*, später *be*, entspricht. Der eigentliche Stamm wäre dann *les-*. Das *i* in *Blismes* gegenüber *e* in *Bellême* und *Blesmes* und gall. *Blesamus*, *Blesamius* weist darauf hin, dafs die Grundform ein offenes *e* enthielt, das im Romanischen zunächst einen Nebenton trug und daher zu *i* wurde, in Dialekten als *e* blieb und erst später analog *Nîmes* < *Nemausu* den Hauptton auf sich zog.

Ferner kann, da auf dem *a* der vorletzten Silbe ursprünglich der Hauptton im Romanischen lag, dieses *a* nicht kurz gewesen sein, woraus folgen würde, daß die Endung in diesem Falle nicht der got. Superlativendung *-uma* entspricht. Es kann daher keine Superlativbildung sein wie gall. *Uzama*, später *Oxima* > frz. *Exmes* oder *Axima* > frz. *Aime*. Mit dem Stamme *les-*, den ich aus *Belisama* konstruiert habe, möchte ich den bekannten Ortsnamen gall. *Alesia* > frz. *Alise* in Verbindung bringen. In diesem Worte ist die offene Aussprache durch die Entwicklung des *e* im Französischen zu *i* vor dem palatalen *s* erwiesen. Wie wir *Belisama* mit *i* gegenüber *Blesamus* und *Blesamius* antreffen, so findet sich für *Alesia* häufig die Schreibung *Alisia*. Das anlautende *a* von *Alesia* fasse ich als Präfix, dem germ. *at*, lat. *ad* entsprechend, auf. Beachtenswert ist, daß die Präfixe *at* und *bi* im Germanischen nur zur Bildung von Verben, das letztere auch zur Bildung von Verbalabstrakten (vgl. germ. *bisprähha*, ahd. *bismër*) verwendet wurden (Paul, Grundrißs d. germ. Phil. I<sup>2</sup>, 477), so daß vielleicht auch die beiden gallischen Wörter von einem Verbum abgeleitet sind.

Ich möchte daher den gallischen Stamm *les-* mit dem germ. Verb *lësan* = 'auflesen', 'sammeln' in Zusammenhang bringen. Dann würde *Belisama*, das zunächst der Name einer Göttin ist, nach der später die Stadt benannt wurde, 'Sammlerin' bedeuten, eine Bezeichnung, die für die Göttin der Fruchtbarkeit passen würde. Den Namen *Alesia* könnte man als Bezeichnung für einen Ort deuten, wo sich die einzelnen Stämme zu einer Gauversammlung oder zum Kriege 'sammelten'.

#### 4. Der französische Ortsname *Arras* < gall. *Atrebates*.

In *Atrebates* > *Arras* liegt, wie ich glaube, derselbe Fall vor wie in den früher besprochenen Ortsnamen frz. *Nîmes* und *Blismes*. Die Mehrzahl der Namen auf *-âte* trägt den Ton auf der vorletzten Silbe, so daß wir annehmen können, daß das *a* lang war, vgl. *Argentorate* > *Argentré*, *Audrate* > *Orré*, *Adesate* > *Azat*, *Cerate* > *Céré* (Meyer-Lübke, I. c. 53). In einigen Fällen tritt aber Zurückziehung des Akzentes ein. So treffen wir analog *Nîmes* neben *Nemours* die beiden Formen *Mende* und *Mimat* < *Mimate*, *Condé* und *Condes* < *Condate* an. Auch in *Atrebates* rückte der Akzent auf die drittletzte Silbe. Es handelt sich um die Erklärung des *a* in frz. *Arras* aus *e* in *Atrebates*. Da

im Mittelalter häufig die Form *Atrabates* vorkommt, nahm Thomas (Ess. de phil. franç. 268) Assimilation des *e* an das folgende *a* an. Doch ist, wie Meyer-Lübke (l. c. 54) mit Recht bemerkt, die Angleichung des betonten Vokals an den unbetonten wenig wahrscheinlich. Eine Umstellung von *Atrebates* zu *Atrâbetes*, wie sie Meyer-Lübke in Rom. Gram. I, 499 annahm, ist schwer zu erklären. Wir werden vielmehr wie bei *Nîmes* davon auszugehen haben, daß das kurze, daher im Romanischen offene *e* zunächst im Romanischen einen Nebenton trug, während der Hauptton auf der Endung *-âtes* lag wie in *Varâtes* > *Varas*. Unter dem Nebentone wurde das offene *e* infolge dialektischer Entwicklung zu *a*, nicht zu *i*, wie man im Nordfranzösischen erwarten sollte, analog *Eburiaçu* > *Avry* neben *Jervy*. Aus *Atrebates* entstand somit zunächst *Atrêbâtes* > *Atrâbâtes*, das sich weiter zu *Atrâbetes* entwickelte. Auf dieser Stufe wurde das nachtonige *a* wie sonst in Proparoxytonis zu *e* geschwächt, also *Atrâbetes* > *Atrâbtes* > *Arras*, *Arras*. Die Entwicklung von *Atrâbâtes* > *Arras* entspricht vollständig der von gall. *gabata* über *\*gabete* > *\*gabte* zu frz. *jatte*.

Der Zusammenhang des Namens *Atrebates* mit kymr. *tref* = 'Dorf' steht außer Zweifel. Dieses Wort *tref* nun geht auf indogerm. *\*tybo* mit sonantischem *r* zurück. Wie wir früher bei Besprechung der gall. Stämme *lēm-* und *brig-* gehört haben, wird sonantisches *r* (oder *l*) im Lateinischen zu *ur*, bzw. *ul*, im Germanischen zu *ur*, bzw. *ol* und im Gallischen zu *ri*, bzw. *li*. Got. *baúrgs*, ags. *burh* entspricht gall. *brîga*. Man sollte daher aus indogerm. *tybo* im Gall. *\*trif* erwarten. Die genauen Entsprechungen sind lat. *turba*, got. *þaúrp*. Gall. *tref* aber entspricht gall. *lēm-* statt *\*līm-*. Es ist dies ein neuer Beweis dafür, daß neben der regulären Entwicklung von sonantischem *r*, bzw. *l* zu *ri*, bzw. *li* im Gallischen eine andere mit kurzem, offenem *e* vorkommt, die offenbar zur ersten im Ablautverhältnis steht.

### 5. Der Name des Flusses *Erlaf*.

Der Name des Flusses *Erlaf* in Nieder-Österreich ist uns als *Arelape* überliefert, wofür auf der Tabula Peutingeriana sogar *Arelate* steht, offenbar in Verwechslung mit dem bekannteren *Arelate* > frz. *Arles*. Da aber das *e* in nhd. *Erlaf* nicht aus *a*, sondern nur aus *e* oder *i* hervorgegangen sein kann, so müssen wir annehmen, daß der Name im Gallischen *\*Erlape*

oder \**Irlape* lautete. Nach den früheren Ausführungen werden wir uns für die Form *Erlape* entscheiden, da dann das *a* im Lateinischen sich leicht erklären läßt. Wir brauchen uns nur an die Beispiele *Arminius* statt *Erminius*, *Arcunia* für *Ercynia* und *Namausatis* von *Nemausus* zu erinnern, in denen nach dem lateinisch-romanischen Prinzip das nebentonig offene *e* sich in *a* verwandelte.

Was die Bedeutung des Namens betrifft, so ist klar, daß der zweite Bestandteil nicht *lape* ist, wie Holder, Altkelt. Spr., abteilt, sondern *ape*, *apa* = lat. *aqua*, got. *aha* = nhd. Ache mit der ursprünglichen Bedeutung 'Wasser'. Das End-*e* in *Arelape* steht wohl für *ae*, da die ganze Form ein Genitiv ist, also *Arelapae*; man sagte ja *rivus Arelapae*. Als erster Bestandteil bleibt dann *erel*, das ich von korn.-bret. *er*, kymr. *eryr* = got. *ara* = nhd. Aar (Adler) ableiten möchte. Da das Grundwort *er* ist, so wäre *erel* eine Ableitung mit einem Suffix \**el*, das vielleicht dem germ. Suffix *-ila* entspricht. Man könnte somit *Erelape* = nhd. *Erlaf* als 'Adlerache' deuten, eine Bezeichnung, die für diesen Gebirgsfluß mit seinem schnellen Lauf sehr passend wäre. So heißt auch ein Fluß in Böhmen Adler.

## 6. Der Wandel von gallisch *u* zu *e*, *i*.

Der in Frankreich sehr beliebte gallische Ortsname *Lugdunum* oder *Lugudunum* lautet in seinen heutigen Formen *Lyon*, *Lion*, *Laon*, *Laons*, *Laudun*, *Lauzun*, *Mont-Lahue*, *Loudon* (Meyer-Lübke, Betonung, 29). An diesen Formen ist der Übergang von gall. *u* zu frz. *i* oder *a* sehr auffällig. Doch führt Holder (Altkelt. Spr.) aus spätlateinischer Zeit die Schreibungen *Leudunum* und *Laudunum* an, in denen das *g* schon zu *u* vokalisiert erscheint und das vorhergehende *u* zu *e* bzw. *a* geworden war. Dazu bemerkt Meyer-Lübke (l. c. 31), daß gleichzeitig mit der Vokalisierung des *g* zu *u* auch eine Dissimilation der beiden Vokale (*uy* < *ug*) stattfand, wobei das erste *u* zu *e* oder *a* wurde ebenso wie in lat. *frigidus* gleichzeitig mit der Vokalisierung des *g* zu *i* das erste, ursprünglich lange *i* zu kurzem *i*, bezw. geschlossenem *e*, also *frigidus* > *frīdus* > *frēdus* > it. *freddo*, afrz. *froit*, wurde. Aber während in *frigidus* die Dissimilation auf zwei Sprachgebieten zu demselben Resultat führte, nämlich zu geschlossenem *e*, bietet *Lugudunum* auf dem französischen Sprachgebiete allein zwei verschiedene Entwicklungen. Der Umstand

nun, daß dieses *u* im Spätlateinischen zu *e* oder *a*, im Französischen zu *i* oder *a* wurde, läßt uns vermuten, daß dieses *i*, bzw. *a* auf nebentoniges offenes *e* zurückgeht. Es muß also schon im Gallischen das *u* zu *e* geworden sein. Man wäre versucht, die Dissimilation als lat.-rom. anzusehen. Aber es ist sonst kein Beispiel für Dissimilation von *uu* zu *eu* im Romanischen bekannt. Die Dissimilation von *ou* < lat. *o* zu *eu* trat im Französischen erst später ein und ist spezifisch französisch, nicht provenzalisch, während *Laudun*, *Lauzun* beweisen, daß diese Dissimilation auch im Provenzalischen zugrunde lag. Daß der Wandel von *u* > *e* gallischen Ursprungs ist, sehen wir an einem gallischen Worte, das ins Lateinische und Romanische eindrang. Bei Livius findet sich ein Wort *tugurium*, womit nach seiner Angabe die Gallier eine Hütte bezeichneten. Dazu bemerkt Ducange unter *teges*: *parva domus quae est tugurium, scilicet casula quam faciunt sibi custodes vinearum vel pastores ad tegmen sui, quasi tegerium vel tugurium*. Unter *tegorium* heißt es bei Ducange: *tegorium, casa a tegendo dicta*; daneben kommt die Form *tigurium* vor. Aus diesen Zitaten ersieht man, daß *tugurium* die ältere, *tegorium* oder *tigurium* die jüngere Form ist. Es ist eine Ableitung von gall. \**tegia*, das im Norditalischen als Appellativum *teggia* und in frz. Ortsnamen *Aretegi* > *Arthies*, *Athies*, *Athée* erhalten und mit griech. *τέγος*, lat. *tēgere* stammverwandt ist. Eine Weiterbildung von *tegia* ist \**tegnos* = lat. *dominus*, kymr. *tigern*, *tigirn*, *tirn*, wall. *teyrn*. Auch den Völkernamen *Tigurini*, auch als *Tejurini* überliefert, rechne ich hieher. Interessant ist, daß wir daneben auch die Formen *Tugurinis* und *Tugurinus* mit dem *u* der älteren Form antreffen. Der Ortsname *Tegernacu*, *Tigernacu* gehört ebenfalls hieher. Holder (Altkelt. Spr.) führt zwar alle diese Namen an, setzt sie aber seltsamerweise nicht zu *tugurium*, *tegorium*, bzw. \**tegnos* in Beziehung. Möglich wäre es, daß auch der Ortsname *Tugia*, *Tuia* > span. *Toia* dem gall. *tegia* entspricht. Der Wandel von *u* > *e* im Gallischen läßt sich vielleicht folgendermaßen erklären: wir finden auch bei einem anderen gallischen Worte einen ähnlichen Entwicklungsgang, nämlich bei gall. *novio*, das indogerm. \**nevios*, griech. *νεός* entspricht und in vorromanischer Zeit *nevio-* lautet, so daß neben älterem *Noviodunum* > frz. *Noyon* jüngeres *Neviodunum* > frz. *Nyon* vorkommt. Wir können somit annehmen, daß vor velaren Konsonanten, *v*, bzw. *g* in

\**tegurium* (vgl. *τέγος*), das palatale *e* zu velarem *o*, bzw. *u* in gall. *novios*, *tugurium* wurde. Später aber wurden gall. *vj* und *g* zu Spiranten und infolge der velaren Umgebung zu velaren Spiranten. Wir können dies aus der Entwicklung von \**tegnos*, ursprünglich wohl \**tugurnos* von *tugurium*, zu wall. *teyrn*, kymr. *tirn* und aus Schreibungen wie *Tejurini* für *Tugurini*, *Tegurini*, *Lussoius* = *Luxovius* (Meyer-Lübke, l. c. 18) erschließen. Auf dieser Stufe, auf der die Spiranten zur Vokalisierung zu *u* neigten, trat nun eine Dissimilation ein, während ursprünglich, solange *v* und *g* noch vollwertige Konsonanten waren, vielmehr der Vokal assimiliert wurde. Der Entwicklungsgang ist also folgender:

indogerm. *nevios* (griech. *νεός*), *tegos* (griech. *τέγος*),

gall. *novios*, *tugurium* (*tugia*?),

spätgall. \**neios*, *tejurium* (*tegia* > \**teja* > nordit. *teggia*),

wobei *j* den Lautwert *χ* hatte, vgl. gall. *uxello* > kymr. *uchel*.

Wie nun *tugurium* > *tegurium* wurde *Lugudunum* > *Leudunum*. Da it. *teggia* offenes *e* hat, ist zugleich der Beweis erbracht, daß auch das *e* in *tegurium* und somit in *Leudunum* offen ist, so daß es sich unter dem Nebentone im Romanischen zu frz. *i*, prov., it. *a* entwickeln mußte. Andere Beispiele dieser Art sind: *Luxovii*, auch *Lixovii* geschrieben, zu frz. *Lezou*, *Lisieux* (Meyer-Lübke, l. c. 18), *Uxellodunum* > *Yssoudun*, *Exoudun*, *Issolu*. Meyer-Lübke (l. c. 28) nimmt bei letzterem Beispiel Umstellung von *uxello-* zu *exullo* durch Einfluß des lat. Präfixes *ex* an, da sich aus der Merowingerzeit die Schreibung *Exuldunum* findet. Doch wäre auch dann das *i* in *Yssoudun* nicht erklärt; die Schreibung *Exuldunum* aus so später Zeit gibt nur die Form, zu der sich der Name entwickelt hat, annähernd wieder wie *Leudunum*, *Laudunum* für *Lugudunum* entsprechend frz. *Lyon*, *Laon*. Vielleicht trat dieser Wandel von *u*, *o* zu *e* auch in *Uxama*, *Ozima* > frz. *Exmes*, *Ozimense* > frz. *Liémois* ein, da wir in *Uxama*, der ursprünglichen Form, dieselbe Lautgruppe *ux* = *uʒ* haben wie in *Uxellodunum* und *Luxovii*. Doch besteht ein Unterschied, da in *Uxama* > *Exmes* das *e* nicht erst durch einen Nebenton im Romanischen entstanden ist, wie dies in den beiden anderen Wörtern der Fall ist. Das gallische *e* blieb im Französischen als offenes *e* erhalten, während es in *Yssoudun* und *Lisieux* infolge des Nebentones zu *i* wurde. Allerdings hat Oestberg (nach Meyer-Lübke, l. c. 20 Anm.) das *e* in *Exmes* aus dem betreffenden

Dialekte erklärt. Doch zeigt es dieselben Lautverhältnisse wie die anderen oben angeführten Beispiele, so daß man die heutige Form auch analog den anderen erklären wird.

### 7. Der Wandel von *o* vor *j* zu *e*.

Schon im vorstehenden Artikel habe ich auf den gallischen Ortsnamen *Noviodunum* aufmerksam gemacht, der hinsichtlich der Entwicklung des *o* der ersten Silbe eine Ähnlichkeit mit *Lugudunum* > *Lyon* aufweist. Wir finden nämlich sehr häufig die Form *Nyon* neben *Noyon*. Bekannt ist auch der Ortsname *Novioritum* > frz. *Niort* (Meyer-Lübke, Betonung, 44). *Noviomagus* wurde im Französischen zu *Nyon*, *Nijon*, *Noyon*, *Noyen*, *Nouvion*. Die frz. Formen mit *i* können nach den früheren Ausführungen nur auf eine gallische Grundform zurückgehen, in der das *o* von *novio-* zu *e* geworden war. Während aber die französischen Entsprechungen von *Lugudunum* sämtlich auf eine Grundform *Leudunum* mit  $\epsilon < u$  zurückzuführen sind, ist an den Zusammensetzungen mit *novio-* der Wandel von *o* zu *e* nicht überall eingetreten, sondern das *o* teilweise erhalten geblieben, so daß im Französischen Formen mit *i* und *o* nebeneinander vorkommen, *Nyon* neben *Noyon*. Dieses Nebeneinander von Formen mit *o* und *e* kommt auch bei anderen gallischen Wörtern vor; so wird gall. *broialum* > frz. *breuil* neben *breil*, welch letzteres auf eine Grundform *\*breialum* weist; nebem dem Stamme *trog-* treffen wir die Form *treg-* an. Die Schreibung mit  $\epsilon$ , *i* oder *a* ist tatsächlich aus der späteren Überlieferung zu belegen. Holder (Altkelt. Spr.) zitiert neben *Novesium*, das offenbar eine Bildung mit *novio-* ist, die Form *Nivisium*. Für *Nieuil-les-Saintes* und *Nueil-sous-Faye* führt er die Schreibung *Neioialo* an und schließt auf eine Grundform *Naioialos*. Aber frz. *Nueil* kann nur auf *Novioialos* zurückgehen, worin offenes *o* > *ue* wurde, und auch *Nieuil* ist eher von *Novioialos* als von *Nevioialos* abzuleiten, so daß diese Beispiele nichts für das Vorhandensein einer Form *Nevioialos* beweisen. Anders verhält es sich mit dem bei Procop vorkommenden *Ναιδοῦροι* in Thracien an der Donau, das nach meiner Annahme ursprünglich *Noviodunum*, später *Neviodunum* lautete. Nach dem lat.-rom. Prinzipie mußte, wie ich weiter oben gezeigt habe, das nebentonige offene *e* zu *a* werden. Diese Annahme findet eine Stütze an dem Ortsnamen *Nedinum* in Liburnia, bei Ptolemäus *Νηδινον*, heute *Gradino* bei *Nadin* in Dal-



matien. Es ist klar, daß *Nadin* die Entsprechung von *Nedinum* ist, das die spätgallische Form von *Neviodunum* darstellt, da *dunum* im Gallischen zu *din* wurde. Wir haben in *Nadin* ein Beispiel dafür, daß außerhalb des Französischen das offene *e* in *nevio-* zu *a* wurde, wie in *Lugudunum* zu prov. *Lauzun*. Ein anderer Name, der hieher gehört, ist *Claudiomagus* > frz. *Clion*. Der Personennamen *Claudius*, gesprochen \**Clodius*, ist auch als *Chledius* überliefert. Der Wandel von *o* zu *e* läßt sich in diesem Worte ebenso erklären wie in *novio-*. Vor dem velaren Spiranten *di* > *j* (*χ*), der zur Vokalisierung zu *ɥ* neigte, trat Dissimilation des velaren *o* zu palatalem *e* ein. In allen Fällen wurde das *o* zu offenem *e*, wie uns die Entwicklung dieses *e* unter dem Nebentone zu *i*, bzw. *a* zeigt.

### 8. Die Betonung im Gallischen.

Die vorhergehenden Erörterungen sind vielleicht imstande, über die Frage nach der Betonung im Gallischen einiges Licht zu verbreiten. Wir haben gesehen, daß die Entwicklung einiger Vokale in der Stammsilbe des Grundwortes darauf schließend läßt, daß im Romanischen auf ihnen ein Nebenton ruhte. Ein derartiger Nebenton im Romanischen kann, wie ich in Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil. XXXIV, 154 f. gezeigt habe, vierfachen Ursprungs sein. Er kann 1. auf einen ursprünglichen Hauptton zurückgehen, der infolge der Verlegung des Akzentes im Romanischen als Nebenton erhalten blieb, vgl. germ. *Repulf* > prov. *Raoul*, afrz. *Rioul*; 2. auf einen ursprünglichen Nebenton wie in lat. *eccu ille* > span. *aquel*, aprov. *aquei*, *ecce ille* > aprov. *aicel*, afrz. *icil*; 3. gehen der Hauptsilbe im Romanischen zwei oder mehrere Silben voraus, so erhält die erste, auch wenn sie ursprünglich unbetont war, einen Nebenton, so in *Äsopittus*, von *Äsopus* gebildet, zu afrz. *Yzopet*; 4. in abgeleiteten Wörtern erhält die im Grundwort haupttonige Silbe einen Nebenton, vgl. lat. *ēbureau* von *ebur* zu frz. *ivoire*, it. *avorio*. Da die in Betracht gezogenen gallischen Ortsnamen keine Ableitungen, sondern Zusammensetzungen sind, so können nur die beiden ersten Fälle auf sie Anwendung finden. Nun habe ich l. c. die gallischen Ortsnamen vorsichtshalber unter 2. angeführt, da sie Zusammensetzungen wie *eccu ille* am nächsten kommen. Diese Annahme liefse sich auch mit Meyer-Lübkes Ansicht (Betonung, 63) vereinbaren, daß in den zusammengesetzten gallischen Ortsnamen die indo-

germanische Betonung auf der Kompositionsfuge erhalten blieb wie in skr. *medhāpati* von *médha*. Gegen diese Ansicht aber sprechen die Namen mit langer Stammsilbe im zweiten Bestandteil wie *-dūnum*, *-briva*, *-lānum*, *-dubrum*, die niemals auf der Kompositionsfuge betont sind, z. B. *Lugudunum* > *Lyon*, *Carobrivus* > *Chabris*, *Mediolanum* > *Milhan*, *Vernodubrum* > *Vernoubre*. Eine Ausnahme machen nur die Zusammensetzungen mit *-riges* und *-casses*, die auf der Kompositionsfuge betont sind. Der Umstand, daß die Zusammensetzungen mit kurzer Stammsilbe im zweiten Bestandteil auf der Kompositionsfuge betont sind, beweist nichts für indogermanische Betonung, sondern ist vielmehr ein Beweis dafür, daß die gallischen Ortsnamen im Romanischen im allgemeinen nach dem lat.-rom. Betonungsgesetze betont wurden, wonach der Ton auf der vorletzten Silbe lag, wenn sie lang war, hingegen auf der drittletzten, wenn die vorletzte kurz war, daher *Lugudunum* > frz. *Lyon*, aber *Rotomāgus* > frz. *Rouen*. Wie nun die Zurückziehung des Akzentes in den Zusammensetzungen mit *-riges* und *-casses*, also die scheinbare Betonung auf der Kompositionsfuge, zu erklären sein dürfte, können uns die gallischen Ableitungen mit *-ausu* und *-ate*, wie *Nemausu* > *Nimes*, *Arelate* > *Arles*, wo trotz der Länge des Vokals der Ableitungssilbe der Akzent im Romanischen auf die drittletzte Silbe zu liegen kam, lehren. Bei der Besprechung von *Nemausu* > frz. *Nimes*, *Atrebātes* > *Arras* haben wir gesehen, daß im Romanischen der Hauptton zunächst nach dem lat.-rom. Betonungsprinzip auf der langen vorletzten Silbe, also in diesen Fällen auf dem Suffixe, lag, während die Stammsilbe einen Nebenton trug, wodurch offenes *e* zu *i*, bzw. *a* sich entwickelte. Erst später, nachdem dieser Wandel infolge des Nebentones eingetreten war, ging der Hauptton auf die früher nebeatone Silbe über. Da fragt es sich nun, aus welchem Grunde die Akzentverlegung eintrat. Da sie dem lat.-rom. Betonungsgesetze widerspricht, so muß man annehmen, daß sie durch den Einfluß der Betonung im Gallischen hervorgerufen wurde. Der Nebenton auf dem Grundworte im Romanischen ist somit nicht auf einen Nebenton im Gallischen, sondern nach Fall 1. auf einen Hauptton im Gallischen zurückzuführen. Merkwürdig ist allerdings die Tatsache, die auch Meyer-Lübke aufgefallen ist, daß, wie er sagt (Betonung, 61) „gerade die kleinsten und unbedeutendsten Orte der Latinisierung gefolgt sind, größere

und früher gekannte und romanisierte sie verschmäh't haben". Man denke nur an *Nîmes*, *Arles*, *Arras*, bedeutende und frühzeitig romanisierte Orte. Man sollte doch erwarten, daß vielmehr die kleineren Orte, in denen sich das gallische Element länger erhielt, die gallische Betonung des Namens bewahrten. Doch darf man nicht vergessen, daß man ein fremdes Wort, besonders einen fremden Namen, wenn man ihn zum erstenmale liest, nach den Gesetzen der eigenen Sprache betont. Ebenso, wenn man einen fremden Namen gehört hat, betont man ihn, sobald man ihn nachzusprechen sucht, zunächst nach seiner Weise. Erst, wenn uns der Name einigermaßen geläufig ist, werden wir uns allmählich seine lokale Aussprache aneignen. Auf diese Weise müssen wir uns die Namen *Nîmes*, *Arles* etc. entstanden denken. Zuerst wurden diese gallischen Namen nach dem lat.-rom. Betonungsgesetze betont, wobei der gall. Hauptton im Romanischen zum Nebenton wurde. Später drang die gall. Betonung durch, obwohl in diesen Orten die Romanisierung rasche Fortschritte machte. Aber gerade diese rasche Romanisierung macht uns das Durchgreifen der gallischen Betonung begreiflich. Die Römer schenken in den großen, bedeutenden Orten der gallischen Bevölkerung mehr Aufmerksamkeit, weil sie in innigerem Verkehr mit ihr standen, und eigneten sich so ihre Aussprache des Ortsnamens an, andererseits behielten die romanisierten Gallier ihre Aussprache des Ortsnamens bei, so daß schließlich die gallische Betonung die herrschende wurde. Die Namen der kleineren Orte hingegen, deren Bevölkerung die Römer als ihre Diener betrachteten und daher nicht beachteten, wurden nach lat.-rom. Betonungsweise betont, der gall. Hauptton blieb nur als Nebenton erhalten, vgl. *Nemours* neben *Nîmes*, *Arlet* neben *Arles*, *Brivé* neben *Brioude* > *Brivate*, *Condé* neben *Cosne* < *Condate*. Aus dem Wandel von *nd* > *n* in *Condate* > *Cosne* (das *s* wird nicht gesprochen) schließt Meyer-Lübke (Bet., 52) auf eine Rückbildung. Tatsächlich ist eine Rückbildung, eine Wiederherstellung der ursprünglichen Betonung, eingetreten. Dasselbe ist auch der Fall bei *Tricasses* > fr. *Troyes*, wo man wegen der Länge der vorletzten Silbe Betonung des *a* erwartet. Schwieriger wird die Sache bei *Durocasses* > *Dreux* und *Bituriges* > *Bourges*, wo statt der langen vorletzten Silbe die Kompositionsfuge betont ist. Schwieriger zu erklären sind diese Namen deswegen, weil sie nach Thurneysens Annahme und nach dem

oben Erörterten im Gallischen den Ton auf der Stammsilbe des Grundwortes, also ersten oder viertletzten Silbe, trugen. Wenn nun der zweite Bestandteil einen langen Vokal enthielt, so sollte man erwarten, daß dieser im Romanischen den Hauptton trug und die erste Silbe einen Nebenton erhielt. Wenn aber unter dem Einfluß der gallischen Betonung der Akzent weiter zurückgezogen werden sollte, so widerstrebte es doch dem lat.-rom. Betonungsgesetze, den Ton auf die viertletzte Silbe zu verlegen. Er konnte daher bei langer vorletzter Silbe nur auf die drittletzte, die Kompositionsfuge, zu liegen kommen. Gerade diese Betonung beweist uns, daß ein Ausgleich zwischen der lat. und gall. Betonung angestrebt wurde, wobei freilich keines der beiden Prinzipie zum vollen Siege gelangte, so daß, wie Meyer-Lübke (Bet., 4) sagt, „bei diesem Ausgleich beide Teile etwas verloren“. Daß gerade die Namen auf *-riges* und *-casses* die Verlegung des Akzentes aufweisen, hängt vielleicht damit zusammen, daß nur bedeutende Orte, die Hauptorte des Gaues, nach dem Namen des Volksstammes benannt wurden. Übrigens kommen auch hier Doppelformen vor; so gehört zu *Bourges* der Gauname *Berry*, zu *Caturiges* > *Chorges* der Gauname *Chéry*. Meyer-Lübke (Bet., 10) führt *Berry* auf *pagus Bituricus* zurück, das belegt ist. Doch glaube ich, daß das Adjektiv erst eine späte Bildung ist. Ursprünglich hieß es wohl *pagus Biturigum* (gen. pl.). Zu dem Akkusativ *pagu(m) Biturigu(m)* konnte nach Abfall des *m* ein Nominativ *pagus Biturigus* gebildet werden, indem *Biturigu* als Adjektiv aufgefaßt wurde. Es besteht also zwischen *Berry* und *Bourges* dasselbe Verhältnis wie zwischen *Nemours* und *Nîmes*, so daß wir auch hier auf eine ursprünglich schwankende Betonung im Romanischen schließen können, da das *i* in dem einen Falle seine Länge bewahrte, im anderen aber synkopiert wurde, was nur nach vorausgegangener Kürzung möglich war. Der Umstand, daß auch in diesen viersilbigen Wörtern mit Betonung der ersten Silbe im Gallischen der Akzent im Romanischen nicht über die drittletzte Silbe hinaus verlegt wurde, ist ein weiterer Beweis dafür, daß die gallischen Ortsnamen sich soviel als möglich dem lat.-rom. Betonungsgesetze unterordneten, was uns vor allem die Doppelformen beweisen. Doch daß im Gallischen niemals die Kompositionsfuge, sondern die Stammsilbe des Grundwortes den Hauptton trug, lehren uns diejenigen Namen, welche einen Wandel von offenem nebentonigen

*e* > *i*, bzw. *a* aufweisen wie *Neviodunum* > *Nyon*, *Nevioritum* > *Niort*, in welch letzteren Beispielen die Kompositionsfuge im Romanischen betont erscheint, auf der ersten Silbe aber ein Nebenton ruhte, der aus einem Hauptton im Gallischen entstanden ist. Man könnte noch den Einwand erheben, daß es doch sehr auffällig sei, daß die Zusammensetzungen mit *-dunum*, *-briva*, *-dubrum* im zweiten Bestandteil niemals eine Zurückziehung des Akzentes aufweisen. Zur Erklärung können wir die Tatsache heranziehen, daß *dunum* im Gallischen selbständig fortlebte und seine Bedeutung auch den Römern bekannt war, wie man aus den Namen *Chateaudun*, *Le Bourg-Dun* ersieht, die Übersetzungen und Umschreibungen des gall. Wortes darstellen; *briva* und *dubrum* kamen auch selbständig oder als erster Bestandteil vor, vgl. *Briva Sartae* > *Brissarthe*, *Brioux* < *Brivis* (loc. pl. zu *Brivae*, Meyer-Lübke, l. c. 23) und öfter vorkommendes *Douvres* < *dubrum*, so daß wir annehmen können, daß diese Wörter auch in der Zusammensetzung größere Selbständigkeit bewahrten. Bei den Namen auf *-ācu*, die stets auf der langen vorletzten Silbe betont sind, kann man geltend machen, daß sie vorwiegend von römischen Namen gebildet sind wie *Āmiliacu*, *Petroni-acu*, so daß sie sich der lat. Betonung unterwarfen. In den Ableitungen mit *-āte*, *-ausu* wie *Arelate*, *Nemausu*, hingegen hatte das Suffix für die Römer keine Bedeutung, so daß die Zurückziehung des Akzentes leichter eintreten konnte. In ganz analoger Weise läßt sich bei Zusammensetzungen mit kurzer Stammsilbe im zweiten Bestandteil die relative Selbständigkeit dieses Teiles nachweisen. So treffen wir in einigen Ortsnamen auf *-brīga* Betonung der kurzen vorletzten Silbe an, z. B.: *Mageto-brīga* > *Moigte de Brie*, *Volobriga* > *Valabregue*, *Genebrea* < \**Gena-brīga* > *la Genebrée*. Da daneben das einfache *brīga* als *Broyes*, *Bries*, *Brée* vorkommt, so müssen wir annehmen, daß diese Zusammensetzungen, wie Meyer-Lübke (Bet., 22) sagt, noch verstanden wurden, zumindest, daß der zweite Bestandteil größere relative Selbständigkeit besaß als in anderen Zusammensetzungen. Das Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung läßt sich folgendermaßen formulieren: Im Gallischen herrschte auch in den Zusammensetzungen Anfangsbetonung wie im Germanischen. Bei der Romanisierung wurden die gallischen Ortsnamen dem lateinischen Betonungsgesetze unterworfen. Nur in einzelnen Fällen wurde ein Ausgleich

mit der gallischen Betonung angestrebt; doch auch dann rückte der Akzent nicht über die drittletzte Silbe hinaus. Eine andere Durchbrechung des lat.-rom. Betonungsgesetzes, die Betonung der kurzen vorletzten Silbe, trat nur ein, wenn der zweite Bestandteil relativ selbständig war.

Zum Schlufs noch einige Bemerkungen.

Unter den Namen auf *-ōna* führt Meyer-Lübke (Bet., 58) auch frz. *Divonne* < gall. *Divona* an und schließt aus der Schreibung *Divōna* bei Ausonius und *Διωνόρα* bei Ptolemäus auf eine Form *Divōna* mit langem *i* und kurzem *o*. Doch ist auf die Akzente und Längenbezeichnungen im Lateinischen und Griechischen kein besonderer Wert zu legen. Ein zuverlässigeres Kriterium ist die Weiterentwicklung des Namens im Romanischen. Nun kann aber frz. *Divonne* nur auf eine Form mit langem *ō* zurückgehen, da *-ona* nur ein Suffix ist und keine Selbständigkeit besaß wie *brīga*. Tatsächlich kommt neben *-ōna* wie in *Axōna* > *Aisne* auch *-ōna* vor in *Artona* > *Artonne*, *Exona* > *Essonnes*. Es kann daher die Schreibung *Divōna* bei Ausonius die gallische Betonung auf der ersten Silbe wiederzugeben suchen, wobei nach dem lat. Betonungsgesetze die vorletzte unbetonte Silbe nur kurz sein konnte. Auch das Längezeichen auf dem *i* beweist nichts. Das *i* könnte ja, wie wir gesehen haben, aus einem nebetonigen offenen *e* entstanden sein, welches *i* den Lautwert von lat. langem *ī* hatte, da es im Französischen als *i* erhalten blieb und nicht wie lat. kurzes *i* zu *e* wurde. Wir kommen somit auf eine Grundform *Dēvōna*, im Gallischen auf der ersten Silbe betont, mit langem *ō*, nicht, wie Holder angibt, mit kurzem *o*, *Devōna*. Wenn wir *Dēvōna* als Grundform annehmen, so läßt sich der Name auch einigermaßen deuten, da man den Stamm *dev-* mit lat. *deus*, gr. *Zeus* in Zusammenhang bringen kann. Diese Ableitung würde auch zu der Bedeutung des Namens passen, da *Devona* eine Flufsgöttin bezeichnet, welcher Name dann auf den Fluß selbst übertragen wurde.

Ob in *Argenou* < *Argenua* wirklich Betonung des Hiatusvokals vorliegt, der gemäß der Entwicklung im Französischen kurzes *u* hätte sein müssen, ist zweifelhaft. Ich möchte daher annehmen, daß uns der Name schlecht überliefert ist und daß er vielleicht *Argenuvia* lautete. Er hätte sich ähnlich entwickelt wie *Lixovii* > frz. *Lezou*. Allerdings möchte Meyer-

Lübke es nicht von *Lixovii* direkt ableiten. Man könnte vielleicht *Lixovium* als Grundform annehmen, das zu *Lezou* wurde analog *Lāxovium* > *Luxeu*, später *Luxeuil*. Voraussetzung ist dabei, daß *vj* > *j* und vokalisiert wurde. Analog könnte *Aregenüvia* > *Argenoja* > *Argenou(e)* geworden sein. Wir hätten dann eine Form mit Betonung der drittletzten Silbe bei kurzer vorletzter Silbe.

Auffallend ist, daß im Spätlateinischen *Bituriges* als *Biturcas* und *Lemovices* in der Form *Limovica* erscheinen. Nach lat. *flores* > afrz. *flours*, nfrz. *fleurs*, sollte man erwarten, daß das *e* der letzten Silbe ausfiel und das *g* vor dem *s* vokalisiert wurde wie etwa in *placitum* > frz. *plait*. Aber wir haben es mit Proparaxytonis zu tun, in denen der palatale Konsonant *g*, bezw. *c* als Auslaut der Mittelsilbe auftritt, was sehr selten ist. Am ehesten könnte man das lat. Suffix *-aticu* > frz. *-age* zum Vergleich heranziehen, woraus man ersieht, daß *c* und daher auch *g* in dieser Stellung nicht vokalisiert, sondern zu *ge* werden. Daher ergab *-ovices* im Französischen *-oges*, also *Lemovices* > *Limoges* und analog *Bitúriges* > frz. *Bourges*. Zu der Zeit, als nachtoniges *a* im Französischen zu *e* geworden war, vgl. *planta* > frz. *plante*, konnte für *Limovices* in latinisierender Schreibung und in Anlehnung an andere fem. Ortsnamen wie *Athenas* auch *Limovicas* und analog *Biturcas* geschrieben werden. Trat zu dem Namen *urbs* hinzu, so wurde durch grammatische Attraktion aus dem Plural *Limovicas* ein Singular *Limovica*.

Während in *Bituriges* > spätlat. *Biturcas* die vorletzte Silbe synkopiert wurde, trat in *Durocasses* > mlt. *Durocas* und *Tricasses* > mlt. *Trecas* Apokope der letzten Silbe ein. Diese Verschiedenheit erklärt sich daraus, daß in *Durócasses*, *Tricasses* die vorletzte Silbe *a* enthält, das nach Meyer-Lübke, Rom. Gram. I, § 326 weniger leicht synkopiert wird. In Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil., XXXIV, 139 habe ich gezeigt, daß in Proparoxytonis mit *a* in der Nachtonsilbe Apokope der letzten Silbe eintritt, wenn durch die Synkope des zu *e* gewordenen *a* ungewöhnliche Lautverbindungen entstanden, z. B. *Isara* > afrz. *\*Eisere* > *\*Eise* > nfrz. *Oise*. In den Zusammensetzungen mit *-casses* würden bei Synkope des *a* zwei stimmlose *s* zusammenstoßen, die eine im Französischen ungewöhnliche Lautverbindung ergeben würden. Es fällt daher die letzte Silbe ab, also *Durocasses* > *Durocas* > frz. *Dreux*.

Eger i. B.

RUDOLF HABERL.

# MITTHEILUNGEN AUS IRISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN.

(Fortsetzung.)

## *Abenteuer Königs Aed Oirdnide.*

Aus H. 23. N. 10 (R. I. A), S. 56.

[F]echt n-aon doluid Aodh Dorndine<sup>1)</sup> ben<sup>2)</sup> Neill Frasaig do ordugud ríge Cairnd Ólnecmachta. Issed doluid for Ess Rūaid 7 robaudh a trī fuistesci ann 7 a fethla. Tānic Ōedh co n-airnecht Corcartri. Roforruimedh co hōgh ann hē la rīgh Corcartri 7 dogeine tri nōi ndabcha ndō do laith 7 do bheōir 7 do mid. Caoga fó do tuirínibh fuada maille fri himper an anma is dea longais tene n-aonbeime 7 in rígrad aidchi fiado 7 cia roscorb Ōed, nī rusib fim,<sup>3)</sup> nair nī bōi buaignech leis, nair dobatar a fet[h]la oc Áth Senaich nās Ess Rūaid oc techt don arbar tairis. Essin<sup>4)</sup> immorro bōie Áed, co nār ibh daif a harce n-aile acht a curna namā ōr dodeiled fri cíoch a máthur. Pa trisd tra lia saoglann Corcartri 7 la cuine<sup>5)</sup> cāch ac ōl 7 triath Temoria gan bit[h] ac ōl. Tuargbais angal a fracra fria hÉl<sup>6)</sup> 7 fecais cen tomait 7 can toirt[h]im co trogain maidne co n-erbert a bē fris arnabarach: 'Collaa' ar sī 'co Turlus Gúaire bhein Colmāin, ar ba teallach feli 7 garta Fálmaige é óab Dáthi anall, dus in bfuigbit[h]i cornn tria firt fele ann'. Cechaing angal tar dorus an bla amauch 7 tuislid apoides 7 tuislis ailecne lais a tūa in lis .i. onn robōi for buss an tsuirn hi rabatar na tri

<sup>1)</sup> = Aed Oirdnide. S. *Cóir Anmann* § 113.

<sup>2)</sup> 'Sohn' (hebr.).

<sup>3)</sup> .i. deog, .i. fin, *Corm. Tr.* S. 80.

<sup>4)</sup> = Is sin 'es ist so'.

<sup>5)</sup> = cuiniu .i. ben, *Corm.* s. v. arg.

<sup>6)</sup> 'Gott' (hebr.).



feathla is deach dobōi a nEalga, id est in [quanm]<sup>1)</sup> corainn 7 an līdan 7 an escung. Cuirn sin do hugad co Corbmac hūa Cuinn . . . tar<sup>2)</sup> rein. 7 rocleith Nia ben Lugnao indala coic lie do Corbmac, co torracht Coirbri rochar Lif<sup>3)</sup> tar nell 7 cia rofet na curna n-aile lia Coirpri, nī atcota na buaignech si co rē na mbréou 7 Aoda Dorndine bein Neill Frasaigh, nair tardad dicealtar tairsib, co ros-ecnadh Dia do thuridhin Chorca[r]tri tria firt feile. Altaigis buide dia Art<sup>4)</sup> antī angal 7 beiris leis na currna cona trī lán do laith indtibh 7 dā<sup>5)</sup> d'Aodh an līdan 7 altaich side do Dia, 7 dobert a[n] escung hi laim rīgh Eclta co fāgbais aice fein an cūaum corainn, co torracht Ier tain do Maoilseclainn mac Nua[i]ll an domain<sup>6)</sup> [7] tuc side do Dia 7 do Ciaranus co brath a coitcenn 7 trie pithu sir.

*Urteilsspruch wegen entwendeter und beschädigter Pferde.*

*Ib. S. 54.*

[L]uidh araile rīg dochum Temrach. Fertha fradh friss. Scurther a graueidiv.<sup>6)</sup> Teallsatar iar sin macedretil Temrach sriauna in rīgh 7 docuaotar for a graid<sup>7)</sup> condarubartar dia reir fri lūth 7 leim 7 diuburgud comboacombacht doib 7 go robriis cāch dīb alaile. Iar sin ruofec ind rī for slānc[h]uine[h]id au greda<sup>8)</sup> 7 rofecsat na tūaetæ for saigid Ica a mac friu. Auiss ann sin iarum ruiced in ureth sou doiv:

Echraide i reim rīadatar sceoo dalaib tindrime suidi ech caich a huir dogrennait dogrennaiter, dosennait dosennaiter, cuma arfemat saora 7 daora, cairdi 7 nāimdi nī nessa broghais dot bais<sup>9)</sup> indass dia bais<sup>9)</sup> na cēile,<sup>10)</sup> ar nī bī būadach 7 nī bī fiachach, maine luither amal issrubrad isin senbreith fri gabāil nErenn .i. conlani conseolau.

Atait .iii. sreatha cutrumai cin fiacha .i. drumcla n-eich, cuma leis eich naidai immbi conair forsa teit, cuma lee cip crua dosnessa, couma lē cip srīan cotagaib, couma lē in i mbeolaib

<sup>1)</sup> Hier ist der Rand beschädigt.

<sup>2)</sup> 'Gott'.

<sup>3)</sup> = Cormac Lifechar.

<sup>4)</sup> 'gab'; siehe Contributions s. v.

<sup>5)</sup> = Maelsechlainn mac Domnaill (948—1022). Doman-nūall ist Cormac Etymologie von Domnall.

<sup>6)</sup> = graige.

<sup>7)</sup> Vielleicht bass.

<sup>8)</sup> = graig.

<sup>9)</sup> c.ii. MS.

<sup>10)</sup> = a grega.

fa i mbeolaib eich focerdtar; cumma la luit in for tein focerdtar fan for colcaid, ar cid alless issa llúam nottleathar air, cidh in dam costeth̄ fria crích cōir mat diṛ araidien cid int aigin lleth fuitir issed tēti ancid sreba ar oircelaib mis glúaisit co lu (S. 55) athar. Ar cid bās dobera for cethra iss coitchend dōib, cid dia cinn idnusta a ffríacha is dílus dō, fodiag nī ful[n]giut cethra pecai in duine ar ilar a imarbus 7 tīagat sium asa n-aig-nedaib cōirib.<sup>1)</sup>

*Aus H. 3. 18, S. 60a.*

### ***Toghúil tsítha Truim inn so.***

Toluidh Bodhp in reimim dochum in tsítha réinid curchān a dhóchum rodhalbestar for alailiu indlantar diabereadh forcaomhnacair talamchumhscugud isind aoir faietar neóill etarbúasach uaistib din buiresc rubertsat for alaili. Atnaidh Bodhp fuasmudh dinrabhaing consernaigh infilping báí i curchān. Focerd curchān abaid diulengaid ocus sernais in ceirnin bóí ic Bodhp ic imdítin a thaib. Iachtaidh Bodhp. Itéas do Sárān mac Boidhb soidid a ath̄ 7 longais curchān fo di nō fo trí 7 ramaightar isin síth, cutardsat ā cacha hairdi treithe, conbuiretar i caomthach naso-duine. Finit.

### ***Toghmara Baisi bandruad ind so.***

*Ib. und in Harl. 5280, fo. 48b.*

Bais bandruadh, ingen sídhe Chrunnmóil hi sídhaib. Consentar ocus Fachtna Fathach. Comairether di toghmarc Fachtna Fathach 7 is edh asbert: Fachtna Fathach maníp<sup>2)</sup> cōir coibdiula<sup>3)</sup> nī budh bruan<sup>4)</sup> brinda oldas munmharg míl a frísgart ruadh rogrindi diambudh cul cumsanudh ol is forband Fachtna. Fachtna 7 rl. Finit.

### ***Táin Bō Rúanaid ind so.***

*(Ib.)*

Doluid Rúanaid forsín táin. Conruibhnigh a seitigh 7 forlengair a hairbir miscaidh himmorro intí Rúanaidh 7 forreblangair<sup>5)</sup> intain foidhid Condla 7 foceird bedhg 'sin chomrair<sup>6)</sup> corob rúanaidh

<sup>1)</sup> Finit do sin 7 is ércotach in duph.

<sup>2)</sup> maní H.

<sup>3)</sup> coibdelai H.

<sup>4)</sup> ní ba buan H.

<sup>5)</sup> forlengair H.

<sup>6)</sup> sa comrair H.

don beim. Tingair himmorro inti Ruanaidh sin chuibhleng 7 forerlangair<sup>1)</sup> inti Condlai, conid ann asbert: 'Ní cheil<sup>2)</sup> Ruanaid rinnela brúchtaid in búar bódela timgair in tuir tredenus fosaíd ní budh foillechtaidh cumang oliscenn suidhi forro rindaídh in ruanaidh-si.' Ní cheil Ruanaidh. Conidh ann rosóíedh in tain 7 rl. Finit.

### *Cath Sléphe Cāin inso.*

*Aus H. 3. 18, S. 60b.*

Seuchaidh cāch co araili díobh, edōn Fint 7 Gold. Forruipnetar 'sin tailaig. Lautar forsna harmu, consephnatar forsna scíathu. Elcnuig indalanæ, ruibidh alailiu. Eacmaing Fint dia tofund, toaidh Gold forsiu amar 7 consephaind Oséne mac Fint dia timchar 7 maidhidh for claind Morndai 7 c. Finit.

### *Die ersten Ärzte Irlands.*

*Aus Egerton 1782, fo. 42 a 1.*

Cia cétliaigh robúi ind-Érinn ar tús riam ocus cía cetsäer ocus cía cétiasceuire? Amal isp[er]tar:

Cappo re leighius, nír lag, re reimmess robu comnart,  
Lúasat in säerglice cosse ocus Laighni in t-iascaire.

Éba in bainnliaigh tainicc arōen re Cessair in liaigh tánuiste. Slānga mac Parrt[h]alōin in tres liaigh tainicc le Parrt[h]alōn i nhÉrinn. Fergne hū[a] Crithinbéil in cethramad liaigh tanic arāen re Neimidh a nÉrinn.

Legha Fer mBolg didiu i. Dubda Dublosach 7 Codhan comchísnech ocus Fingin fiseoda ocus Maine mac Grísach ocus Áengus an térnámach.

Legha Thúaithe Dē Danann iarsin Diancecht 7 Airmed 7 Míach.

Taath Dē Danann,<sup>3)</sup> is íat tug mucco i nhÉrinn ar tús.

### *Die fünfzehn Namen des Boyne.<sup>4)</sup>*

*Aus Laud 610, fo. 116b.*

1 A ecsiú Fáil, fēgam sein, dēnam dāil nāchandubaig,  
samlam ann-ōge uili anmann<sup>5)</sup> Bōinne Bregmaíge.

<sup>1)</sup> forerlangair H.      <sup>2)</sup> cel H.      <sup>3)</sup> Am Rande: nō Mumain.

<sup>4)</sup> Nach Sprache und Stil möchte ich Cináed ua Hartacáin für den Dichter halten.

<sup>5)</sup> anmanna MS., das letzte a später hinzugefügt.

- 2 Cōic anmand dēc tre blaid mbinn fil d'anmanaib for Bōinn,  
 3 Segais a hainm isin sīd intan failsig<sup>thir</sup> iar fir,  
 4 Dā n-ainm fuirre ō sin immach ilLaignib na lēchmarcach:  
 5 Bōand im-Mide na mal, dā n-ainm fuirri ō sein co sal:  
 6 Trethnach tonn co Cūalngne hūass cath, Sruth Findc[h]uill  
 co Loch nEchach,  
 galla a nem re gail ngluair ngil, Banna iar sin co Tūa[i]g inbir.  
 7 Lunann i nAlpain cen ail, sruth Sabrann i Saxanaib,  
 sruth Tibir i rRōim na recht, dligid co cōir comaitech.  
 8 Sruth n-ard nEordanān, nī cel, hi tīrib mac nIsrael,  
 Tigir<sup>1)</sup> a hainm iar n-astar hi pardus na primapstal.  
 9 Ropond<sup>2)</sup> beo for deis mic Dē iar n-ētsec[h]t, iar n-esserge,  
 is he rofargnī, rofes, iss ē ardrī na n-eces.

A hēcisiu F.

### **Wie Sechnall und Patrick Fiac vom Tode retteten.**

*Aus der Handschrift des Féire in Cheltenham<sup>3)</sup> S. 46a.*

Feacht n-aile luidh Seachnall do Ardmachæ 7 ní raibi Pátric hi fus, conacca dá ech carpuir lá muintir Pátric for a cind for sgar. Ocus roráidhe Seachnall ba cōru ind eich uccu[t] do breith dond espug .i. do Fiac. Uair doruacht Pátric attcūas dó inni sin. Dohindled a carput forsna heocha 7 nusfáidhe Pátric cen duine léo cu féotur ina disirt la Mochtæ. Lotar deisell arnauárach go Domnach Seachnaill. Lotar iarnauairter (sic) do cill Auxile. Lotur iar suidhiu do cill Monach. Lotur iarum cu Fiacc cu Sleibte.

IS hi tucait in carpait do breith cu Fiacc, ar notéighed dia sathairn init co mbídh oc Cnoc Droma Coblai.<sup>4)</sup> Uaim dó ann, cūicc bairgena leis, ut fama est. Dia cāsc došaighedh docum Sleibte. 7 dothuairthedh boim leis de chuig panibus. Is i tucait

<sup>1)</sup> tigrā MS.

<sup>2)</sup> Die Handschrift hat robond; über dem b steht nō p.

<sup>3)</sup> S. Féire Oengusso ed. Wh. Stokes (H. Bradshaw Society), S. X.

<sup>4)</sup> = Cnoc Drommo Gablæ, Trip. 350, 2.

an charpait do Fíacc: rochnaoi dáol a chois corbo comfochraib bás  
dóu. 7 rl.

***Randglossen und Reimereien aus H. 3. 18.***

S. 3.

fé (trúagh) .i. ue amai .i. lim amin .i. ué. ar is fern laisin  
laidneoir 7 u laisin Gáidel.

S. 4.

Flaind line nachamlúaidh nād rotbréccat meschoin<sup>1)</sup> mūaid,<sup>2)</sup>  
mainbad leca<sup>3)</sup> Lugdach liss eōin bicc baile<sup>4)</sup> notbeitiss.

S. 5.

Intan dono atāi-siu aniu a nirt 7 a n-airechus nī aig<sup>5)</sup> duit  
gūairugud frium-sa, ol eigsí. Ní dolith<sup>6)</sup> dorōine an Coimthe  
gach dúil.

***Die Hölzer am Kreuze Christi.***

(Ib.)

Ceithre fedha, fath gin gheis, i croich mic Dé dia féigmais:  
cedir, cupris is gius gann, bethe bán i mbúi in sgríbenn.

Cedir in cos feibh adcúas, gius in crann bōi etarbhúas,  
a tenga ba cupris cain, [ocus] ba bethe a titail.

***Abstammung der zwölf Apostel.***

*Aus Laud 610, fo. 9b.*

- 1 Petor co treib Iuda áin, Andrias co treib Isachair,  
Iacōb co treib Zabulōn cen lēn, Eōin úasal co Ruben.
- 2 Peilib co treib Semiōn co lli, Partolōn co treib Leuī,  
Tomās, [co treib] Efraim se, Matheus co treib Manasse.
- 3 Iacōp . . in,<sup>7)</sup> cāin a brīg, co treib beōda Beniamīn,  
Tatheus co treib Dan, nī cēl, Simōn Canane co Asser.
- 4 Pōl co geinntib, comall ngrinn, Madian co treib Neptalim,  
apstal cach tīre can tor amail rorāda Petur.

<sup>1)</sup> .i. dí bhraí.

<sup>2)</sup> fīr étaidh.

<sup>3)</sup> .i. ruici 7 athis. Vgl. LL. 125 b 6.

<sup>4)</sup> Vgl. Harl. 5280, fo. 75 a m. inf. .i. póic 7 meirtrech Eoin baili .i.  
bet 7 mebul, nó póic 7 pudhair.

<sup>5)</sup> .i. ní dlígéd.

<sup>6)</sup> .i. geis.

<sup>7)</sup> Unleserlich. Vielleicht amnín. Man erwartet min (Jacobus Minor).

*Rangordnung der Könige in Tara.**Aus Harleian 5280, fo. 74a.*

- 1 Temair, s̄ær in sossadh do cech rí[g] dia rīmhe,  
imme, maith an t-āighi, suides flaith cech tiri.
- 2 Dia lāim deis (*sic*) rī Caisil cāin cuiri,  
rī Laigen lín ngraige<sup>1)</sup> hī cetlud fri suidhe.
- 3 Suidid<sup>2)</sup> airdrí Ailig dia c[h]liu, cēim co clothgai,  
rī Ulad, ard n-athe, hī cetlud rig Fochla.
- 4 Fosernd clothrī Connacht ier cūl, cáine sretha,  
fri senchus, sōer fatha, fri būaid ocus breatha.
- 5 Baghaso an crutsa, is cōir cía noderba,  
suid[igud] ard amrae tige tūathaic[h] Temra. Temair.

*Das Haus des Mac ind Óc.**(Ib. und in B. IV, 2, fo. 136a.)*

- 1 Tomus tighe mec ind Ócc, fōt cen bine buidnib sēt,  
etir dā fraigid rosiacht, mō secht traigid, mō secht cet.
- 2 Cet[h]rí dorais ind cen brōn, bith oc ōl tria bitha sir,  
turib ciprib, ūair is cām, cōel fo tuighib d'itib én.
- 3 Dabuch d[e]argiubair mōr lucht,<sup>4)</sup> slōg ōss a ucht cen nach socht,  
suide *fichet* co ba secht, coire cert ocht<sup>5)</sup> *fichet* torc. Tomus.

*Congal Cinnmagair.**Aus B. IV. 2 (R. I. A.) fo. 62.*

- 1 Congal Cinnmaghair maith rī, bliadain, dā bliadhain fo tri  
d'Éirinn gan coccadh, gan cath, fa rī sona sechtbliadhnach.
- 2 As uime do treig Temhraigh ar Chendmaghair móirmhen-  
mnaigh,  
cīos is cáin Erenn re hedh i ttír Conaill co caithfedh.
- 3 Braighde Éirenn co ua šeacht gabhais tre righe is tre neart,  
secht rígh acht co ndernta de ar Inis Fáil férúaine.
- 4 Co mbeth áiremh secht rígh ndéce ar clannaibh Conaill na  
ccēd,  
ōs ríograidh Erenn uile ga ccor sa réim ríoghraidhe.
- 5 Locht fire nī raibhe riamh ar ūa Conaill na ccaoihmgiáll,  
acht éd tre mergrádh a mná do bi i mac Fergusu.

<sup>1)</sup> ngraidhe MS.<sup>2)</sup> suidigh MS.<sup>3)</sup> Zeilenende.<sup>4)</sup> dabach d'arecat mór a lucht B.<sup>5)</sup> secht B.<sup>6)</sup> König von Irland 705—710.

- 6 *Dā* ndeachaid Congal a ccéin 'sa domhan soir ar sliocht Néill,  
do ghebbhadh ar ghabhsat soin, Níall is Dathī co ccathgail.  
7 Lacht *ocus* íascc, mil is mes in cech tír thúaithe *ocus* tes,  
tuc gach tír a thoradh trom mar dobái ag Corbmac nō ag  
Conn. Congal.

*Laitheog ermahnt ihren Sohn Flann.*

(Ib. fo. 61b.)

Laitheōg .cc. madh fíor.

- 1 Bendacht ort, a Floinn Aidhne, gabh ōt máthair comairle,  
nā bī gan gart at gníomh ngle, oir as lat *gach* ní chuinghe.  
2 Adbeir do mháthair feine ní dligh ollamh ainbfeile,  
antí síres ní ar *gach* nech ní dhligheann beith gan oínech.  
3 An t-ollamh cuinghes *gach* ní ar feraibh an bhetha bí,  
dligidh an t-ollomh gan ches a bhronnadh amhail chuinghes.  
4 Sásadh urlamh, fáilte íer sin, proinn aige da *gach* aoidhidh,<sup>1)</sup>  
cradh d'iarraidh, bíadh do brondudh dligidh riamh *gach* ro-  
ollomh.  
5 Adubairt Marbān Múaidhe gidh mór ndamh dhiolus Gúaire,  
tiocfa saí da c[h]loinn dia eis bhenfus do chách a coibheis.  
6 Ainm fola goirfíther de fer da bfuil an tairngire,  
an t-ēn ceileabhrus do chách ūadh sloinnfidher é co bráth.  
7 Duit as dúthe[h]a beth co fial d'eixibh Érenn thoir is tíar,  
ó Ghúaire nār glāmadh gart gár fagaibh dāmh mór mben-  
nacht.  
8 Tucais gaiseccedh *ocus* gart ō ríoghaibh caomha Connacht,  
[is] tuccais an éccsi nglain ōn mnaoi méirghil, ōt máthair.  
9 Dā mbeirt[h]ea dán lat bothúaid co ríoghraid Esa roglain  
Rúaidh,  
ní budh lúgha let ale nās ō chúairt Érenn uile.  
10 Thúaidh atā an cethrar calma as feile atā ar broinn Banba:  
Maoldoraidh, Éicneachān ān, Flaithbertach is Canannán.  
11 Fer ós cách Éigneachān oll, rī Leithe Cuinn a Conoll,  
fregartach Gúaire im ghartaibh mac Dálaigh mic Muir-  
c[h]jertaig.  
12 Sāi re thúaid mo bhráthair féin Núdha mac Duineachair féil,  
cía as féle nā Bran mac Taidg *ocus* Maelcéin ōn C[h]loch-  
aird?

<sup>1)</sup> aoidhigh MS.

13 As me Laitheöcc láidhech lán, 's am inghen do Laighnechán,  
an éxe atá let co becht as uaisle dhuit mo bennacht. B.

Fland mac Lonáin [floruit 890] m. Condmaig m. Cathnia m. Aoda m.  
Torp[th]a m. Fergaili m. Artgaile m. Gúaire Aidhne ar dúthchus a máthar  
dodhechaidh sidhe re hÉiccsí .i. Laitheöcc Láidheach ingen Laighnecháin do  
c[h]enél Conuill Gulban m. Néill.

### *Pātraic cecinit.*

*Aus der Brüsseler Handschrift 5100-4, S. 49.*

- 1 Cumma lem etir cen co tias ilLaighnib,  
bat imda a n-airlig, is léir for a n-airdhibh.
- 2 Cindus beiti cena bat fása a rát[h]a,  
bidh fann a cumang tall a laithi brátha.
- 3 Mór let a manac[h] la Cæmgen fene,  
is dā trian la hAbān is la Moling in tslebi.
- 4 In trian nā berat-somh for nem dia læchraidh,  
is iat-side berat-sa a lōgh mo saothair.
- 5 Is iatt-so na lochranna da lasfatt Laighin,  
dobér-sa anosa a crosa darm' aigidh.
- 6 Ní loisce an tene lam treasa talc[h]air,  
nem *ocus* talamh raghaidh dia manc[h]aib.
- 7 Gidhedh nogabdais ō Bhír co Berba,  
cech leth naragdais nī tairgtais demna.
- 8 Bid fír an dordān-sa dordaid dam aingil,  
crícha in chorpāin-so<sup>1)</sup> bid iad-so am anmain.
- 9 Togaide an triar-so tairngires sinne,  
in mac raith Eibbān ataldar linne,  
Moling na Tæidhen is Cæmgin Glinne.
- 10 Bad sgribt[h]a a sgela, bad fleda a fadla,  
nīscoirset cesa cen lessa a n-anma.
- 11 Cech sær noslēma ar lār a t[h]ire,  
acht æn dib nī gēbha rath, recht nā ríghē.
- 12 Cech æn ba nesa da cat[h]raib calma,  
bid iatt bus mesa dūibh for bith Banba.
- 13 Acht co tī an lā-so bat fāsa falma,  
iar foillge flat[h]a cen catha calma.
- 14 Dailfadh an Dūilem dōib co lār a tempail  
flait[h]ius ind alltair, mait[h]ius in c[h]enntair.

<sup>1)</sup> concorpainso *MS.*



15 Is na cleirigh aile    ticfat dīb sunna,  
      bat crin is bat croma,    a bein, is cumma.    Cumma.

**Nekrolog auf Art Buidhe mac Domhnaill Riabhaigh**  
 († 25. Nov. 1517).

*Aus Egerton 1782, fo. 3 und 4.<sup>1)</sup>*

Calainn enair for dardáin anno Domini milésimo .ccccc. XVII.<sup>2)</sup> Macc Murchada rí Laigen do écc im féil Catrach fiona<sup>3)</sup> isin bliadain si .i. Artt Buide m. Domnuill Riabaig m. Gerailt m. Airt m. Airt m. Murcheartaig m. Muiris m. Muircheartaig m. Domnaill m. Domnaill Chæmánaig m. Diarmata na hGall .i. Art Áinfeir hÉrenn<sup>4)</sup> tar éis Airt m. Cuinn Chetchathaig, in t-áenmacc rí is fearr tãruill úir Érenn riam, is mó dorinne d'úaisli 7 d'ágh 7 d'orbert, (fo. 3b) is mó fuair 7 tuc amach, intí nár ér ðenduine riam fa athc[h]uingid etualuing, in fer do lomaírg Gaill Érenn uile ar crechad ocus ar madmannaib 7 in fer nár c[h]otail énoídhí riam gan maithles Gall da innluccad da dúintib ar a oman féin. Acht atá ní cena: noco rimter renna nime, noco ndech comla fri haieór 7 noco n-áirmither míla in mara, ní hai-rémthar trian a maithiusa 7 a gnímrád. Acht ma tecmadh secht tengt[h]a filed i cinn áenduine (fo. 4a) ocus secht sírla-bartha súadh in gach tengaidh dīb, nō aiúgil nime dia n-aisnes, do beth ní dia chomrumuib gan turim asa haithlí. Fir Érenn uili immorro ic comcáineð in éca sin iter eclais 7 tuaith 7 aos gacho dána olcheña. Is derb dono ní biaidh ith i n-úir 7 ní bia blicht ac búar nā iasc a n-inberuib nā lamhnad for cóir i Laighnib don bás hīsin. A éc a mūr na mbráthar (fo. 4b) Minabur a nInis Coirthaig. Et sepultus est isin mainistir cētna i n-otharlighe a athar fo dītín Dé 7 sin Frónséis iar mbreth búada ó dōman 7 ó dēman a haithlí sechtmogat bliadan do forba .i. sē bliadna a lánrighe Laigen gan fresabra co mbloidh do bliadain, 7 in cuid aile fri degmacacht rígh co sainemail ocus a der-bráthair do rigad ina inat .i. Geralt Caemánach.

<sup>1)</sup> Auf zwei winzige Pergamentstücke geschrieben, die vorne in die Handschrift eingebunden sind.

<sup>2)</sup> Die Vier Meister haben den Tod Art's unter dem Jahre 1518 eingetragen.

<sup>3)</sup> Diese Auflösung von Catr. f. v. danke ich O. Bergin, der den Namen Catriona auch sonst in Catair fiona zerlegt gefunden hat.

<sup>4)</sup> herinn MS.

**Die Herkunft der Partraige.**<sup>1</sup> Aus B. IV, 2, fo. 147a.

Partraige Cera cidh re cloinn Fiachach giallait, nī dībh dōibh, acht is do senChonnachtaib .i. do chloinn Genainn meic Deala.

Partraige an Locha, diatá Magh Tuiredh et Conga, do c[h]loinn hSreing meic Sengainn dōibh.

Partraige an tSleibhe .i. o C[h]rúaich co Loch nOirbsen, do chloinn Conaill Oirisen meic Briain dōibh.

**Bríathra Floinn Fíona meic Cosa an[n]so.<sup>1</sup>**

Aus 23. N. 17, S. 33.

Maith dán eena dogní ri[g] do bocht, dogní ansruith d'esert, dogní sochinél do dochinél, dogní gáeth do báeth. Maith a thosach, ferr a deired, airmíteach isin centar, lógmar isin altar, ní derchóintech fri a deired .i. fri tabairt nime don anmain.

Doilig dán láechdacht. Ní hoirdere 7 is dercnaig a daig, gnínhach duthain a saoi .i. [it] tregdaig a bí, a[t] hifern[eig] a mairb. Ní thimain athair dia mac. Mairg danab dán láechdacht mina tair aithrige.

**Fíthels Ratschläge an seinen Sohn.<sup>2</sup>**

(Ibidem.)

Cid imma ngabthar trebad? ol a mac fri Fíthel.

Ní *hansa*. Im indeōin cothaigthe, ol Fíthel.

Ceist. Caide an inneōin threbtha? ol in mac.

Ní *hansa*. Ben maith, ol Fíthel.

Cinnas do aith[g]enmais in degmnái? ol in mac.

Asa deilb 7 asa costud, a tlás, a fos, a féile.

Ní thuca in cóil ngairit, osí c[h]amm fínnfadach. Ní thuca in remain ngairit.

Ní thuca in finn fotai.

Ní thuca in dubšúilig ndochoise.

Ní thuca in uidir n-apuide.

Ní thuca in duib teimlidi.

Ní thuca in cenainn ngáirechtaig.

<sup>1</sup>) Vgl. *Anecdota from Irish MSS.* III, S. 20, Z. 9; *Zeitschrift* VI, S. 261, und *Félire Oengusso*<sup>2</sup>, S. X, Z. 25.

<sup>2</sup>) Vgl. *LL.* S. 346b.

Ni thuca in cóil clannmair, osí drúith édrúith.

Ni thuca in lúthig mibésaig.

Ca ben dóber? ar in mac.

Da fagair na móra finna 7 na báingela<sup>1)</sup> duba, tabair iet.

Cid as dech do mnáib?

Ni *hansa*. Ben maith nád fitir fer romat ríam 7 ma fagair sin, as í in ben sáer sóchineilech sóchruid co ndegbésaib 7 co lám-thorad.<sup>2)</sup>

Cid dogén muna fagar mar sin iat?

A ngabáil tar a n-ainme cipé cruth i mbeid.

Cia ben is mesa do mnáib?

Ni *hansa*. Be chárna.

Cid is mesam iná sin?

In fer dobeir í.

Cid is mesam iná sin?

In mac géntar úatha ar áen. Ar ní bí cen meing, cen mebail an[n] do gnáth.

Cúic airdena<sup>3)</sup> déc degmná: ciall, cóime, connlacht, náire, áille, ailgine, saidbres, sóire, sogóidalg nó soitnge, tlas, fos, feile, gáis, idna, indracus.

Cúic airdena déc drochmná .i. doinnme, díbe, dimaine labra, leisce, liuntaige, glór, gráinne, cesacht, cúairt, goit, céilide, drúis, báes, brataige. Finis.

### *Hebräische Wörter erklärt.*

*Aus dem Buch von Hui Maine, fo. 132 b 2.*

- 1 Episcopus in t-ebra, irdaire a lúad re labra, pontifex a grēc, ní mer, speculator a laten.
- 2 Prespiter in t-ebra úais, sacerdos grēc, nír fogúais, senior a laten malle, ní dereöl inn imirge.
- 3 Diaconus dil delbda rád ríme na ronebra, leuita a grēc, lúater lib, minister isin laitein.
- 4 Sinagoga in t-ebra tall, ecclesia in grēc nosfretrand, congregatio sund cid sean, ed a fir isin laitín.
- 5 Ethelium in t-ebra thair, eoangelium ic Grēcáib, bonum nuntium, rád nách nár, ic auctaraib na Rómán.
- 6 Amellus ainm don c[h]loich cruind astiathir<sup>4)</sup> talman trentruim, is impe, ní súaill in sein, rocumdaig Dauid cathraigh.

<sup>1)</sup> baingella MS.

<sup>2)</sup> lántorad MS.

<sup>3)</sup> ailgena MS.

<sup>4)</sup> Zu lesen a iarthair?

*Der Ursprung des gregorianischen Kirchengesangs.**Ibidem, fo. 174 b.*

- 1 Mac atcūala is domain tair a crích Iuda 'san Beithil,  
rī ro<sup>1)</sup> cum in cruindi cōir amail indises canōin.
- 2 Ingnad robī in mac go mbloid tānic eter Iuda[da]ib,  
amlaid itā in rī<sup>2)</sup> go rath gan deiredh is gan tosach.
- 3 Rogab format Irūath ān re mac Muiri na mōrdal,  
do drec[h] Irūath, ceim nār cōir, do marbudh Ísu ardmōir.
- 4 Adubairt Grigair and sein re hIrūath an ai[d]chi-sein:  
'is i comarli is cōir dhe, a marbud meic mōir Muire'.
- 5 Idubairt Irūath and sin re Gamut guna muinntir:  
'eirig is comēt in laind go marbt[h]ar Ísu alaind'.
- 6 Atruacht (*sic*) Gamut go nguth mbind a ndiaig ingini Iachim,  
go cūala ceōla ba dlecht, orgān 7 cantairecht.
- 7 Dogabsat gloria glan aingil nimi da mōradh,  
'san tulaigh i rucad Dia dogab Grigair in gloria.
- 8 Darōnsat aingil 'ga thig ceōla comarle don Chomidid,<sup>3)</sup>  
go tuc Gamut leis da thig na ceōla go teach Grigair.
- 9 Tan dacūala Grigair glan ceōla cuibdi na n-aingel,<sup>4)</sup>  
tresna ceōlaib sein ar sein do creit Grigair in Comdid.<sup>3)</sup>
- 10 Bē, Mī, Rē, Lā, Fā, Mī find, dalta da Grigair go grind,  
documsadar sin gu cōir in cantairecht fo c[h]etōir.
- 11 Tānic Sol glē glan go mbloid go oidi fein go Grigair,  
gor cuir a c[h]uitig go ceart go cubaidh 'san cantairecht.
- 12 Rē ocus Ut go rēim n-ān, is iat ro-glēs in t-orgān,  
go fuil a cuitigh go ceart go cubaid 'sin cantairecht.
- 13 Grigair mac Ardnōis gu nert 'gar cumad in cantairecht,  
ab Rōma i rē Irūa[i]th thair rē Grigair do Ghædelaibh.
- 14 Tānic rath in C[h]omdead cain ar Grigair cona daltadaibh,  
gor creitset in slūagh gan acht Grigair triasan cantairecht.
- 15 Sē cēt mili, bāig go mbloidh, d' Iu[da]daibh in n-aidchi sein  
do creit do Grigair go hān, docandais leis a orgān.
- 16 Asein dacūaidh isan Rōim Grigair go n-imat a slōigh,  
is rasuidh 'san Rōim go cert go raibi 'na hab[d]ainecht.
- 17 Ro hindisead d' Irūath sein Grigair d'eludh le muinntir,  
is ro gell Irūath iar sein nāch biad a dīn for talmāin.

<sup>1)</sup> re MS.<sup>2)</sup> rīg MS.<sup>3)</sup> comdig MS.<sup>4)</sup> aingil MS.

- 18 Rāngus ō Irūath 'na diaig 7 roba lām a ngliaigh,  
is ē sin cēt cath amach Iudadh agus Cristaigeach.
- 19 Iar sein romeбайд in maidm ar muintir Irūa[i]th agairb,  
nīr gabud re Grigair de secht laithi na sechtmaine.
- 20 Secht mbliadna go leith gan len isan Rōimh gan imarlen,  
recht n-abaidh iar sein rogab eter Grigair is Pedar.
- 21 Marbud nobeired uili na habaidh sin Armēni,  
isan Rōim sin, bāigh go mbloidh, ga cosnam re hIu[da]daibh.
- 22 Tānic Peadur, rēim go mbloidh, gor súidh a n-inadh Grigair,  
is go raibi and iar sein ag fognadh don mōrChoimdid.<sup>1)</sup>
- 23 Cūig bliadna is cōic cēt gan len isan Rōim, gan ederlen,  
etir Pedar, bāigh go mbloidh, is Grigair do Gædelaibh.
- 24 Grigair mac Tuilegnaid teand ardab na Rōma a hĒrend,  
is ris adair iar sein Grigair Rōma na nGædel.
- 25 Doriachtadar Gædil sair go Rōim a n[d]legaid Grigair,  
go tucad manc[h]ini daibh, do Gædelaib gan dimbāigh.
- 26 Is cian rosræined amach Iudaich a crīch Rōmanach,  
fada ōn Ierusalemh soir, uail<sup>2)</sup> ita ceand in cogaidh.
- 27 Nī dligend cantairecht cōir do tōcbail agun altōir  
neach nach findfa, lith gan acht, innī data in cantairecht.
- 28 Poliponus, Dunstān grind rocumsat Kirie inn aiffrind,  
ro cumsat Kirie go hān Poliponus is Dunstān.
- 29 Rocum Grigair gredail glan isan aiffrind ard ūasal,  
da facaibh 'na inad ān dar cum Grigair in gredal.<sup>3)</sup>
- 30 Ceat[h]rur suidhiscēl slangha rocumsat na soisceala,  
d'indisin scēala dia dhe agus do tēlad creitme.
- 31 Lechtain le Pedar go mblad isan aiffrind ard ūasal,<sup>4)</sup>  
Alaxandair Rōma, itclos, is ē rocum in Sanctus.
- 32 Rocum Septenāir sund tra, ardri<sup>5)</sup> [na] Saxan særdha,  
Septināir fri Solam trān agus Agnus fri Dunstān.
- 33 Rocum Sencais go cōiri fatadh cām na canōni,  
is d'indis do gach tur thoir in scel<sup>6)</sup> mōr-sa is da macaib.  
Mac itcūala 'san tīr toir.

*Der Tribut des Königs von Ess Rúaid.*

*Aus B. IV. 2, fo. 60 b.*

- 1 Atā sunn senchus nāch stiaill do rīgh Eassa roghloin Rúaidh,  
gach nī dlighes, nī dúaitnid, is šires ó phríomhlthūathaib.

<sup>1)</sup> coimdhig MS.

<sup>2)</sup> = bhail.

<sup>3)</sup> gregal MS.

<sup>4)</sup> nasail MS.

<sup>5)</sup> ardrig MS.

<sup>6)</sup> scelā MS.

- 2 Dá dabaigh décc do lionn maith, a thrí urdail do degh-  
braith,  
cēt muc, cēt mart arna mhes, cēd brat, cēd matal mōirdhes.
- 3 Trī ced bairghen co ma trī, cíos Cairpri sin don airdrī  
gacha bliadhna, lith gan locht, 'sa adhlacadh coa ardport.
- 4 Dartraighe *ocus* Tūath Rátha, Fir Luirec co n-ilur fátha,  
do rīgh Erne, rūathar nglē, bīadh *uathaib* gacha rāithe.
- 5 Cenel Luighdhech, ní dlecht díbh acht comaitecht re haird-  
righ,  
a triath chuca ar cūairt ar sin gan biadh d'iodhlacadh  
uathibh.
- 6 As edh fodera dōib sin gan biadh d'iodhlacadh uathibh,  
a líonmaire thūaid ga toigh is burba an tslūaigh ō Thoraigh.
- 7 Atád trī tūatha 'na tír, cíos nō cáin nī dlegar dhíbh,  
clann Murchada an lámaigh luinn, clann Dalaigh is clann  
Domhnaill.
- 8 As uime nach dlegait soin cíos nó cáin do rīgh uathaibh,  
daibh as dúthaig an ríghē, nī chráidh cách a coimhdíne.
- 9 Anūair nāch leis Temair tend *ocus* airdríghē nÉrenn,  
do rīgh Eassa Rūaidh nī dlecht cíos nā cáin nā comhuidecht.
- 10 Ge deach rī Conaill a ccēin ar slūaiged rī Temhra tréin,  
nī heiccen beires ó thoigh acht do thuillemh tūarastoil.
- 11 Dá ttegmadh a ccath cend i ccend slūagh Conaill is rī  
Érenn,  
cecha marbt[h]ar díobh 'sa ccath dlighid a íoc rī Temrach.
- 12 Nī dlegait lōn leo for sēt laochradh Conaill na ccōemhced,  
acht an ccēin rabhaitt amuigh rī Érenn da bfriothailimh.
- 13 Ge mōr doniād for conair nī dlecht a accra oruibh,  
tūarustal rī cúiccid crúaidh dlighid rī Essa rioghrúaidh.
- 14 Tūarustal trī n-uirrigh n-oll da gach uirrigh a Conall  
re taobh a thecht slān da thoigh gan dāl, gan agra  
orthoibh.
- 15 Is tūarustal uirrigh díobh gacha tōisigh tre biōth síor,  
tūarustal tōisigh amuigh da gach enbrucchaid uathaibh.
- 16 Adhbair asa ndleghait soin clanna Conaill Gulbain gloin,  
do chinn tslōighidh nāch dlecht díobh is ar crōdhacht a  
ccaithgníomh.
- 17 Pátraicc dofaccaibh dōibh soin, uadh do sgríobadh i lleab-  
raib,  
gach nī dleghait linibh lá Crist da choimet mar atā. Atā.

*Do chomramaib Laigen inso sis.**Aus Rawlinson B. 502, S. 88a.*

Fland mac Mælmædōc .cc.

- 1 Eol dam i ndairib drēhta in Midaig mūaid mōrechta,  
echtaigtis glonnaib gaile do læchraid luaith Lorcmaige.
- 2 Læchrad Lagen, lūad nad chres, nīrbo chiuin a comathches,  
fri hUltu, fri Mumain mūaid is fri Leth Cuind claidebrūaid.
- 3 Is mō airim, airdi baig, an romarbsat Laigin lāin,  
an robeotar buidnib drenn do ōcaib amraib hĒrenn.
- 4 Orddaigem cein as ada a catha his a comrama,  
tuirmem chena, crōda in clu, a n-elgnos, a n-ardēchtu.
- 5 Roort Labraid Loingsech Mōen Cobthach diarbu chomainm  
Cōel,  
co trichait rig reil, rob rath, i mbruidin Tuamma Tenbath.
- 6 Robī Nuadu, noithech scel, mac hūi hĒir Etarscel,  
ba do Mumain a mada dia mairt ōs Leirg Labrada.
- 7 Læchdu ōcaib co n-āine Cet mac Māgach meic Dāire,  
focheird glonnaib, gairgiu guin, ailich hi cenn Conchobuir.
- 8 His ī-seo ind ail almaib cūan rofitir hĒireo adrūd,  
inchind Meis Gegra gnāthaig forfācbad for ilathaib.
- 9 Ailill mac Māta mōinig, is aurdaire isna lāidib,  
ardrī Āi, ba hān in gein, is ē robī Amargein.
- 10 Hit he cauraid clōite ferg robeotar Lugaid reo ūderg,  
na trī Rūadchind, reīm ūgaile, hit ē beotais Conaire.
- 11 Conaire coimsid hĒlga ort i mbruidin Dā Dergga,  
at ē rombeotar ar daig, na trī Rūadchind do Laigneib.
- 12 Ba gairgge gnimaib gossa hecht meic Cairpri meic Rossa,  
scothais a chenn cleithi de do Choin Caulaind Murthemne.
- 13 Marbais Ailill a dalta, ba scel n-īngair n-indatta,  
ailis Ailill, ēcht ba dōich, a sleig hi Fergus mac Rōich.
- 14 Rogair brīg bressa buille an rolamair Liguirne,  
guin Airtt Ōenfir, ardd bine, hi cath magrūaid Muccrime.
- 15 La Mess Gegra,<sup>1)</sup> gair cach thuir, tren g[n]im ōs allaind  
Etuir,  
guin Meis Deād, dith co feirg, iar tabairt ūad a gīall-  
cheird.
- 16 Rofessa a scela cen breic tria chomram na fian for Feic,  
rofig Fothaid, nī deolaid, ann for Ailill mac nĒogain.

<sup>1)</sup> scegra MS.

- 17 Eol dam aided, aidble druing, Daire meic Cormaic hui  
Chuind,  
rombi Fothaid laindrech luain Mogsaille ō Beluch Gabrūain.
- 18 Glanna glan gas co ngail grinn Cailte cosluath gilla Find,  
hi cath Ollorba cen meth rongeguin Fothaid Airgtech.
- 19 Āed mac Fidaig, ferg fene, rochar ingin Breg Ele,  
focher d'urchur lama Find do sleig Fiacclaig meic Conchind.
- 20 Iath mac Cailte crodaib crād rogeguin Fiachraich Cassān  
hisin chath cluīte flaithe tūaid hic Temraig co ndaithe.
- 21 Dā Ruad Rōirenn, reim űgaile, beotar Fiachaich Sraptime,  
Sarnia mac Cīrb cetaib űgiall rogegain Eochaid Dumplian.
- 22 Lam Echdach meic Ennai āin robī Becc mac Lethderggain  
hir-Raith Beisce cen timmi, trī chōicait eecess immi.
- 23 Iss ē tria gaile gretha beb Laidcenn mac mBairceda,  
ba de sain sōiset fo thūaid ō Inis Coirthi clethrūaid.
- 24 Clothri Insi finni Fāil Nīall mac Echdach Mugmedāin,  
focheird Saxan sreith (*sic*) ō Eochaid mac Ceinselaich.
- 25 In cath i n-Iath Dara dēin argab Lēgaire mac Neill,  
nassa fir na ndula de, ba de arbath Lēgaire.
- 26 Brīon<sup>1)</sup> Badgna bertaid graig mac Echdach meic Muire-  
daig,  
lēch do Laignib ro chūala rombi hi cath Damchluana.
- 27 Crimmthann mac Ēnna co nhīr geguin Ailill Molt in rig,  
hi cath Ocha, ard a chlū, is comram for Connachtu.
- 28 Ailill mac Dūnlaing, deilm lēch, robī Ōengus mac Nad-  
frāech,  
diargæt Mumu milib srath isin chath ic Cell Osnad.
- 29 Lochēne lonn letrad chath imbert choilgg for Cummascach,  
his Rōn Cerr iar cūrad chrech robī Āed mac nAinmerech.
- 30 Dunchad mac Murchada mūaid, Āed mac Colgan c[h]laideb-  
rūaid,  
marbsat Fergal, finn a gne, hi cath adrūad Almaine.
- 31 Fiāch Ailbe airn i űgart geguin Cōr mac Cinnabrat,  
i cath lēchda Liāch uill diar slassa Muman mōrdruing.
- 32 Droūg in so, senchas nād oll, fri tuirim lūad Lagenglonn,  
nī eicsem huile do glē cid fri sægul sechtmaine.
- 33 A catha iar slūagaib slat, d'ernmus a ndorigensat,  
a n-ār for droūgaib derga, a ndīrmann, a ndībergca.

<sup>1)</sup> brian *MS.*



- 34 A sluaig, a cauraid cholma, a fessa, a täne, a togla,  
a tuir, a trebaind trérig, a fianna co firfénib.
- 35 Fianna Find, fath cen timme, húi Baiscne brecctais rinne,  
fianna Foilnge, forom ngle, fianna Fothaid Canainne.
- 36 Is mór tria gaille gláid gegnatar ann tria gnáid,  
mac Connaid ar cūrad crād, Marcān ocus Maelodran.
- 37 Labraid Loingsech linib glec, Crimthann ocus Bresal Brec,  
Nūadu Necht, ba nūal co nem, ocus Cairpre Niāfer.
- 38 Mess Gegra din gabuir glūair, Find file mac Rossa Rūaid,  
Cū Chorb, cethrur, clū nād sāeb, ocus a hindhūa Cathær.
- 39 Bresal Belach brosnaid chath ocus Enna Gensalach,  
Eochu mac Enna co ngail is Dūnlaug din Forcarthain.
- 40 Ailill, Illann, erctais rath, ocus Brandub mac Echdach,  
fer dobeir bann ar cach mībūaid, Āed mac Colgan [c[h]laideb-  
rūaid.
- 41 Is mór mībliadna mībresta blōir ō flaith prīmda Partholōin,  
co taurseur mac Miled mair dochum nĒrenn a hEspāin,
- 42 Ō flaith hĒbir, meit n-ada, co flaith Fiachach Fir Mara,  
ō flaith Fiachach fri fessa co flaith meic nithaig Nessa.
- 43 Ō flaith Conchobuir Emna co flaith Donnchada Temra,  
dāig rofes, nī briathar bras, connach ecnaid cen eolas. E.

### *Wie die zwölf Söhne Cennétigs ihren Tod fanden.*

*Aus dem Buche von Lecan, fo. 220 b<sup>1</sup> und 23. G. 26,<sup>1</sup>) S. 244.*

#### Mac Liag .cc.

- 1 Dā mac dec Cheinneidigh chāid meic Lorcain meic Lachtna  
lāin  
indesa<sup>2</sup>) dāib madh āil libh amhail fūaradar oidhidh.
- 2 Dubh ocus Fionn, clū cen acht, torchradar le hEoganacht,  
Echthigern is Donnchūan cain torchradar le Goisgenaibh.
- 3 Lachtna mac Cenneidigh chain ba rī tenn ar Tuath-  
mumain,  
romarbsat Húi Floinn i fill is Húi Chernaig cen choicill.
- 4 Mathgamain, cīan bus chumain, ar ngabail gIall for Mumain,  
nī rāinic acht ō Thaide thair ar Cūb Echach Chuire Caisil.

<sup>1</sup>) Im Jahre 1717 geschrieben.

<sup>2</sup>) indeosad G.

- 5 Brian mac Cenneidig na cned, ardri Gall ocus Gædel,  
fer sochair soim in cach than, adrochair le druing nDanar.  
6 Aed mac Ceinneidig na cned slúag Connacht, leō do letrad,  
Domnall, Cleirchen, Anlúan ard fa marb do galar glégarg.  
7 Marcán díada, Día rochar, fa chend ar cleirchib Muman,  
ar forbad damliac co li adbath iar mbñaid n-aithrigi.  
8 Acsin a n-oidid éicin chloinde crōda<sup>1)</sup> Cenneidig,  
sochaide rochuir a n-éc, robo maith an dā mac<sup>2)</sup> déc.

### *Die Ursache von Noinden Ulad.*

*Aus Harleian 5280, fo. 44 b.*

Luid Cūculaind dorerim inbuis la Bōainn 7 [a] ara i. Laog mac Riencabair. Fide[h]iult lais ina c[h]arpuot 7 buónfuch 7 i bocclán di c[h]lochuip d'orcoim 7 gaoi inna laim co tēd n-ass de gouin esc̃c 7 essé uhud desen no gaiptot[h] esse an c[h]arpoid.

Dilluid Fe[d]lim Folte[h]oin 7 a celi Eulmoire don leth oili a mBōaind. Aspert Eulmaire fria mnai: 'Turtarta, a Fedlim!' Fedlim dixit: 'Antar frim aire co n-accar in coimriti in fer isind airide con<sup>3)</sup> chēli alaili aireccār in dā n-ech la fide[h]ioll, lia buanpuch, la forum n-en ic gach lercc.' Dober iarum for a rinn eeich<sup>4)</sup> brecai a Bōinn. Luid Elcmuire isand ath 7 debrid sidie cort[h]ie cethorc[h]uir confer in carpat aurscat pris. Bii Qūculaind a dī ord lāma 7 a dī ortt coisse. Tairmgert Fedlim bliadain inna gnais 7 a taidusin<sup>5)</sup> noc[h]t di Ulltaib rie tuidecth dosnadba(i)t dīa bliadna<sup>6)</sup> arsene, conid ead fofuoair cess for Ulltoip 7 c.

<sup>1)</sup> nō coscraich G.

<sup>2)</sup> Lies cona.

<sup>3)</sup> i. e. taidhsin.

<sup>4)</sup> fer G.

<sup>5)</sup> Lies iaich.

<sup>6)</sup> bliat MS.

Liverpool.

KUNO MEYER.

## THE 'ANNALES CAMBRIAE' AND THEIR SO-CALLED 'EXORDIUM'.

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This controversy is about four things. 1. Are the 'Annales Cambriae', as *I* say, a transcript of notes on the margin of a Paschal Cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine, such cycle being copied about 509, and coming sooner or later to the church of St. David's? 2. Does the preface to them justify anyone in maintaining that the Saxons landed in 428, as against Gildas, Bede, and the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, which place the landing somewhere about 20 years later? 3. Can Bede (and the Anglo-Saxon chronicles which follow him) be got rid of by supposing that he mistook Gospel Verity dating (said to have been invented *three centuries later* by Marianus Scotus) for A. D. dating, and consequently erred to the extent of 22 years? 4. Can Gildas be disposed of by splitting him into two persons, one of whom wasn't him? I say 'No', Mr. Anscombe and his disciple Mr. Wade-Evans say 'Yes', to the last three questions.

Mr. Wade-Evans wrote in the *Celtic Review* for July and Oct. 1905 two papers called 'The Ruin of Britannia': I disposed of them in Ap. 1906 in one called 'The Ruin of History'. Mr. Anscombe wrote in vol. III of this *Zeitschrift*, published in 1901, a paper (pp. 492-514) called 'The date of the first settlement of the Saxons in Britain'. It was only an instalment, and my answer in vol. VI (pp. 439-453), published in 1908, had been kept waiting for the continuation, which was to show that Gospel Verity dating was really in use long before the time of Marianus Scotus.

That part of the continuation did not appear till the same number as my paper (VI, pp. 339-394). Meanwhile another part had been printed in 1907 in *Ériu* (III, p. 117-34), entitled 'The

Exordium of the *Annales Cambriae*'. And now Mr. Anscombe answers my *Zeitschrift* article. Were I to deal with all those 94 pages in detail, I should produce an amount of matter which the editor, I am sure, could not print, or the reader wade through. As Mr. Anscombe has in his avowed reply to me referred freely to his other papers, I shall consequently refer to them only so far as he does. And, to save time and space, I shall leave to the reader much mere reflexion on my judgement. But every charge of inaccuracy or error I shall meet in full.

First, are the '*Annales Cambriae*' what I said above? Mr. Anscombe says that is impossible because they want order and consistency and are 'a conglomeration of little chronicles', 'the incorporation of which into one body shews distinct traces of computation from different epochs or era-years'. Well, the reader shall see by and by an instance which Mr. Anscombe produces in his reply to me — and what happens to that instance.

The '*Annales Cambriae*' do not call themselves annals, and quote no era, but run straight from 1 to 533 (532 being the number of a paschal cycle), while every 10th year is numbered. They begin thus: — *an'*, without any event against it; then 7 other blank *an's*; then *an'* with a note of a change made in the celebration of Easter; then *an'.x* with a note of the birth of Brigid. In the first 72 years there are no other notes whatever except of the deaths of Patrick, Benignus, and Ebur. And in their oldest MS. they end thus: — *an'.dxxx.* followed by 3 blank years, and preceded by 19 blank years. Even 'little chronicles' are not written in *this* way.

In their oldest MS. they are preceded by what Mr. Anscombe calls an 'Exordium', but which does not call itself anything. It is the obvious preface to a copy of the 532 years paschal cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine. It does not *say* anything about Victorius or a cycle, but it consists of calculations of date, of which the first goes to the year in which he composed his cycle, and the second to the year with which he commenced it. And any impartial person familiar with paschal cycles, tables, and their surroundings in MSS., who looks at the so-called Exordium and the so-called *Annales* together, can have no reasonable doubt that the former accompanied a cycle of Victorius and that the latter are a transcript from notes on the margin of that very cycle.

As the Victorian cycle was never used in Wales, I suggested that a copy was brought over from Brittany to Old Meneu or one of the Llanbadarns, and thence came to the younger Meneu (St. David's). Afterwards I thought it might have been brought from Winchester by Asser between about 887, when he began to instruct king Ælfred, and about 893, by which latter date he had had the *parochia* of Exeter bestowed on him and doubtless left St. David's. That was the period of the compilation of the Anglo-Saxon chronicles; the draft of the local variants which have descended to us must have been prepared at Winchester, a number of annotated paschal cycles and the like may have been brought together for its preparation, and Asser might very well bring back to St. David's a specimen of these, either original or copied: in the case of the Victorian cycle, its list of consuls would be a special temptation. But in the course of the following observations, which (hasty and fugitive though they are) contain some new things and may help the future editor of the text, I have found cause to revert to my earlier idea and to suggest 620-30 as a likely period for the arrival of the cycle at St. David's.

1. The name of Meneu<sup>1)</sup> (St. David's) shows that it was a Menapian settlement, and that consequently its vernacular was not Welsh but a dialect of Goidelic ('Manx', in fact). Among the missionary bishops of St. Patrick were two (unless they are a doublet) whose names proclaim them Menapians, though whether they came from any of the Menapian settlements in Wales cannot be proved. One was the bishop 'Menathus' (*Tripartite life*, II, 304), with *th* for intervocalic *p*.<sup>2)</sup> The other<sup>3)</sup> (*ib.* 305) was 'Inaeplus', = *maepius*, a scribal corruption of *mēapius*, 'Menapius'.

In the traditional list of Menevian bishops many names may have been effectively kymricized, but 'Masgoed', that of

<sup>1)</sup> On the Menapian settlements in Britain and Ireland, and the language, see my *Keltic Researches*, 9-15.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. the same, 10. In both these cases 'Menapian' may not really be a personal name, but only a qualification of another name.

<sup>3)</sup> Called one of Patrick's 'Franci uiri'; but if 'Franci' be really a proper name it is doubtless only a late term indicating nothing more than inhabitants of Gaul (see index to *Trip. Life*). Note that in II, 318 *fratres* and in II, 305, 318 *soror* probably mean 'monks' and 'nun'.

the 17th, who may be put in the late 8th or early 9th cent., is altered from a Goidelic Mascet = Maxentius.<sup>1)</sup> Nay, Asser's own name (though not peculiar to Meneu) is a Goidelic derivative of Asterius: Welsh would have kept the *st*.

2. The Welsh entries go back to the name 'Arthur' (B reads 'Arturus') in the 72nd year, and a mixed Welsh and Latin note, in the 93rd year, of the battle in which he met his death. Here 'Arthur' is a later form of Artur, and the *gu-* in 'Gueith' is apparently not earlier than the 8th cent., if so early. Of course the Welsh may have been modernized, but I see none which looks earlier than Asser. One entry, 'Cat brin onnen', must be mentioned in connexion with his book. It means 'Battle of [the] hill of [the] ashtree', *i. e.* of Ashdown. Now Asser himself has said that *Æscsedun* 'Latine „mons fraxini“ interpretatur' (37), and this (Stevenson has pointed out) is a mistake: had it been named after an ash, it would have been *Æscdun*, and *Æscsedun* must mean 'Æsc's down'. Still the coincidence in error does not prove that Asser wrote this entry: it is more likely to be merely based on his statement.

3. Most of the entries *may* have been made from books long after the events they chronicle: this is obviously so with the *births* of St. Brigid and St. Columcille. But at least as early as the 186th year (Mr. Phillimore's 630) there seem traces of some local record; for then we are told 'Guidgar<sup>2)</sup> comes and does not return'. He may have been from the diocese of Llandaff, where there was a 'Guoidgar' (another form of the same name) at a still earlier date (*Book of Llan Dâv*, 150). The eclipse of<sup>3)</sup> [624], the burning of the monastery in [645], the star of [650], Osguid's coming and taking (?) prey<sup>4)</sup> [658], the star of [676], the earthquake in Man in [684], the red rain of [689],<sup>5)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> See my paper in *Y Cymmrodor* XXI (86), where the Latin origin of many Welsh names is pointed out.

<sup>2)</sup> Nevertheless the *form* of the name (Gu- for V-) is almost certainly not original.

<sup>3)</sup> The following dates are merely Mr. Phillimore's bracketed ones: I prefer not to distract readers by going into slight differences of dating.

<sup>4)</sup> He had wars with the Britons: no doubt this was a naval expedition. The Latin is '*uenit. et predam duxit.*' B has the earlier form *Oswid*.

<sup>5)</sup> In a Canterbury Saxon Chronicle (Plummer's F), but of the 12th cent. and possibly borrowed from the '*Annales*'.

the bright night in [714], the hot summer of [721], the Danish arrival on the W. coast of S. Wales in [796], the burning of Miniu in [810], the striking of Deganwy by lightning in [812], the thunder and fires in [814], the 'breaking' of Miniu in [906], the coming of Otter (the pirate) in [913], all have the look of being local entries,<sup>1)</sup> though a few have parallels in Bede and the Anglo-Saxon chronicles. On glancing over this list, I am struck by the fact that what may be called the local entries synchronize closely with the arrival of Guidgar. Did Guidgar bring the cycle, and was he a Breton?

What I have said of the age of the Welsh in the 'Annales' applies equally to that in their 'Exordium'. There we have *Guorthigirni*, *Guitolini*, *guoloppvm*, *catguoloph*, all with *gu* for *v*, and therefore in their present form presumably not earlier than the 8th cent. Indeed the various readings to the *Historia Brittonum*, by such forms as *with* (§ 8), *uortegirnus* (§ 31), *Picta* (*ib.*), *pecta* (*ib.*), *uortemir* (§ 43), make it pretty clear that the change had not taken place when that book was first written.

And now for Mr. Anscombe's impeachments.

I said that, if a Paschal table had been brought over by Germanus, 'it could only have been the extension of an 84-year cycle, the 532-year cycle not having then been invented'. Mr. Anscombe says 'the idea . . . was not first applied by Victorius . . . but by Anianus, an Egyptian monk, in A.D. 400, or thereabouts'. The Dictionary of Christian Antiquities did not tell me that An(n)ianus actually constructed such a cycle. I now find that he did, and that it was still extant in the time of Georgius Syncellus: but it is lost, the Alexandrians of its author's day did not adopt it, and in the West the first of such cycles used was that of Victorius. My argument is absolutely unaffected.

The next allegation of error shows Mr. Anscombe himself hopelessly wrong. I have pointed out that the 'Annales' are only the marginal notes of a Paschal cycle of 532 years, the cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine, that of Dionysius not having yet been invented. Impossible, says Mr. Anscombe, because the *Annales* begin with 445 and 'the 532 years . . . cannot be reckoned from any year you please. They must be reckoned

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<sup>1)</sup> See note 2 of p. 4.

from A. D. 28, A. D. 560, A. D. 1092, and so on'. I do not know that any *liturgical* MSS. exist which contain Victorian cycles, but the Dionysian cycle consisted of the same number of years, and should *pari ratione* be reckoned from A. D. 532, A. D. 1064, 'and so on'. Very well, liturgical MSS. show Paschal cycles beginning with 'any year you please', and tables of Paschal key-letters which prove that they were arranged for similar cycles. For instance, the Bodleian MS. D'Orville 45 has a Paschal cycle for the 532 years beginning with 1026: it was written at Moissac, but from a Cluniac book, and (as I have shown elsewhere) between the Easters of 1067 and 1068. MS. Bodley 572 has a table of key-letters arranged for a cycle of 532 years which must have begun in 836, and MS. Douce 296 has a like table: the former table was copied, if I am not mistaken, in 982 at Winchester for a certain abbat passing through that city, and the latter is in a MS. of the Winchester school, written for Peterborough, in 1037-8.

The 'Exordium' says that from the two Gemini, Rufus and Rubelius, until Stillitio consul<sup>1)</sup> are 373 years, and I remarked 'They are only 371: the Gemini were consuls in 29, Stilicho in 400'. Mr. Anscombe points out that Victorius put the Gemini in what we call A. D. 28, and that in his cycle their year is 1, and that of Stilicho 373. Even then, most people would say that from 1908 until 1910 is not 3 years but 2, and that from 28 to 400 is not 373 years but 372. And the fact pointed out by Mr. Anscombe makes it more obvious than ever that the writer of the 'Exordium' had a Victorian cycle before him, and that, as I said in my former article, the 'Exordium' is a series of 'preliminary memoranda' to a transcript of that cycle.

Mr. Anscombe says I cite no authority for identifying the consul Decius with Importunus Decius — that I don't state where Importunus is called Decius. Well, I took 'Importunus Decius' from p. 18 of Cappelli's *Cronologia* (1906), and Cassiodorus Var. III, 6 (Migne's ed. I, 579) shows that Importunus belonged to the Decian family. As to the supposition that Importunus was *sole* consul in 509 (so that a Valerianus could not have been consul in the East), I find in Pauly-Wissowa (IV, 1135) that in the documents of the Roman chancellery the

<sup>1)</sup> 'a duobus Geminis . . . usque in Stillitionem consulem'.



Eastern consul was always put second *or omitted altogether*, but nowhere do I find that, while the Western consulate was still surviving, the Eastern empire was ever left without a consul of its own. As to the 7th cent. copy of Marcellinus's Chronicle which has 'Opportuni solius', I have in front of me the still earlier 6th cent. MS. (Auct. T. II. 26) and it has OPORTUNO SOLIUS. What authority is to be attributed to a chronicle which cannot even give this consul's name correctly, or to one which gives Longinus as sole consul in 486 when Caec. Maurus Decius was consul in the West? Or take the years 514—18 in Cappelli, in 3 of which the Western consul is called *solo*; or 526—9, in one of which the Eastern emperor Justinian is consul *solo*, while in the other 3 the Western consul is *solo*! Does anybody really believe that there was no consul at Constantinople in those groups of 3 years, but only at Rome?

'Mr. Nicholson equates *annus IX.* with A. D. 453', and yet states that the Annals begin at 444. He is therefore supposed incapable of taking 8 from 453, and Mr. Anscombe makes the parade of subtracting the years one by one for the benefit of 'those investigators who do not possess an abacus'. I merely said 'Mr. Phillimore has suggested that in the entry against 453' &c.: I must acknowledge a 'touch' for looseness of reference, but I had no chronological intent, and was only telling the reader where to find a note against which Mr. Phillimore had bracketed the date 453. I adopted 444<sup>1)</sup> because the editor of the 'Annales' in the Rolls series says 'From a comparison of dates assigned to many of the events noticed in it by other writers, it would appear that the era on which its chronology rests would concur with the year 444 of the Incarnation'; because the next editor, Mr. Phillimore, adopts the same date; and because Mommsen in his edition of the *Historia Brittonum* accepts it also.<sup>2)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> I did *not* assert that 444 'is the actual year of the Saxon landing', but only that the original scribe of the 'Exordium' so regarded it. There can be no serious doubt that Bede got his approximate date from his correspondents Albinus and Nothelm, of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The tradition of that monastery would probably represent information given to Augustine, at whose coming there may have been Britons living in or near Canterbury whose grandfathers had fought against Hengest.

<sup>2)</sup> If 445 were substituted, it would make no difference to me: see later in this article. Indeed 445 would suit me personally, since it would corroborate my longstanding contention that Maelgwn did not die before 548.

In speaking of the 'original' entry of St. David's death in the *Annales* I did not suggest that it was *contemporary*, nor does my 'hypothesis postulate it'. And, when Mr. Anscombe asks why the Menevian monks of the latter part of the 8th cent. should have thumbed the edges of this cycle, and says 'There is but one reply, which is that Mr. Nicholson's ingenuity has misled him', he is simply throwing dust in his own eyes. If it had been customary to use the margins of this cycle for annalistic purposes, that was reason enough for their thumbing it, but, whether a particular page is or is not *consulted*, it gets thumbed all the same in the mere act of turning it over, and I showed that the entry relating to Augustine and Mellitus had been so thumbed.

As to Mr. Wade-Evans's 'era of Stilicho', there was about as much an era of Stilicho as there is an era of the last Lord Mayor of London<sup>1)</sup> — the only evidence for it being the fact that the consulship of Stilicho is mentioned in the 'Exordium' as a steppingstone to certain British events of the 5th cent. — see my paper 'The Ruin of History' in the *Celtic Review* for Ap. 1906.<sup>2)</sup>

Mr. Anscombe says 'By Mr. Nicholson's own hypothesis the obit of St. David ought to have been found entered at annus C + 3. Why then should its appearance have been retarded?' Very possibly the entry was in its right place originally, and the reason for its being in the wrong one now is quite clearly shown in what I have written on pp. 451—2 of vol. VI of this *Zeitschrift*.

Mr. Anscombe's next point is that David did not die in 544, because the Tuesday on which he died was not Mar. 1 but the

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<sup>1)</sup> There is just this difference. It was customary to date letters with the names of the consuls of the current year, and occasionally (after 336) with the names of those of the *last* year — probably because, as one consul was nominated in the other half of the empire, there was sometimes delay in the announcement or official recognition of a new name. Consequently in 401 the dating 'post consulatum Stilichonis et Aureliani' is found, but not after that year. In 401 the Eastern Consul's name was not published at Rome till March.

<sup>2)</sup> I now see that the calculation (with an erroneous substitution of 373 for 372) is ultimately from Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. sac.* II, 27, and it is obvious to me that he was writing in the year of Stilicho's consulship and that that is why he makes it.

day preceding that (Feb. 28 or 29). If this were so, I need only substitute 545; but what are the facts? Mr. Anscombe's authority for Tuesday, Feb. 28 or 29 is an anonymous Welsh life of the 14th cent. which says that David died on *duw Marth y dyd kyntaf o galan Mawrth* = *die Martis, die prima a kalendis Martii*. My authority for Wednesday, Mar. 1 is the 11th cent. life written by one of David's own successors in the bishopric. O, says Mr. Anscombe, that is only because 'the ecclesiastical kalendar-day began at Vespers, on „the day before“, so that anyone dying on Tuesday night, Feb. 28 or 29, would die on the ecclesiastical day March 1. Let us see.

At matins 'octavo calendarum Martii' an angel told David that on the kalend of March (*kalende Martii*) Jesus would come to him, and David informed the people that he should die 'tertia feria in kalendis Martii'. Well,<sup>1)</sup> when the third day of the week came, at cock-crow the city was filled with angelic choirs, and at the matin hour, the clergy rendering the hymns of psalms, and canticles, Jesus appeared to David, and he died. Now in ordinary practice cock-crow was the 3rd watch of the night, and the matin hour was the 4th: presumably the former was from midnight to 3 a. m., and the latter from then till 6 a. m. David plainly died about dawn, the day was the kalends of March, and it was also the third day of the week. The ecclesiastical days would run thus, 1. From Saturday at Vespers to just before Vespers on Sunday, 2. From Sunday at Vespers to just before Vespers on Monday, 3. From Vespers on Monday to just before Vespers on Tuesday: if David died about dawn on the third day of the week and it was Mar. 1, how could that be anything but the early morning of the *civil* day, Tuesday, Mar. 1? *Nay, according to Mr. Anscombe's own anonymous Welsh life the day cannot have been Tuesday, Feb. 28 or 29, because it says that the angel's prophecy, a week before, was given 'on the last Tuesday in February' ('duw mawrth diwethaf<sup>2)</sup> Chwe-frawr'). It is clear that y dyd kyntaf o = not 'the first day from' but 'the first day of', and is simply a gloss on calan which has got into the text. Indeed in this same Welsh life the*

<sup>1)</sup> 'Tertia itaque veniente feria, ad pullorum cantus . . . Matutina vero hora, clero psalmodum ymnos et cantica reddente'. On 'cantus pullorum' and 'matutinalis hora' see H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*, 1, pp. 71, 120.

<sup>2)</sup> MS. Jesus Coll. 119 inserts *ovis* before *chwefravr*.

angel prophesies that David will die 'y dyd kyntaf o Vawrth' — obviously the first day *of* March, not the first day *from* March. And this *explains* the gloss: over *calan* was written the angel's actual phrase 'y dyd kyntaf o', and a copyist mistook it for an intended insertion and altered the *c* of *calan* to *g* to suit the preceding *o*.

Mr. Anscombe goes on to construct a new explanation, to supersede mine, of the way in which David's death came where it is in the 'Annales', and his entire treatment of the date of death is so typical that I will here lay it bare for Keltic students to judge what is the true value of those articles of his which are meant to revolutionize early British chronology.

1. He finds in an anonymous 14th cent. Welsh life of David that David died on Tuesday 'the first day' 'from' (or 'of') the kalends of March, and says this means the day before those kalends. He ought at once to have guessed that a supralinear gloss had got down into the text, because I. the kalends are themselves 'the first day of' March, II. 'the first day from' is not natural Welsh for 'the day before', for which one would have expected 'y dydd cyn'.

2. He does not mention that this very same life makes the angel prophecy that David was to die 'the first day of' March, *not* the day before.

3. Nor that it flatly contradicts his dating by saying that David was warned 'on the last Tuesday' of February, and did not leave the church till the 8th day to preach and pray.

4. Having thus extracted from it a date (Tuesday, Feb. 28 or 29) for David's death which cannot conceivably have been in its original text, he erroneously states that the date given in the 11th cent. life (March 1, 3rd day of the week, about dawn) is not inconsistent.

5. From the bogus date Tuesday, Feb. 28 or 29, he then deduces (what is impossible by the true date Tuesday, March 1) that if David died in the first half of the 6th cent. it must have been in 545, 534, 528, or 517. If he had chosen 545, that would have been within a year of the dating of Geoffrey of Monmouth (542—4) and William of Malmesbury (546): but no, for reasons which he does not state, he takes 517, which was year ccccx in Victorius's Passion-era.

6. He then says that 'An annalist who preceded the Xth century compiler' mistook this A. P. cccxc for a year in the era of the Passion computed *secundum Veritatem Evangelii*, and turned it into an A. D. date by adding 11, which gave 501. Well, Mr. Anscombe has not produced a rag of proof that the *secundum Veritatem Evangelii* dating existed before the 11th cent. when Marianus Scotus invented it: and Marianus reckoned not from the year of the Passion but from that of the Incarnation.

7. A date 501 having been tortured out by this hypothetical blunder, the blunderer is supposed to have written it 'DC. I' — not as a further blunder, but as a recognised mode of dating!

8. 'The compiler of the *Annales* misread DC. I as DCI, (= 601)!'<sup>1)</sup>

This is the chronologist for whom we are to abandon Bede — who is to be bid hide his diminished head for using a Gospel Verity date without knowing what it was.

And now we will settle 'DC. dating' and Gospel Verity dating.

For DC. dating we are referred to *Ériu* III, 124, note, and this *Zeitschrift* VI, 393 nro. xliiii — which are in other articles of Mr. Anscombe's. The last is the instance which he would probably select as his battlehorse; for he thinks it strong enough to carry DC. dating and Gospel Verity dating — each with a copyist's misunderstanding clinging on behind.

It is an entry in the 'Annales', 'Primum pasca apud faxonē celebratur', i. e. 'For the first time (or The first) Easter is celebrated among the Saxons', and it is put against the year which Mr. Anscombe equates with 665 — 'which is absurd', Mr. Anscombe says. The right year, he tells us, is 598, the year after Ethelbert's conversion by Augustine.<sup>2)</sup> This was written as year 587 in Gospel Verity dating by the Passion,

<sup>1)</sup> Mr. Anscombe adds 'and got his interval *civii* by deducting Annus I (= A. D. 445) therefrom'. As 601—445 does not = 157, I can only suppose that for some unknown reason Mr. Anscombe is subtracting from the number of the next year 602. But the 'Annales' say nothing about an 'interval': they merely date the death in the 157th year, which is 601 if 445 is the first.

<sup>2)</sup> The conversion of the English was in the 'Annales' already, and an additional entry as to their first celebration of Easter would have been to the last degree improbable.

and 587 was represented by D<sup>c</sup>LXXXVII. Another copyist mistook this for 687 (small blame to him!). He also mistook it for a year of the *Incarnation* in Gospel Verity dating. And he then reduced it 'to the vulgar era by deducting 22, according to rule', which of course gives 665.

Anyone with an elementary appreciation of probabilities would have known that the chances against the truth of an explanation which depended on that chain of suppositions were practically infinite, and would have considered whether it might not be the *wording* of the entry which was at fault and not the *year*. He would have inquired whether anything very special *did* happen about the Saxon Easter in 665, and would have learnt that 665 was the first year after the famous Council of Whitby, which unified the English observance of Easter.<sup>1</sup>) He might then have seen that the date is absolutely correct, and that *Primum* is merely an erroneous amplification of an earlier *Ium* = *Unum* (i. e. 'One Easter, instead of two, is celebrated among the Saxons').<sup>2</sup>)

And now for the three examples in *Ériu*! 1. 'We are told' by a 12th cent. Durham MS. 'that *annus MCLXVI* was „*aduentus Augustini* DC. LXVIII.“' Here the scribe's eye was caught for an instant by the LXV in the preceding number instead of in that which he was writing, and so he came to prefix the C. 2. The first year of a Chronicle of St. Waast's 'is A. D. 874, and so Pertz printed it ('SS.', II, p. 196), but with the significant annotation „MS. DCCCCLXXIII. *et ita deinceps*“'. Now, if that MS. had continued its numbers beyond 899 and had represented 900 by DCCCC, there might have been something to say; but it does not.<sup>3</sup>) Moreover *et ita deinceps* does not

<sup>1</sup>) Before then the king of Northumbria observed it on one day, and his queen (a daughter of the king of Kent) on another! Whether the Council was held before or after Easter 664 is unknown, but no change in the diocesan observance of Lindisfarne would take place till after the resignation of Colman as bishop, which took place at some unknown date in 664 after the decision of the Council.

<sup>2</sup>) *I* being used as an abbreviation both for *un-* and for *prim-*: see Chassant, *Dict. des abréviations*, p. 40. If anyone doubts the likelihood of *unum* being used in this particular connexion, he will find in Leo the Great's 121st letter 'ut non simul omnis Ecclesia quod nonnisi unum esse oportet observet' — an identical instance.

<sup>3</sup>) It includes 900 but does not give the *number*, and then stops short.

mean that it uniformly adds a C; for under the year 898 Pertz writes 'DCCCXCVII *Codex*'. Finally, the MS. is not contemporary, but 12th cent. 3. 'Pingré, too, speaks . . . of a Chronicle of Saumur, which dates the comet of 892 „in anno DCCCXCII“'. If Mr. Anscombe had referred to the chronicle in question he would have found that it has quite distinct numerations for the series of 30 9th c. dates (DCCC-) and for the series of 23 10th c. dates (DCCCC-), and that all that has happened is that the comet of 892 has got accidentally incorporated into a 992 entry, where it is followed by 'Prælium Concreticum. Robertus rex fit'.

Mr. Anscombe says 'In dealing with British chronography and chronology Dr. Mommsen was often at fault. He did not recognize that *DC.* sometimes = 500'. Mommsen sometimes spoke in haste, as when he once told me that there was no such word as *senatrices*, which I had just 'revived' in a 6th cent. Bodleian MS., and which he subsequently printed; but, if he had read Mr. Anscombe's expositions that '*DC.* sometimes = 500', I can guess what he would have not only 'said in his haste' but, as the Scots anecdote has it, 'at his leisure'. In my paper 'The Ruin of History' I pointed out that 'D stands to C in exactly the same relation as L to X and V to I' and that one might as well talk about 50 being written LX and 5 being written VI as talk about 500 being written DC. The fact is that in copying long Roman numerals the eye and memory are being continually trapped by the occurrence of other very similar numbers in close proximity, and there are probably hundreds — perhaps thousands — of instances in mediaeval MSS. of an extra C or X or I being *inserted* from that cause. There are also probably hundreds — perhaps thousands — of instances in which from the same cause C, X, or I have been omitted, and Mr. Anscombe might just as well say, when C is written for CC, that C was once used to represent 200!

*Exit* DC dating, enter Gospel Verity dating. Mr. Anscombe says 'Mr. Nicholson's challenge to me to provide evidence of the use of the computation of the years of the Incarnation and the Passion *secundum Veritatem Evangelii*, before the middle of the XIth century, was met in the same *Hef*t of this *Zeitschrift* as contained the „Remarks“ which I have reviewed'.

My words were 'Of „Gospel Verity“ dating being invented

before the 11th cent. he gives no evidence'. He promised in 1901 to 'shew' it<sup>1)</sup> (*Zeitschrift* III, 494). We had to wait nearly 7 years for the demonstration. When it appeared it professed to be 'Exact proof' (*Zeitschrift* VI, 351 foot and 352), and he set out a 'Table of Proofs of the use of the Computation *sec. E. V.* before the birth of Marianus Scotus' derived from 11 MSS. Of those MSS. he gives the dates: I have no time to investigate the age of the 10 which I have *not* seen, but the one which I *have* seen, the earliest MS. of the 'Annales', he calls 11th cent., whereas it is 12th.

Does he from these 11 MSS. produce one single date with the words *secundum evangelii veritatem* attached? No. One single mention of the *existence* of an era corresponding to the 'Gospel Verity' era? No. One single series of dates differing by the 'Gospel Verity' interval from those of our received era? No. 'Then what on earth', the reader may say, 'does he mean by „proof“?' He means what I will now describe.

1. He takes a date in the MS. and says it is wrong.
2. He gives the date which *he says* it ought to be.
3. He assumes the existence of a number of different eras, I. our present era, II. an era (which he calls A. D. 1, i. e. *anno Dominicae Incarnationis*) which he says differed from our era by 3 years, III. an era of the Passion according to Prosper, IV. a 'Gospel Verity' Incarnation-era, V. a 'Gospel Verity' Passion-era.
4. He assumes that what he calls the true date was originally written in any of these eras which he chooses.
5. And that a copyist was liable to mistake it for a date in any *other* of those eras, and in consequence to erroneously 'reduce' it to *any* other era (either its own or a third one).
6. And that this copyist was liable erroneously to leave the word Passion unchanged where he had altered the date into an Incarnation-era. And, by postulating a 'Gospel Verity' date as a link *somewhere* in this rotten chain, he gets what he calls 'proof' that 'Gospel Verity' dating was known at the period in question!

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<sup>1)</sup> 'I shall shew that the method of computing the years *ab incarnatione dominica secundum veritatem evangelii*, which is said to have been employed first by Marianus Scotus, was really in use long before his time'. I see no allusion in the 1901 paper to Gospel Verity dating from the *Passion*: that appears to be a subsequent introduction of Mr. Anscombe's.



Does the reader decline to believe that I have fairly represented Mr. Anscombe? Well, he shall judge for himself: I will here analyse each one of the 10 'proofs' given on pp. 353-6 of the paper in question.

a) This instance is of supreme importance to Mr. Anscombe. It is vital to his case that 'Gospel Verity' dating existed in the time of Bede, and this is the only 'proof' from a MS. (or from a work) as old as the lifetime of Bede.

He says that all the earliest MSS. of Gregory of Tours's life of Martin date Martin's death in 412 of the Passion, which, he truly adds, 'is quite wrong'. He then tells us *without any qualification whatever* that 'St. Martin died after midnight on the Lord's Day, 11. November, 395'. That is the year the figures are tortured to by Mr. Anscombe: consequently if 395 is wrong the 'proof' collapses.

Well, I look at the abbé Duchesne's *Fastes épiscopaux*, 1899: he says (II, 299) 'Ce que me paraît le plus probable, c'est que saint Martin . . . est mort le dimanche 8 novembre 397, et qu'on l'a enterré à Tours trois jours après, le 11 novembre'. I turn next to the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and read 'The date of his decease must probably be fixed at A. D. 397, on the 11th of November', and a note that Clinton adopts 397. Then I turn to Tillemont (X, 776 &c.), referred to by Duchesne, and there find that Gregory of Tours states 'positivement en divers endroits' that Martin died during the consulship of Caesarius and Atticus, *i. e.* in 397 — which year Tillemont sums up for. Lastly I look at Gregory himself. I find that the blundered date 412 is taken from the end of his *Hist. Franc.* I, 48, and that *that very chapter* says Martin died 'media nocte quae dominica habebatur', in the 2nd year of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, the 81st of Martin's own age, and the 20th of his episcopate, and that Atticus and Caesarius were consuls. The year of their consulship was, as I said, 397, and that was the 2nd complete consular year<sup>1)</sup> during which Arcadius and Honorius reigned. Also Gregory had himself told us (c. 36) that Martin was born in the 11th year of Constantine, and Constantine's first year began July 25, 306, — consequently Nov. 11,

<sup>1)</sup> Tillemont says (p. 778) Gregory often dated emperors' years from the January following their accession.

397 might be in Martin's 81st year, but Nov. 11, 395 could not. It is true that Nov. 11, the day on which Martin's 'depositio' is celebrated in Gregory's time (*Hist. Franc.* II, 14), did not fall on a Sunday in 397, but did in 395 and 400, and that Gregory has a legend which represents Ambrose, who died on Ap. 4-5, 397, as surviving Martin; but the legend is an absolutely incredible invention, and the day I can show reason to suspect of having been confused with the day of burial. I have not come across mention of the adoption of 395 by *any* writer.<sup>1)</sup>

But, though Mr. Anscombe's only 'proof' that Gospel Verity dating was as early as Bede turns out to be still-born, it is too remarkable to be left undescribed. 1. 395 would have been 384 in the Gospel Verity Passion-era, and this 384 was the original number. 2. A copyist wished to turn it into an A.D. date. 3. To do this he erroneously added 28, as if it had been in the Passion-era of Prosper, and so got the *Incarnation*-date

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<sup>1)</sup> I have not exhausted the elements of doubt about the date of Martin's death, not wanting to introduce irrelevant matter, but I have not suppressed any fact which could have favoured 395. And I venture a few remarks of my own bearing on the date.

In c. 3 of his 1st book on Martin's virtues, Gregory says: that it is 'manifestissimum' that Martin died on the Lord's day, 'idque in sequenti certis testimoniis conprobamus'. He then tells two stories. In the first, Severinus of Cöln is represented as hearing voices singing upon the Lord's day, and telling his archdeacon that Martin was dead and angels were taking him on high: the archdeacon sent a swift messenger to Tours and found that Martin had died at the day and hour in question. *But the evidence of the second story is very different.* Ambrose on the Lord's day falls asleep on the altar, and on being woke up says Martin had died and he, Ambrose, had been taking part in the service at the funeral at the very time in question! Now that is evidence only that the *funeral* was on a Sunday. Gregory's tone suggests to me that the day of the week was disputed: I suspect that some people said Martin died on a Sunday, others that he was buried on a Sunday, and that to support their assertions the former party invented the legend of Severinus, and the latter the legend of Ambrose (for the low Roman Catholic valuation of which see Tillemont, p. 779). The preface to the acts of the Council of Tours in 461 states that its members had met for the feast of Martin's 'receptio' (which was that of his burial), and dates their proceedings from Nov. 14 or 18th (for MSS. vary). This suggests to me that the death of Martin may have been originally commemorated on the day of his 'receptio', which may have been Sunday, Nov. 15, 397, and that when the festival of his translation was instituted the feast of the 'receptio' on the 15th was changed to that of the 'depositio' on the 11th.

412. 4. He nevertheless left unaltered the words indicating that it was not an Incarnation-date but a Passion-date! And this was to be 'proof'!

The true explanation of the erroneous Passion-year 412 is much simpler. If we deduct 32 or 33<sup>1)</sup> to bring Nov. 397 into a Passion-era, we get a Passion-date CCCLXu (365), which was corrupted into CCCCXu by the extremely easy misreading of *L* as *C* and *u* as *n*.

b) 'The Era-year of the „*Annales Cambriae*“' This Mr. Anscombe calls 445 and says it is apparently meant for the year of the Saxon advent. 1. He postulates 428 as the right year (which is the very point at issue!). 2. This he says would be 417 in the Gospel Verity Passion-era. 3. A scribe mistook it for a year in the Passion-era of Prosper. 4. He wished to reduce it to the Dionysian era, and owing to that mistake added 28. That is 'proof' no. 2!

In my former article, dating the year 444 with the editors, I showed how it probably came to be chosen, as the 4th year of Vortigern. If it be 445, my explanation is not affected. Vortigern's 4th year would be either 443-4 or 444, according as the writer calculated from his accession at some unknown date in 440, or from the beginning of the first consular year after that accession. But in either case the Saxons would not have sailed till after Easter; the Easter next after their landing would be that of 445; and (if the compiler of the Easter cycle from the margins of which the so called *Annales* were copied took the Saxon landing as his *terminus a quo*) it would be at least as natural to begin with 445 as with 444.

But there is another reason why the cycle should have begun with 444 or 445. The Paschal cycle of Victorius took its chronology from Prosper's epitome of chronicles. The first edition of that went down to 433: the second was continued to

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<sup>1)</sup> I say 'or 33' because, if (as Mr. Anscombe conjectures) the Dionysian era began on September 24 preceding the date assigned to the Nativity, a day in Nov. 397 of our present reckoning might apparently be counted as A. D. 398. According to Mr. Anscombe (p. 357) Bede and others reckon A. D. 1 as 33 and 34 of the Passion, a difference of 32 or 33. But the books I have consulted give no hint of Sep. 24, and I have no time to search Mr. Anscombe's articles for the ground of it: Dionysius himself spoke of his years as running from the Incarnation.

443, and may have run into 444, but at any rate did not complete the latter year, as Victor Tonnennensis began his continuation with 444. The third edition of Prosper stops short with the consuls of 445, giving no events for that year. If, then, the scribe of the particular Victorian cycle on the margins of which the 'Annales' were written contemplated such a use of it, he would be likely enough to begin his cycle just when Prosper left off. (I may add that the first marginal note preserved to us in the 'Annales' is an entry relating to the disputed celebration of Easter, which had been the theme of one of Prosper's two entries under 444.) And this seems to me a more probable motive for the commencement of a cycle coming to Wales from Brittany than the date of the Saxon landing — especially as in the 'Annales' themselves no note relating to the Saxons (or to political events) is found before 516.

c) Now for 'proof' no. 3. In the Parker MS. of the Winchester Saxon chronicle is 'a series of errors which is due to the ignorant amalgamation of two distinct chronicles'. The one cited here is as follows: 'Cerdic and Cynric arrived, we are told, in A. D. I. 495 (= A. D. 492). They began to reign, according to the Preface, in the sixth year after, *i. e.*, in A. D. I. 500, A. D. 497: but the Annals say that they began to reign in A. D. 519. Now, A. D. 519 [*sec. E. V.*] = A. D. 497, A. D. I. 500.'

This is another variety of the three-era trick. 1. The Preface says the arrival was in the year that was agone 494 winters from Christ's birth: Mr. Anscombe calls this 495 (Mr. Plummer 494), and says it is in an era 3 years earlier than ours, and = A. D. 492. 2. The Preface does *not* say they began to reign in the sixth year after, but after 6 years (*ymb·vi·gear*): in any case, however, A. D. 497 would have been only the 5th. 3. The *Preface's* date for accession having thus been twisted into 497, it is turned into a Gospel Verity date in the *Chronicle* by adding 22, which gives 519. And this is 'proof' of Gospel Verity dating!

Let me add what Mr. Anscombe omits: 1. that the *Chronicle* gives for the arrival 495, and not a year corresponding to either of Mr. Anscombe's postulated eras, 2. that the *Preface* assigns 17 years to Cynric — a certain blunder — against the 26 of the *Chronicle*, 3. that it omits his successor Ceawlin, who

reigned 31 years. So much for the value of the Preface as a foundation for Gospel Verity transmutations.

The *Chronicle* does not say how many years passed between arrival and accession, and its wrong date 519 for the latter can be quite simply accounted for as a miscopying of CCCCXCIX into CCCCXIX.

d) I come to 'proof' no. 4. In the same *Chronicle* Sexwulf's death is dated 705. 1. 'He really died in 691' — which there is no record of: we only know that he was succeeded at Leicester by Wilfrid in 692. 2. This is supposed to have been written in the 'A. D. I.' era, so as to make it 694. 3. A scribe (why?) mistook this for a date in the Gospel Verity Passion-era, and added 11 to turn it into our present era.

This is only the three-era trick once more. And if we suppose that Sexwulf died in 692, when Wilfrid succeeded him, we get the very simple palaeographical explanation that *dxrcu* had its *x* accidentally omitted and its *u* then misread as *u*.

e) 'Proof' no. 5 is like unto it. A Munich 10th (or 11th?) cent. MS. dates a 680 synod in 705. 1. 680 in Mr. Anscombe's 'A. D. I.' era would be 683, and this is what he supposes a copyist to have had before him. 2. The copyist mistook it for an A. D. date. 3. He then altered it to a Gospel Verity date by adding 22 (as if it were an A. D. date)!<sup>1)</sup>

f) 'Proof' no. 6. At last a 3rd era is dispensed with! The Winchester Saxon chronicle puts Eleutherus's imaginary mission to Britain in 167, but the burnt portion of the Cotton MS. *Otho B. XI* (written about 1025) put it in CLXXXIX — 22 years later, which is the Gospel Verity interval. And once more the inconvenient facts which Mr. Anscombe keeps underground rise up and refute him.

1. Mr. Plummer *Two Saxon chronicles* (II, p. xcix) says it 'can hardly be doubted' that the MS. 'is a copy of' the Parker

<sup>1)</sup> I cannot offer an explanation of my own, because neither Mr. Anscombe nor books give the context of the passage. Apparently the MS. contains Bede's *Chronica minora* (which only went down to 702) with a continuation to the time of the emperor Ludwig. The passage itself, except its date, seems to be an extract from Bede's *major* chronicle, where, however, there is no A. D. date whatever to serve as a starting-point for Mr. Anscombe's theory.

MS. of the Winchester chronicle. It agrees with it 'in the minutest points, and in the most obvious blunders'. There *are* differences, mostly 'slight scribal variations', but sometimes they 'are more serious, and seem to imply deliberate alterations'. 'There are also some omissions', 'but these can be accounted for as mere scribal slips. And taken all together', Mr. Plummer does 'not think that the variations imply that' the Cottonian MS. 'had any other source besides' the Parker MS. And I put it to the reader's common sense whether a scribe copying the Parker MS. would change one date alone into a Gospel Verity date and leave the hundreds of others unchanged.

2. The order in the Parker MS. is

167 Mission to Lucius

(*no intervening events*)

189 Accession of Severus.

That in the Cotton MS. is

189 Accession of Severus

Mission to Lucius.

Anyone used to ancient MSS. can see at a glance what has happened. If the Cotton scribe had wanted to turn the date of the 167 mission into a Gospel Verity date, he would still have written it before the accession of Severus. He didn't, but simply left it out by one of his 'scribal slips', and afterwards added it on the bottom margin below the 189 entry. Had the original survived, we should doubtless have found that he had put against 167 a *caret* which the editor, Wheloc, overlooked or did not understand.

g) 'Proof' no. 7. Ethelwerd says Birinus began to convert the West Saxons 'fere centum uiginti' years from their arrival in Britain. Birinus came about 634, so that the West Saxons would have come about 514. They *did* come in 495 or 494, but 495 is, according to Mr. Anscombe, in an 'A.D. I.' era, and = A.D. 492, which = Gospel Verity year 514. The steps are therefore these. 1. You suppose 495 really = 492, 2. that 492 was converted into a Gospel Verity date, and became 514, 3. that Ethelwerd mistook that for an A.D. date. Which is a 'proof' of Gospel Verity dating!

To the palaeographer or textual critic it is obvious that 634 is 'fere' 140 years from 495 or 494, and that Ethelwerd's

mistake simply arises from CXXXX having lost two of its X's in repeated copying.

h) 'Proof' no. 8. In an 11th cent. MS. of the 9th. cent. *Annales Xantenses*, the vision of Drythelme is dated 671, whereas in Anglo-Saxon chronicles it is dated 693. 1. The scribe of the MS. had 693 before him. 2. He thought (why?) that this was a Gospel Verity date. 3. He therefore made the mistake of reducing it to our era.

If, however, the 'proof' had not been absurd, it would still have been impossible. For 1. the facsimile of the MS. in Pertz shows that this (unique) MS. of the *Ann. Xantenses* cannot have been written as early as 1040, was almost certainly not written as early as 1070, and was *probably* not written before the 12th cent.: in other words it is contemporary with or later than *Marianus Scotus*. 2. If Mr. Anscombe had read Pertz's preface, he would have seen that all the part relating to the years before 790 is from the hand of a 12th cent. monk of Egmond, and is apparently no part of the *Annales Xantenses* at all!

The actual explanation of the wrong dating may be that DCLXXXIII lost a couple of its X's and I's in process of transmission from one MS. to another between the 8th and 12th centuries; but, though the period 692-6 is suggested by the context of Bede (the earliest authority), he gives no date, and 671 may represent, or arise out of, a divergent guess at the proper year.

i) 'Proof' no. 9. A 10th cent. MS. gives the obits of Martin, Clovis, and Remy as 444, 556, and 576. Mr. Plummer (*Bede*, II, c) has pointed out that these datings are apparently in the Julian era, which is 45 years before ours. That would give us the A. D. dates 399 for Martin (probable year 397, but 400 according to others), 511 for Clovis (correct), Remy 531 (died c. 530). Mr. Anscombe probably gets his facts from Mr. Plummer, but nothing so simple will suit *him*. 'The years assigned were arrived at by a succession of errors.'

1. Martin is once more alleged to have died in 395. 2. This was expressed in the Gospel Verity Passion-era as 384. 3. *That* was mistaken for a date in the Passion-era of Prosper. 4. It was then translated into A. D. and became 412. 5. This was misstyled A. P. (i. e. *anno Passionis*). 6. And was then trans-

lated *a second time* into A.D. as 444. Clovis's 511 and Remy's 531 are converted into 556 and 576 by *exactly* the same succession of processes.

Chronology, in fact, reduced to a screaming farce.

k) 'Proof' no. 10 and last. 'In the Chronological Memoranda which were written in 737 at the end of the More MS. of Bede's 'H.E.' we are told that '63 years had passed away since Egfrid's death. A. D. 737 *minus* 63 = A. D. 674 for Nechtan's victory; but that is 11 years too early, the true date being 685.' 1. 685 is 674 in the Gospel Verity Passion-era, and is, says Mr. Anscombe, what was before the scribe 2. Who treated it as if it were an A.D. date. Proof!

Now the event mentioned is *not* called 'Egfrid's death' but 'Pugna Ecgfridi' (so Mr. Anscombe himself at p. 384 of the same paper). The last preceding entry was 'Penda moritur', and the *pugna* of Ecgfrid I take to have been not the battle in which he was killed but one against Uulfhere, Penda's son. For Bede, mentioning the expulsion of Wilfrid in 678, says that Ecgfrid, then in the 8th year of his reign, had very recently gained the province of the Lindisfari 'superato in bello Uulfhere'. And, says Mr. Plummer (II, 223), 'It cannot have been later than 675, as Uulfhere died in that year.'

Mr. Anscombe adds that 'The same explanation applies to the erroneous date he', the scribe, 'indicates as that of Egfrid's brother Aelfwin's death'.

Well, the entry, which is the next after that relating to Ecgfrid, is 'Ælfuuni ante annos lviij'. Of course this = 737—58 = 679, and Mr. Anscombe himself says that Æ. was killed in 678-9. *Yet to get at that date* he has emended and construed the entry in the most amazing way, whereas the whole of the difficulty he imagines is due to his copying an incorrect transcript in the E. E. T. Society's edition, instead of looking at the facsimile (which he himself has referred to!) in pl. 140 of the Palæographical Society.

And so, fittingly enough, ends the series of 'Proofs' for which we waited nearly 7 years. To anyone with any idea of the amount of mediæval Latin literature from the 8th to the 10th cent. — the theologians, historians, chronologists, and tens of thousands of dated charters — I need hardly add 'Do you believe that in all those centuries there was current a mode of dating



which put the Nativity and Crucifixion 22 years before the dates of our era, and that no theologian, historian, chronologist, or charter should mention it?' The bare idea is ridiculous.

I may now reply to Mr. Anscombe's remaining charges of error.

It seems Mr. Nicholson 'does not know what the Welsh writers he criticises so unkindly meant by the word *consules*. In the Vatican and Paris MSS. we read 1. that in the time of Gratian, 'a consulibus Romanorum totus orbis regebatur'; ed. Mommsen, p. 201, *note*. 2. 'A tempore illius [*sc. Maximi imperatoris*] consules esse coeperunt et Caesares nunquam appellati sunt postea'; cap. xxvi., p. 166. 3. '... a Valentiniano et Theodosio consulibus ... spoliatus [*Maximus*] indumentis regiis, sistitur et capite damnatur'; cap. xxviii., p. 168, l. 23. These passages shew that the Welsh author we are quoting continually used the word *consules* as equivalent to *imperatores*'. The 'author' is the *Historia Brittonum*, and the following is my reply.

1. We have here a characteristic specimen of Mr. Anscombe's methods: he keeps back from the reader the following facts: I. that the passage was apparently added in 974, II. that the writer says *not* 'in the time of Gratian', but 'when Gratianus was *consul*' — a blundered reference to the joint consulship of Gratian and Equitius in 374. He did not confuse emperors with consuls: he simply thought the consuls were the *de facto* rulers.

2. The *Historia* had previously given the name 'imperator' to Claudius and 'Karitius': how then can it mean that *emperors* began with Maximus?

3. It is true that in the year of Maximus's execution Valentinian and Theodosius were not *both* consuls: Valentinian's year was the one before. Moreover the passage is from Prosper, who has not 'consulibus' but 'impp.'. Mr. Anscombe is entitled to make all he can out of this. But let the reader note that Maximus himself is called not 'consul' but 'imperator', and that, while we hear of 'British emperors' (§ 21) and 'emperors in Britain' (§ 30), we never hear of British consuls. The writer of this particular passage may have had in his memory one of the joint consulships of the later Theodosius and later Valentinian, and have substituted 'consulibus' by a mere slip of the pen.

Let me add that, though Geoffrey of Monmouth gives the name 'consul' to British provincial rulers of the post-Roman period, he never uses it as a synonym for emperor or king.

But see into what a hopeless dilemma Mr. Anscombe has argued himself! To save the chronological credit of his 'Exordium', he has had to construe 'consulibus' as = 'emperors'; yet in the very next sentence he has to construe it again as = 'consuls' — unless he expects us to believe that the writer thought Felix and Taurus were emperors.<sup>1)</sup> And, if he still insists on the supposed double meaning, surely at least the two sentences cannot have been from the same pen — one must be an interpolation. Since the first does not imply the second, but the second does ('sui') imply the first, it is obvious that it is the 'Felice et Tauro consulibus' part — on which his whole theory is built — that this disastrous conclusion would affect.

This is the place to show how Mr. Anscombe has treated that paragraph. 1. He construes *tenuit imperium* 'was ruling' (*Ériu* III, 126) as if it were *tenebat i.* 2. He translates (*ib.*) *catguoloph* 'Battle of Guoloph': 'these are 12 years, which is Guoloppum, that is the Battle of Guoloph'. Fancy 12 years being a battle! *Guoloppum* means 'void', and *catguoloph* 'void of war': Sir J. Rhŷs has shown this, but of course it won't fit the blundered order of the text, so it is ignored. 3. For 'Incarnation' he emends 'Passion'. That is how he squares the date with the consulship of Felix and Taurus, which was in 428.

I said (p. 443) that the 'Exordium' was printed as c. 66 of the *Historia Brittonum*, but only occurred in two MSS. (Mommsen's HK), in one of which it is followed by the 'Annales'. Mr. Anscombe says it occurs also in the Cottonian MSS. Vitell. A.iii and Vesp. B.xxv. Mommsen — who only collated them for 4 chapters — has not mentioned this, but says the former seems to be a mere copy of K and the latter a mere copy of H. Mr. Anscombe's inaccuracy in saying that 'we read' in Mommsen's *apparatus criticus* 'primo' where Mommsen has ·|· led me, however, to write to Dr. G. F. Warner, the Keeper of the MSS., to know what was the precise reading of all four, and I find that, while H has not got primo or ·|·, all the rest have 1 with a dot on each side — proof that MS. Vesp. B.xxv is *not* copied from H.

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<sup>1)</sup> Of course the same applies to Stilicho, who is called consul in the 'Exordium' and was never emperor.

I then turn to the edition of the *Historia Brittonum* in the *Monumenta historica Britannica*, where this MS. appears as Z: it seems to have been collated only for a very small part of the text, but in that small part it has one probably correct various reading in which it stands alone, and which shows the necessity for a full collation of the MS. This is at p. 203 l. 7 of Mommsen's text (end of § 57) where one of the wives of the Northumbrian king is said to have been called 'Riimmelth filia Royth filii Rum' (*sic* for Rū = Run). Now Riimmelth is nonsense, and so is the various reading 'riemmedt', but MS. Vesp. B. xxv gives Nemmedh, a perfectly sound name if we suppose the second *m* due to a scribal slip.<sup>1)</sup>

Next, we are told that it is inaccurate to say that the date 428 'is nowhere to be found in words or figures'. Three evidences are given — thoroughly typical of Mr. Anscombe. 1. The Incarnation-era stated in the MSS. is left out, and a Passion-era substituted in square brackets. 2. 428 is deduced from the statement of the 'Exordium' that it was 28 years from Stilicho's consulship (400) to the reign of Vortigern,<sup>2)</sup> whereas what we are disputing about is not the reign of Vortigern but the Saxon landing, which the 'Exordium' says was in the 4th year of that reign. 3. A quotation from the *Historia Brittonum* as to the killing of Maximus (388) is given, *then dots to signify an omission*, then a further quotation that the Britons were 40 years in fear, and that Vortigern reigned and while he reigned was in fear of the Picts and Scots &c. *The omission conceals the fact that the last words preceding 'per quadraginta annos' are 'transactoque Romanorum imperio in Britannia.'*<sup>3)</sup> Now the Roman imperium in Britain did not end till 407-10<sup>4)</sup> (Stilicho had regarrisoned the northern wall in 396 and a new Roman

<sup>1)</sup> i. e. *e* copied as *em* instead of *em*. Nemmedh would be the Welsh phonetic spelling of the word now written *neamhaidh* ('heavenly') in Highland Gaelic and Irish: she was probably half a Pict — indeed her grandfather Run certainly was (see *Y Cymmrodor* XXI, 82, 84, 89).

<sup>2)</sup> To maintain, as Mr. Anscombe has done, that 'usque ad . . . regnum Guorthigirni' does not necessarily mean 'up to the beginning of Vortigern's reign' is idle.

<sup>3)</sup> The only words covered by the dots. They are in all the MSS. of Mommsen's *apparatus criticus* except Z (filius Urbagen).

<sup>4)</sup> See Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 94.

emperor was actually elected by the troops in Britain in 407), so that the 40 years bring us not to 428 but to the period indicated by Bede for the Saxon landing!

And here I see how this Felix and Taurus dating may very easily have arisen. The local record made on the margin of the Victorian Paschal Cycle and afterwards copied in the *Annales Cambriae* is older than the *Historia Brittonum* by at least a century. But, when the *Historia Brittonum* came to St. David's, additional entries were made from it<sup>1</sup>) on these same margins — cf. those at [626] [631] [644] [656] [657] with §§ 63, 64 of the *Historia*. And the same annotator would naturally make like additions on the margins of the preface (the so-called 'Exordium'). Very well: he had before him that passage about the killing of Maximus. He probably knew nothing (and had no book to tell him anything) of the subsequent history of the Roman authority in Britain, and he supposed 'transacto Romanorum imperio' to refer to the killing of Maximus, and that the 40 years were to be reckoned between his death and the reign of Vortigern. The *Historia's* account of the killing of Maximus is from Prosper, and, if the St. David's annotator had a Prosper, it would give 361 as the date. By adding 40 he would get 401, and his Prosper would show him Felix and Taurus as the consuls. Unless he knew what Prosper said at A. D. 29, he would not know these were not Incarnation-years. A marginal note giving 401 for the landing would easily creep into the text, and the rest is easy.

I said there was no Guitolin known to history except Vortigern's grandfather, probably identical with Geoffrey of Monmouth's Guethelinus, abp. of London. Mr. Anscombe replies 'There was a Guithelin whose father Gurgiunt or Gurgint Barbtruch, son of Beli son of Dyfnwal Moelmud ('H. R. B.' III, xi), was probably the Gurind Barmhtruch who, according to the XIIIth century Cotton tract 'De Situ Brecheniauc', married a daughter of Brychan of

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<sup>1</sup>) The reader may ask why not from 'Filius Urbagen', of whom the only extant MS. omits the words covered by Mr. Anscombe's dots. That MS. is imperfect, so we cannot say that the absence from it of §§ 57-65 of the *Historia* is conclusive to the contrary. But if F. U. was the Run, son of Urbgen, who is alleged to have baptized Edwin, and if his father was the great Urbgen, he would hardly have been alive to write the passage from which the [656] and [657] entries are borrowed.

Brecknock. If that were as I suggest Guithelin the son of Brychan's son-in-law might have been active in the middle of the fifth century, *sc.*, in A.D. 440.'

Would the reader believe that the Guithelin in question is one of the *prae-Roman* British kings invented by Geoffrey ('H. R. B.'), being only two generations younger than the Brennius whose Gauls captured Rome?<sup>1</sup>) This is the man who as a grandson of Brychan of Brecknock 'might have been active . . . in A.D. 440'. As he lived about 800 years, we cannot be surprised that two other of Brychan's grandsons fought in 596 at the battle of Raith:<sup>2</sup>) perhaps they also were born a few hundred years B. C., while Brychan himself may have been coeval with Solomon!

Yet after this we are told that the Guitolin who was Vortigern's grandfather cannot have taken an active part in politics in 428 because Vortigern married an orphan daughter of the Maximus who was killed in 388. Well, it depends on how early the Britons of those days married. If Guitolin was not out of politics till his death, and lived (not to 800 but) to 80, he might have been born in 348, his son born in 369, and his grandson in 390, and that grandson might easily marry a daughter of Maximus. Nay, the dates can be put more favourably than this by a good deal: Vortigern might very well marry the daughter of a Roman emperor even if she was ten years older than himself, for the sake of the enormously enhanced political status which he would obtain.

'Mr. Nicholson . . . has invented a second Ambrosius.' He has not, and the difficulty he is supposed to have felt about Ambrosius in relation to the date of Arthur never entered his head. He has simply suggested that Geoffrey of Monmouth's story of Guethelinus may be true, and that Geoffrey's Ambrosius may have been grandson or nephew of the Ambrosius of the 'Exordium'.

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<sup>1</sup>) Mr. Anscombe represents him as grandson of a man who was Brennius's brother: Geoffrey only says he succeeded that man's son as king. The actual 'Guergint Barmbruch', whose name Geoffrey copied, was a 6th cent. person, 'son' of Catualatr, and 4th in descent from Cunedag.

<sup>2</sup>) See my paper in the *Celtic Review* VI, 215, 225. They were Aidan mac Gabrain and Wit.

If Mr. Anscombe, instead of quoting a Latin dictionary 66 years old, had looked at Lewis and Short, he would have seen that Mr. Plummer and I are absolutely justified in taking 'tunc' as referring to any period of the 'VII annis' in which Marcian held rule with Valentinian. He would have learned that 'In post-Aug. style tunc freq. occurs without emphasis, and is freely used of periods of time' and as equivalent to 'illis temporibus'.

And now for 'Pseudo-Gildas'.

The 6th cent. writer Gildas tells us (§ 20) that before the Saxons were invited the Britons wrote to 'Agetium' [Aetius] 'hoc modo loquentes: „Agitio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum“; et post pauca querentes: „repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros; inter haec duo genera funerum aut iugulamur aut mergimur.“' As Aetius was not consul the third time till 445, this is of course disastrous to Mr. Anscombe's 428 as the date of the Saxon landing. Consequently it has to be got rid of, and this is how it is done.

I. It is asserted to be a letter from the *Bretons*, against whom Aetius had employed the Alani, and on whose behalf Germanus went to supplicate him. Well, it was on behalf of the 'Armoricus tractus' that Germanus went: the term *Britanni* is not found before 461 of any people living in that tract,<sup>1)</sup> and even then it is doubtful whether they were more than a colony on the Loire.<sup>2)</sup> If we waive these facts, it is still most unlikely that they should in a letter to Aetius give themselves, without any geographical qualification, a name which would naturally be understood of the *insular* Britons.

II. Our author is supposed to have got his information from Bretons. If he did, how could he fail to know that it was a Breton letter?

III. Gildas being naturally supposed incapable of such a blunder, his first 26 chapters are called Pseudo-Gildas, and declared the work of a later period.

<sup>1)</sup> An 'episcopus Britannorum' signs at the Council of Tours in 461, but it was also attended by bishops of Nantes and Rennes, as well as of an unnamed see which may have been Armorican.

<sup>2)</sup> 'Britannos supra Ligerim sitos' (Sidon. Apoll. *ep.* 1, 7, 5 — written about 469).

In the Celtic Review for Ap. 1906 I dealt exhaustively with Mr. Wade-Evans's attempts to shake Gildas's authorship. I will not repeat all I then wrote, for the following adapted extracts will satisfy every reader who knows Gildas.

The work of Gildas consists of a denunciation preceded (cc. 3-26) by a historical narrative. The latter in turn has a preface in which the author states his denunciatory purpose (c. 1), but announces (c. 2) that before fulfilling his promise ('ante promissum') he will give a historical outline. No work could more clearly proclaim its own unity, and this unity is confirmed by the extraordinarily pretentious and involved style of the whole.

Mr. Anscombe ignores the testimony of the work to itself, ignores the evidence of style, and attributes everything before c. 27 to a later writer. By so doing he gives to the part which he *does* allow to Gildas an inconceivably abrupt beginning, while he leaves the *other* part with the promise of its preface unfulfilled.

He has also failed to notice (or else ignores) two striking correspondences of phraseology between c. 1 of the narrative which he rejects as Gildas's and the denunciation which he accepts. The first of these<sup>1</sup>) is 'merito . . . dicebam . . . Stephanum gloriosum ob martyrii palmam, sed Nicholaum miserum propter immundae haereseos notam' compared with c. 67, 'Nicholaum in loco Stephani martyris statuunt immundae haereseos adinventorem': in each passage there is also an antithesis between Peter and Judas. The second is 'Habet Britannia rectores, habet speculatores', to be compared with c. 27, 'Reges habet Britannia, sed tyrannos; iudices habet, sed impios' and c. 66, 'Sacerdotes habet Britannia, sed insipientes', etc.

Finally, it is not the fact that Mr. Nicholson 'is prepared and desirous to throw over the testimony of both Bede and Pseudo-Gildas' if he can be allowed to substitute 444 as the date of the landing. He has never advocated that year, or any particular year, still less has he proposed to fix a date which would conflict with Gildas or Bede.

<sup>1</sup>) I owe my knowledge of it to Prof. Hugh Williams's edition. He cites Jerome, *Ep.* XIV, 8: 'Attendis Petrum, sed et Iudam considera; Stephanum suspicis, sed et Nicolaum respice'.

I have only to add that if Mr. Anscombe insists on prolonging the chronological controversy, which he began as the impugner of received tradition, and in which he has occupied a vastly greater amount of space than myself, I shall not contest the last word with him. When two men differ so diametrically as to what makes certainty, what makes probability, and whether those who discuss historic questions are bound to tell not only 'the truth and nothing but the truth', but also 'the *whole* truth', it is, from an interpersonal point of view, quite useless to continue discussion. Should he, indeed, misrepresent my opinions or arguments, or allege against me imaginary errors, I may or may not think worth while to defend myself — but, as for Gospel Verity and DC dating, '*verberet ictibus auras*'.

E. W. B. NICHOLSON.



## THE WELSH DENOMINATIVES IN *-HAU* AND *-HA*.

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The influence of the denominative verbs upon Welsh conjugation has long been a subject of discussion in determining the origin and growth of the *-a* termination of the 3 sg. pres. ind. and the 2 sg. of the imperative. In the *Grammatica Celtica* this termination is considered a part of the stem, and Nettlau (*The Cymmrodor*, IX p. 60) and Strachan (*Introduction to Early Welsh*, p. 83) trace it to the derivative verbs in *-hau*, while Evander Evans (*Studies in Cymric Philology*, Arch. Camb. 4th series IV, 146), although cited in his favour by Nettlau, seems to regard it as a separate termination, and S. J. Evans (*Studies in Welsh Grammar and Philology*, p. 171) as the remains of the old verbal ending. But no careful examination of the *-a* forms and no systematic attempt to decide the question has so far been undertaken.

The denominative verbs in Welsh may be divided into two classes according to the terminations of their verb-nouns, viz. *-hau* and *-ha*, but they both contain undoubtedly the same element *-ha-*, as is proved by the unvoicing of consonants which immediately precede this ending and by various finite forms of the latter class; e. g., pres. ind. 1 sg. *bwytaaf* RB. 289, 17; 3 sg. *gwreica* Myv. 834 b 3, *gwreicka* Laws 438; imperf. indic. 3 sg. *difethaei* Laws 382; pret. 2 sg. *diffetheeist* RB. I, 19, 7, 3 sg. *diue-thaawd* RB. II, 388, 21, *difethaawd* 394, 9, *bwythaawd* 260, 18, *bwytâes* Myv. 864 b 15; pres. subj. 2 sg. *bwyttehych* RB. I, 292, 29, 3 sg. *marchoccao* Laws 280, *gwreicâo* Myv. 804 a 23, impers. *letrataher* Laws 357.

The dissyllabic character of the *-(h)au* in older Welsh can easily be proved from the various instances where it is found

rhyming with *-u*, and from the metre of the stanzas in which it occurs. Thus

Myv. 243 b 34 *Cyn annaws tywaws tywarchu-fynghnawd*  
*Tywarchen o bobtu,*  
*Bwyf gwas Duw cyn nom gostegu,*  
*Gwst angen angen riallu;*  
*Bwyf unfod wossod wassau*  
*Oe weision iu wasanaethu,*  
*Am dyfynno Duw ym dyfynnu-nef*  
*Ar ei nawdd ai deulu.*

The metre is that of *Byr a Thoddiad*, i. e. a 'toddail byr' of two lines of ten and six syllables respectively at the beginning and at the end of the stanza, with four lines of eight syllables each intervening.

Myv. 227 b 42 *Achaws y dyfu*  
*Uchel ri ym mru*  
*Meir er mawrhäu*  
*Llu llyuenyt.*

The metre is that of *Cyhydedd Hir*, which consists of three lines of five syllables each, rhyming with the first syllable of a fourth line of four syllables.

Myv. 349 a 6 *I'r hwn ai gwnaeth*  
*Drwy fawr arfaeth*  
*Ef y gweithred,*  
*Er nerthu (? nerthäu)*  
*A rhwyddhäu*  
*I'r rhwyf godded.*

Here we have two stanzas of the metre called *Huppynt Byr* usually written in two lines of four and eight syllables respectively, the fourth syllable of the second rhyming with the last syllable of the first. The first line of the second stanza quoted above is imperfect. As further instances of this ending rhyming with *-u* may be mentioned *cattäu* FB. 64, 23, which occurs in a stanza of lines of nine syllables each, *kamwalthäu* 148, 28, and *guell(a)häu* Myv. 128 a 9, where the metre is uncertain.

It is well known that the formation of these derivative verbs in *-hau* is identical with that of the Breton denominatives

in *-(h)aat* and the Old Irish deponents in *-(a)igedar* (3 sg.), *-aigur* (1 sg.) = Mod. Irish *-(u)ighim*. The Brythonic forms point to an earlier stem-suffix *\*-sag-*, and this was probably the antecedent of Irish *-(a)ig-*, inasmuch as an intervocalic *s* before an unaccented vowel would disappear without leaving any trace of its existence, and unless the *s* represents a generalization of the final consonant of a stem to which *\*-ag-* was suffixed, our denominatives cannot be equated with Latin verbs like *remigare*. See Thurneysen, *Handb. des Altirischen*, p. 315, § 517.

The following is a list of the denominatives in *-hau* occurring in Old and Mediaeval Welsh books and supplemented by forms that I have found only in the dictionaries. As intransitive verbs they have the general meaning of 'becoming', and as transitive verbs of 'rendering or making'. For the Breton equivalents I have utilized the dictionaries of Le Gonidec and Troude and M. Loth's *Chrestomathie Bretonne*, and the Irish equivalents are quoted chiefly from Strachan's *Old Irish Deponent* (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*, vol. 28, 1891—1894) and Kuno Meyer's *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*.

As will be seen below, they can be said to be derived from nouns and adjectives with or without an intermediate stem-suffix and from adjectives of the positive or comparative degree.

#### A) From nouns.

*addurnhau* 'to adorn': *addurn* 'ornament'.

*amgylchau* 'to surround': *amgylch* 'circuit, compass'.

*arfollau* 'to entertain': *arfol* 'entertainment'.

*boddhau*, *boddâu* Myv. 801 a 2. 806 b 5 'to please': *bodd* 'desire, wish'. Cf. *anvoddâu* Myv. 790 a 11 'to displease', *ymvoddhau* 'to please oneself'.

*blashau* (*blasaaf* FB. 215, 5) 'to taste': *blas* 'taste'; Bret. *blasaat*, M. Ir. *blassaigim*.

*cattau* FB. 64, 23 'to wage battle': *cad* 'battle'; O. Ir. *frisca-thaigedar* Ml. 90 a 6, Mod. Ir. *cathuighim*.

*kreirhau* Laws 74 'to put to the relics': *crair* 'relic'.

*coffau* Laws 79 'to remember, commemorate': *cof* 'memory'; Bret. *kounaat*, O. Ir. *cuimnigedar* Wz. 16 b 24, Mod. Ir. *cuimhnighim*.

*kanatau* RB. II, 90, 10, *kanhatau* 74, 18, *cenattau* 322, 8, *canattau*

- 348, 8, *cennatau* 'to permit' : *cennad* 'messenger, leave, permission', Bret. *kannad*, a derivative of \*kent-, whence also Ir. *cead* 'permission', *ceaduighim* 'I permit, allow'. Cf. *ymgennattau* RB. I, 80, 9 'to send messages', but *kanhyadu* 178, 26, *ganhadu* 180, 14.
- coronhau* RB. II, 125, 8. 239, 7 'to crown' : *coron* 'crown'; Ir. *corónuighim*.
- kyflehau* RB. II, 202, 21 'to arrange' : *cyfle* 'a suitable place or occasion'.
- cyfranghau* (*kywraghaum* = *kyfranghawn* BBC. 24, 11) 'to battle, to meet' : *cyfranc* 'combat'; Ir. *comhraicighim*. *pan gyfreing* Myv. 174 a 23.
- coddhau* 'to offend' : *cawdd* 'vexation, wrath' < Idg. \*kad- > Gr. *κῆδος*, *κῆδος* : \*kəd-, \*kəd-to-s > W. *cas* 'hateful, odious', Ir. *caiss*.
- digenedylhau* RB. II, 225, 27 'to degenerate' : *cenedl* 'nation, race'; O. Ir. *arrondoichenelaigsiursa* Ml. 44 b 36 : \*dochenelaigur.
- dyddhau* 'to dawn, become day' : *dydd* 'day'.
- dyfrhau* 'to irrigate' : *dwfr* 'water'.
- ffurfhau* (*ffuryfhawyt* RB. II, 378, 30) 'to form, make' : *ffurf* 'form, shape'.
- garthau* 'to fortify' : *garth* 'enclosure, fort, rampart'.
- gofulhau* 'to become anxious' : *gofal* 'care, anxiety'.
- goleuhau* RB. I, 46. II, 38, 3. 100, 17. 107, 12. 392, 27 'to illuminate, become light' : *goleu* 'light'.
- gorddinhau* (*gordinhaawd* RB. I, 220, 8) 'to impel, assault' : *gorddin* 'attack'.
- grymhau* RB. II, 146, 1 'to become strong' : *grym* 'strength'. Cf. *racrymhau* 309, 17.
- gwarthau* (*gwerthey* RB. I, 113, 22, *gwarthäer* Myv. 812 a 29) 'to disgrace' : *gwarth* 'disgrace'.
- gwassau* Myv. 243 b 38 'to become a servant' : *gwas* 'servant'.
- gwrhau* RB. I, 178, 30. II, 53, 32, Laws 431 'to pay homage' : *gwr* 'man'.
- llechau* RB. II, 281, 15 'to place' : *lle* 'place'; Bret. *laakat*.
- llesáu* Myv. 801 a 2 'to benefit' : *lles* 'benefit'; O. Ir. *lesaigit* Leabh. na h'Uidhre 32 b 29, *rolesaig* 32 a 4, Mod. Ir. *leasuighim*.
- llifhau* (*llifhaawd* RB. II, 372, 26) 'to overflow, inundate' : *llif* 'flood'.
- meflhau* 'to disgrace' : *mefl* 'shame, disgrace'; Ir. *meabluighim*.

*micynhau* 'to enjoy' : *micyn* 'desire, wish'; Ir. *mianuighim*.  
*nakau* Myv. 209 b 38, *nackau* RB. II, 78, 6. 164, 13, *neckau* I, 60, 27,  
*neckau* II, 29, 12 'to refuse' : *nag* 'refusal, „no“'.  
*nerthau* 'to strengthen' : *nerth* 'strength'; Ir. *neartuighim*.  
*ofynhau* RB. II, 46, 18. 56, 12. 91, 23, *ovynhau* 67, 10 'to fear,  
 become alarmed' : *ofn* 'fear'; cf. Ir. *eagluighim*.  
*sarhau*, *sorâu* Myv. 835 a 17 'to insult' : O. Ir. *rusärigestar* ML. 71 b 14,  
 Mod. Ir. *säruighim*.  
*ymoprau* RB. I, 21, 26 'to bargain' : *amobr*, *ymobr* 'fee, payment'.  
 Cf. Bret. *gôpraat* 'to hire'.

### B. From nouns by means of the adjectival suffix *-og-*.

*adnywockau* (*adnywockaant* Yst. Gwlad Ieu. Fend. § 6) 'to in-  
 vigoiate, renovate' : *nyw* 'vigour, ardour'.  
*arwydockau* Myv. 795 a 13 'to signify' : *arwydd* 'sign'.  
*adurnockau* 'to embellish' : *addurn* 'ornament'.  
*alltudocau* 'to exile' : *alltud* 'exile'.  
*arglwyddockau* 'to govern' : *arglwydd* 'lord'.  
*buchedockau* RB. II, 59, 25. 250, 24 'to live, dwell' : *buchedd* 'life'.  
*gwallockau* RB. I, 101, 4, *gwallocau* Myv. 944 a 5, Laws 369 'to  
 neglect, become negligent' : *gwall* 'fault'; Bret. *gwallekaat*.  
 Cf. Bret. *fallaat*, O. Ir. *fullaigedar* ML. 129 a 2 b, Mod. Ir.  
*faillighim*.  
*gorfodocau* 'to render or become obligatory' : *gorfod* 'necessity,  
 obligation'.  
*nerthockau* RB. II, 357, 27. 364, 12 'to strengthen' : *nerth* 'strength'.  
*ofnockau* RB. II, 2, 32 'to become afraid' : *ofn* 'fear'.  
*ymdeithocau* 'to travel, prepare oneself for travelling (Pughe)'  
 : *ymdaith* 'journey'.  
*cedymdeithockau* RB. II, 230, 10, *cydymdeithockau* 137, 2 'to  
 assemble' : *cedymdaith* 'company'.

### C. From adjectives of the positive degree.

*arafhau* RB. I, 152, 16. II, 93, 1. 322, 26, *aryfhau* 229, 20 'to  
 become slow or gentle' : *araf* 'slow'.  
*addwynhau* Myv. 790 a 11 'to pacify' : *addwyn* 'gentle'.  
*agosghau* 'to approach' : *agos* 'near'.  
*amlhau* Myv. 910 b 20, *amylhau* RB. II, 99, 18. 112, 24 'to in-  
 crease' : *aml* 'frequent'.

*amlycau* Myv. 931 a 40, *amlyccau* Laws 180, *amlyckau* RB. II, 37, 18.

*amlykau* Laws 606 'to expose': *amlwg* 'evident, conspicuous'.

*amryfulhau* 'to vary': *amryfal* 'various, different'.

*arderchockau* RB. II, 185, 14 'to honour': *ardderchog* 'noble, grand'.

*atnewydau* RB. II, 79, 33. 138, 1 'to renovate': *newydd* 'new'.

*blinhau* 'to tire': *blin* 'weary, tired'.

*blyghau* RB. II, 65, 21. 66, 19. 115, 12. 215, 21 'to become fierce': *blwg* 'fierce, furious'.

*bodlonhau* RB. II, 38, 25. 83, 28 'to satisfy, be content': *bodlon* 'content, satisfied'.

*brasau* 'to thicken, fatten': *bras* 'thick, large'; Bret. *brasaat*.

*butrau* 'to render or become dirty': *budr* 'dirty'.

*byrhau* Myv. 886 a 3. 911 a 55 'to shorten': *byr* 'short'; Bret. *berraat*, *diverraet*, Ir. *giorruighim*.

*bywhau* 'to animate, quicken': *byw* 'alive'; O. Ir. *beoigidir* Wb. 13 d 7.

*ymfywhau* 'to rouse oneself'.

*cadarnhau* RB. II, 15, 30. 43, 20, *catarnhau* 21, 21, *cadarnâu* Myv. 806 a 26, 24 'to affirm, confirm': *cadarn* 'strong'.

*ymgadarnhau* 'to strengthen oneself'.

*kaethau* RB. I, 282, 13, *caethau* Laws 213, *caythau* 401 'to block, forbid, enslave': *caeth* 'captive, enslaved'.

*callau*, *ymgallau* RB. II, 86, 8 'to grow or become wise': *call* 'wise, prudent'.

*kamwalhau* FB. 148, 28, *dywalhau* 'to become fierce': *dywal* 'ferocious'.

*cassau* RB. II, 230, 12 'to hate': *cas* 'hateful'; Bret. *kasaat*.

*atgassau* RB. I, 32, 16 : *atgas* 'odious'.

*ymgassau* 'to hate oneself'.

*clærhau* RB. II, 86, 19 'to brighten, become clear': *clær* 'bright, clear'.

*croywhau* Myv. 908 a 34 'to freshen': *croyw* 'fresh'.

*cryfhau* (a *gryváant* Myv. 802 a 46), mod. colloquial Welsh *cryffau* 'to strengthen': *cryf* 'strong'.

*culhau* 'to render or become narrow': *cul* 'narrow'; Ir. *caoluighim*.

*cwplau* RB. II, 120, 34. 121, 1, *cwplau* 30, 25. 31, 22, 24, *cwblâu* Myv. 904 b 29 'to complete': *cwbl* 'entire, whole'.

*cyfanhau* RB. I, 202, 25, 28 'to become whole, entire': *cyfan* 'whole, entire'.

*cyfiawnhau* 'to justify' : *cyfiawn* 'just'.

*cyflawnhau* 'to fill' : *cyflawn* 'full, complete'.

*cystadylhau* Laws 81 'to equalize' : *cystadyl* (*cystadl* < \*konstadhlo- 'having the same position') Myv. 206 a 20 whence, by the loss of *ð*, *cystal* 'as good as' and by the hardening of *ð* into *d* before *l*, *cystadlu* 'to compete'.

*digrifhau* RB. I, 8, 7, Myv. 832 b 15 'to amuse' : *digrif* 'funny, amusing'.

*diogelhau* 'to make safe' : *diogel* 'secure, safe'.

*doethau* 'to make or become wise' : *doeth* 'wise'.

*ymddoethau* Myv. 881 b 18 'to become wise'.

*dofhau* 'to tame, subdue' : *dof* 'tame'; Bret. *dōnaat*, *doñvaat*.

*drutau* 'to make dear' : *drud* 'dear, costly'.

*dysfahau* 'to persevere' : *dysfal* 'diligent, assiduous'.

*dyfnhau* 'to deepen' : *dwfn* 'deep'; Bret. *dounaat*.

*edifarhau*, *edivarâu* Myv. 801 a 39. 867 a 32 'to repent' : *edifar* 'penitent, sorry'.

*eglhurhau*, *eglhurâu* Myv. 949 b 6 'to explain, make clear' : *eglhur* 'clear'.

*emendehau* Laws 233 'to repair', based on Lat. *emendare*.

*esmycithau* 'to ease' : *esmywyth* 'easy'.

*euocau* 'to become guilty' : *euog* 'guilty'.

*garchrau* RB. I, 34, 24 'to bristle' : *garw* 'rough'; Bret. *garvaat*, Ir. *garbhuighim*.

*glanhau* RB. I, 127, 7, *glanau* Laws 159 'to clean' : *glan* 'clean'; Ir. *glanaighim*.

*gnottau* (*gnottaa* Myv. 731 b 13) 'to be accustomed' : *gnawd* 'customary'; O. Ir. *rognāthaigsetar* Ml. 34 b 2, Mod. Ir. *gnāthaighim*.

*gwacau* 'to empty' : *gwag* 'empty'. Cf. Bret. *gwakaat*, *goakaat* 'devenir mou, tendre'.

*gwanhau* RB. I, 183, 25. II, 219, 4 'to weaken, become weak' : *gwan* 'weak, feeble'; Ir. *fannaighim*.

*gwarâu* Myv. 790 a 17. 804 b 36 'to appease' : *gwar* 'gentle'.

*gwastattau* RB. I, 78, 20, Laws 431 'to level, settle down' : *gwastad*.

*gwlyddhau* 'to mollify' : *gwlydd* 'soft'.

*gwynhau* 'to whiten' : *gwyn* 'white'; Bret. *gwennaat*.

*hawddâu* Myv. 806 a 33. 909 b 33 'to facilitate' : *hawdd* 'easy'.

*hacrau* RB. II, 59, 13 'to deface, spoil' : *hagr* 'ugly'; Bret. *akraat*, *hacraat*.

*henhau* 'to grow old' : *hen* 'old'.

*hwyrhau* 'to grow late' : *hwyr* 'late'.

*hyfrytau* RB. II, 314, 2 'to amuse' : *hyfryd* 'pleasant'.

*iachau* Myv. 943 a 50 'to cure, make or become well' : *iach* 'healthy'; Bret. *iac'haat*.

*iawnhau* Laws 238 'to right' : *iawn* 'right, just'.

*ymiawnâu* Myv. 892 a 3 'to straighten, rectify oneself'.

*irllonhau* RB. I, 151, 27 'to enrage, make or become furious' : *irllon* 'wrathful'.

*irhau* 'to become fresh or green' : *ir* 'verdant'; O. Ir. *ūraigedar* Ml. 15 b 14, Mod. Ir. *ūruighim*.

*iselhau* 'to make or become low' : *isel* 'low'; Bret. *izelaat*, O. Ir. *nomisligur* Wb. 17 d 22, Mod. Ir. *islighim*.

*llacau* 'to slacken' : *llac* 'slack, loose'.

*llawenhau* RB. II, 15, 30, 33. 49, 5. 56, 4, *llawenâu* Myv. 821 a 9 'to rejoice, gladden' : *llawen* 'joyful, merry'; Bret. *laouenaat*.

*llwfrhau* 'to become timid, lose heart' : *llwfr* 'timid, cowardly'; O. Ir. *lobraigedar* Ml. 43 d 21.

*llyfnhau* 'to make smooth, to polish' : *llyfn* 'smooth'; Ir. *sleamh-nuighim*.

*llymhau* (*lemhaam* gl. arguo Eut.) 'to sharpen' : *llym* 'sharp'.

*manhau* 'to become or make fine or small' : *man* 'small, fine'; Ir. *mionuighim*.

*marwhau* 'to mortify, deaden' : *marw* 'deed'; Ir. *marbhuighim*.

*mawrhau* Myv. 227 b 42 'to magnify, extol' : *mawr* 'large'; Ir. *móruighim*.

*meinhau* 'to make thin or slender' : *main* 'thin'.

*parhau* RB. II, 221, 11 'to continue' : \**par* < Lat. *parem* 'like, equal'.

*pellau* RB. II, 81, 18 'to remove, recede' : *pell* 'far, distant'; Bret. *pellaat*.

*perhau* 'to make or become sweet' : *per* 'sweet'.

*prinhau* 'to become scarce' : *prin* 'scarce'.

*pruddhau* 'to sadden, become sad' : *prudd* 'sad'.

*rhwyddhau* Myv. 349 a 6. 911 b 35 'to facilitate' : *rhucydd* 'facile, easy'; O. Ir. *níredigedar* Ml. 24 d 22, Mod. Ir. *réidhighim*.

*rhyddhau*, *rydhau* RB. II, 42, 33. 46, 18, *redhau* Laws 75 'to set free' : *rhydd* 'free'.

*ymrydhau* RB. II, 34, 13 'to free or extricate oneself'.

*salhau* 'to secure' : *sal* 'safe, secure'.

*salwhau* 'to make or become frail' : *salw* 'frail'.



*syberwchau* RB. II, 115, 25 'to become proud, noble': *syberw* 'proud'.

*syfalchau* 'to become fickle': *syfal* 'fickle'.

*talchau* 'to grow or make tall': *tal* 'tall'.

*teckau* RB. II, 78, 30. 166, 30. 199, 25 'to beautify': *teg* 'fair'.

*tewchau* RB. II, 85, 6. 176, 3. 190, 27 'to thicken': *tew* 'thick';  
Bret. *tevaat*.

*tirfchau* 'to freshen': *tirf* 'fresh'.

*tristau* RB. II, 54, 21. 67, 8 'to sadden': *trist* 'sad'; Bret. *tristaat*.

*truanhau* RB. II, 78, 23. 80, 16. 170, 19. 212, 26 'to pity': *truan*  
'sorry, wretched'.

*trugarhau* RB. II, 66, 32 'to take pity, compassion': *trugar* 'merciful'.

*trymhau* 'to become heavy, to sadden': *trwm* 'heavy'; Mod. Ir.  
*tromuighim*. Cf. O. Ir. *cutrummaigidir* MI. 25 c 12.

*tynerhau* 'to become tender': *tyner* 'tender'; Bret. *teneraat*.

*tynhau* 'to tighten': *tyn* 'tight'.

*ufyddhau*, *ufydhau* RB. II, 16, 18, *ufudhau* 43, 17. 50, 6 'to obey'  
: *ufudd* 'obedient'.

*ymhyfau* 'to grow bold': *hyf* 'bold'.

*ysgafnhau* 'to become or make light or easy': *ysgafn* 'light';  
Bret. *skañvaat*.

*ysgyfalchau* RB. I, 178, 6 'to make or become easy, careless'  
: *ysgyfala* 'secure, easy, negligent': *gofal* 'care'.

#### D. From adjectives of the comparative degree.

*achwaneckau* RB. II, 208, 27. 218, 4 'to increase', *chwaneckau*  
25, 23. 102, 11, *chwanecâu* Myv. 938 b 58. 961 a 39 : *chwaneg*,  
*ychwaneg* 'more'.

*gwaethau* Laws 206 'to deteriorate, degrade': *gwaeth* 'worse';  
Bret. *gwasaat*.

*gwellhau* Myv. 128 a 9, *gwellau* RB. II, 77, 9, Laws 640 'to better,  
improve': *gwell* 'better'; Bret. *gwellaat*.

*ymwellâu* Myv. 892 a 3 'to improve oneself'.

*hawsau* 'to make easier': *haws* 'easier'.

*isau* 'to abase, humble': *is* 'lower'.

*mucyâu* Myv. 804 b 37. 833 b 2 'to increase': *mwy* 'greater'.  
Ir. *móraigim*, Wind.

*nesau*, *nessau* WB. 68 'to approach, come nearer': *nes* 'nearer'.

*dyneshau* Myv. 732 a 17, *dynessau* RB. II, 114, 9, *dynyssau*  
98, 10 'to approach'; Bret. *dinesaat*.

### E. From adjectives, with adjectival suffix *-og-*.

*ardunockau* RB. II, 10, 29 'to prepare'(?): *arddun* 'sublime, grand', whence *arddunol* 'majestic, grand'.

*claerockau* 'to become bright or clear': *claer* 'bright, clear'.

*ymfywiocau* 'to liven up, rouse oneself': *byw* 'alive', *bywiog* 'lively, brisk'.

The Denominatives in *-(h)a* (= Davies' *verba colligendi*) have their equivalents in the Breton verbs in *-a* and *-aat*, and a few among the Irish verbs in *-uighim*. Thus *marchoca* = Bret. *marc'hekaat* 'to ride on horseback', and *chwedleua* = Ir. *scéaluighim* 'I tell tales, I gossip', but the use of *-a* as a verb-noun suffix is much more extensive in Breton than in Welsh; e. g. *kanna* = W. *cannu* 'to whiten', *dalla* = W. *dallu* 'to blind', *dua* (and *duaat*) = W. *duo* 'to blacken', *neza* = W. *nyddu* 'to spin', *ranna* = W. *rhannu* 'to divide', *toulla* = W. *tyllu* 'to make or bore holes' etc. The following is a list of the Welsh denominatives of this class which have the general meaning of 'gathering, collecting, following (a trade or profession), meddling with'.

### A. From nouns.

*adara* 'to fowl, catch birds': *adar* 'birds'.

*adauaelha* Laws 155 'to distrain': *gafael* 'hold, grasp'.

*adlymeita* > *adlymeitia* 'to tip again': *llymaid* 'drink'.

*afaleua* 'to gather apples': *afalau* 'apples'.

*amaetha* 'to pursue agriculture': *amaeth* 'husbandman'.

*bawa* 'to void ordure': *baw* filth, dirt'.

*benthyca* 'to borrow': *benthyg* 'loan'.

*blodeua* 'to gather flowers': *blodau* 'flowers'.

*blonega* 'to beg for lard': *bloneg* 'lard'.

*blota* 'to collect or beg for meal': *blawd* 'flour, meal'.

*brwynha* Laws 307: *brwyn* 'rushes'.

*bugeila* 'to act as a shepherd': *bugail* 'shepherd'.

*bwyta* 'to eat': *bwyd* 'food'; Bret. *boeta*, *boueta*.

*cardotta* RB. I, 55, 23, Myv. 325 b 27 'to beg': *cardod* 'alms, charity'.

*cawna* 'to gather reeds': *cawn* 'reeds'.

- cawota* 'to be showery' : *cawod* 'shower'.  
*cawsa* 'to beg or gather cheese' : *caws* 'cheese'.  
*ceinioca* 'to beg or collect pennies' : *ceiniog* 'penny'.  
*cica* 'to hunt or beg flesh, meat' : *cig* 'meat'.  
*ciniawa, cinawa* 'to dine' : *ciniaw* 'dinner'.  
*clera* Laws 631 'minstrelsy, to go on circuits as minstrels' : *cler*  
 'minstrels, itinerant bards'.  
*clora, cylora* 'to gather earth-nuts' : *cylor* 'earth-nuts'.  
*clota* 'to fish for eels' : *clot* 'a bait used in eel-fishing'.  
*kneuha* FB. 116, 7, *cneua* Myv. 861 b 59 'to gather nuts' : *cnau*  
 'nuts'.  
*coeta* 'to gather wood' : *coed* 'wood'.  
*coffa* 'to remember, commemorate' : *cof* 'memory'.  
*cyfloc* 'to hire' : *cyflog* 'wages'.  
*cynuta* Myv. 840 a 39, *kenuta* Laws 33 'to gather fire-wood' : *cynud*  
 'fire-wood'; Bret. *keuneuta*.  
*chwedleua* Myv. 911 b 12, *ymchwedleua* 886 b 44 'to chatter, gossip'  
 : *chwedlau* 'tales'; Ir. *scéaluighim*.  
*chweina* 'to catch fleas' : *chwain* 'fleas'.  
*chwilena* 'to search, pry' : *chwilén* 'beetle'.  
*chwilota* 'to catch beetles, to search' : *chwilod* 'beetles'.  
*defeita* 'to gather sheep' : *defaid* 'sheep'.  
*difetha* Laws 382. 708 'to destroy, spoil' : \**medd* 'possession',  
*meddu* 'to possess, own'.  
*dillata* 'to clothe' : *dillad* 'clothes'.  
*diotta* RB. I, 110, 29, *diota* Myv. 832 b 43 'to drink' : *diod* 'drink'.  
*echwyna* 'to make a loan' : *echwyn* 'loan'.  
*elcha* Laws 402 'to make profit' : *elw* 'benefit, profit'.  
*eoca* 'to fish for salmon' : *eog* 'salmon'.  
*gloddesta* 'to revel' : *gloddest* 'revel, carousal'.  
*golochwyta* 'to lead a hermit's life' : *golochwyd* 'retreat, hiding-  
 place'.  
*gwellta* Laws 32 'to supply straw' : *gwellt* 'straw'.  
*gwelana* Myv. 854 b 32 'to gather wool' : *gwelan* 'wool'.  
*gwledda* 'to feast' : *gwledd* 'feast'; Ir. *fleadhuighim*.  
*gwiersa* 'to tattle, gossip' : *gwiers* 'lesson'.  
*gwesta* 'to be a guest' : *gwest* 'entertainment'; Ir. *féastuighim*.  
*gwiala* 'to gather rods, sticks' : *gwial-en* 'stick'.  
*gwica, edwica* 'to be a pedlar' : *gwig* 'town'.  
*gwina* 'to tipple wine' : *gwin* 'wine'.

- gwrcata* 'to caterwaul' : *gwrcaeth* 'a he-cat'.  
*gwricka* RB. I, 102, 1 'to marry, take to wife' : *gwraig* 'wife'.  
*gwrha* RB. I, 227, 24, Laws 117, *gwra* Laws 115 'to pay homage'  
 : *gwr* 'man'.  
*hanota* 'to have proceeding' : *hanod* 'proceeding'.  
*havota* Myv. 848 a 6 'to go into summer residence' : *hafod*  
 'summer-quarters'.  
*heboca* 'to hunt with a hawk' : *hebog* 'hawk'.  
*herwa* RB. I, 57, 11 'to wander, scout' : *herw* 'plunder, raid'.  
*llaetha* Myv. 839 a 10 'to give or get milk' : *llaeth* 'milk'; Bret.  
*leza*.  
*llathlutta* Laws 700 'to seduce' : *llathlud* 'seduction'.  
*lletratta* RB. I, 54, 13. 55, 16, 20, *lledratta* Myv. 325 b 34, *lletrata*  
 Laws 202 'to steal' : *lledrad* 'stealth'; Mod. W. *lladrata*  
 'to steal'.  
*lleua* 'to hunt for lice' : *llau* 'lice'.  
*lloffa* Myv. 325 b 36 'to glean' : *llaw(f)* 'hand'; Ir. *lámhuighim*.  
*llusa* 'to gather bilberries' : *llus* 'bilberries'.  
*lluydda*, *lluedda* 'to wage war' : *llu*, pl. *lluydd* 'host, army'.  
*llygotta* Laws 275 'to catch mice' : *llygod* 'mice'; Bret. *logota*,  
*dilogota*.  
*llyseua* 'to gather plants or herbs' : *llysiu* 'herbs, plants'.  
*llyssa* Laws 749 'to object' : *llys* 'objection'.  
*maela* 'to benefit, profit' : *mael* 'gain, profit'.  
*maesa* Myv. 859 a 14 'to wander about the fields' : *maes* 'field'.  
*maetha* 'to get nourishment' : *maeth* 'nourishment'.  
*marchnata* 'to market' : *marchnad* 'market'; Bret. *marc'hata*.  
*marchoca* (*marchoccao* Laws 280, *marchocka* 3. sg. pres. ind. RB. II,  
 154, 13, but *ni verchyg* Myv. 864 b 38) 'to ride a horse'  
 : *marchog* 'horseman'; Bret. *marc'hekaat*, Ir. *marcuighim*.  
*meidda* 'to collect curds and whey' : *maidd* 'whey'.  
*mela* 'to gather honey' : *mel* 'honey'; Bret. *mela*.  
*melina* 'to go to mill' : *melin* 'mill'.  
*mercheta* Myv. 877 a 48 'to go after girls' : *merched* 'women,  
 girls'; Bret. *merc'heta*.  
*mesa* 'to gather acorns' : *mes* 'acorns'.  
*negesa*, *negeseua* 'to go on errands' : *neges* 'errand', pl. *negesau*.  
*neithiora* 'to keep a marriage festival' : *neithior* 'nuptials'.  
*offerenna* 'to celebrate Mass' : *offeren* 'Mass'; Bret. *oferenna*.  
*pabwyr* 'to gather rushes' : *pabwyr* 'rushes'.

*pawena* 'to gather with the paw' : *pawen* 'paw'.  
*planta* 'to beget children' : *plant* 'children'; Ir. *clannuighim*.  
*pryfeta*, *pryfeda* Laws 691 'to breed worms' : *pryfed* 'worms'.  
*pyscottu* RB. I, 200, 27, *peskodha* Laws 51 'to fish' : *pyscod* 'fish';  
 Bret. *pesketa*.  
*rhedyna* 'to gather ferns' : *rhedyn* 'ferns'.  
*ryssedha* FB. 307, 12 'to rush' : *rhysedd* 'onslaught, contest'.  
*segura* 'to loaf about, be idle' : *segur* 'idle'.  
*simera* 'to dally' : *simer* 'levity; a frisk' (Pughe).  
*taplasa* 'to gambol, dance' : *taplas* 'gambol, dance'.  
*tarianna* 'to use or clash a shield' : *tarian* 'shield'.  
*tywota* 'to gather sand' : *tywod* 'sand'.  
*yta* Myv. 848 a 7 'to gather corn' : *yd* 'corn'.

**B. From nouns with an additional element which appears to be due to the influence of other verb-forms of the same class.**

*esgeirca* 'to walk, strut' : *esgair* 'leg, limb'.  
*melota* 'to gather honey' : *mel* 'honey'.  
*saethutta* [*saethyta* (Pughe)] 'to cast arrows' : *saeth* 'arrow'.

**C. From adjectives.**

*cynheicca* 'to be in heat' : *cynhaig* 'in heat, salacious'.  
*glewa* 'to grab, acquire sharply' : *glew* 'bold, valiant'.  
*gwleddoca* Myv. 800 b 37 'to entertain' : *gwleddog*, adj. to *gwledd*  
 'feast, banquet'.

The most striking characteristic of these denominatives in *-(h)a* is that the great majority of them are formed from nouns, but this is only in accordance with the general signification of verbs of this type, viz. to gather, collect, meddle with.

The element *-ha-* is found not only in the infinitive and finite forms of the denominatives, but enters also into the formation of nouns and adjectives, most of which have a close connection with the derivative verbs.

1. The substantive *traha* BB. 106, 12, 14, 15. 107, 3 'pride, arrogance' : the prep. *tra* 'over, exceeding'.

2. The substantives in *-hâd*, older Welsh *-äd*. *amlâad* Myv. 804 b 48, *coffâd*, *cofâad* 796 b 9, *gwellhâd*, *gwellâad* 804 b 49,

933 a 7, *meyâad* 804 b 50, *sarâad* 930 b 25, *uvyddâad* 790 b 26, *ymvweynâad* 798 b 23.

3. The substantives in *-hâet*, *-hâed*. *bodddhaed* 225 b 2, *bothaed* 191 a 7, *gwarthaet* RB. I, 294, 11, *mefyllhaet* FB. 169, 7, *nothaed* Myv. 248 b 29. 249 b 5, *sarhaet* RB. II, 3, 17. 55, 34, *sarahed* pl. *sarahedeu* 3, 11, 25, *sarhaedeu* 5, 15. 8, 4. 11, 19.

These are closely associated with the corresponding verbs in *-hau*.

4. The *nomina agentis* in *-(h)ai*. *blotai* 'meal-dealer', *cabrotai* 'boor, rustic', *casai* 'enemy', *catai* 'bludgeon', *cawsai* 'cheese-beggar', *cyflucynai* 'dedicator', *chwilenai* 'pilferer', *dadlai* 'debater', *gahcai* 'caller', *gwestai* 'guest, visitor', *llaethai* 'milk-dealer', *llatai* 'love-messenger' (: *llad* 'gift, liquor'), *lluestai* 'campaigner', *melotai* 'mallow', *pryfetai* 'vermin-catcher'. At least seven of the above are related to the derivative verbs in *-ha*, and one to those in *-hau*, and the others were probably modelled upon them.

5. The adjectives in *-haus*, as e. g. *trahaus* RB. II, 265, 17, *parhaus*, *bodddhaus*.

6. The adjectives in *-üawl*, Mod. W. *-hüol*, as e. g. *ufyddüawl* 'obedient' Myv. 812 b 9, *boddüawl* 822 b 35 'pleasing', *parhaol* 'lasting', etc.

7. The adjectives in O. W. *-heic*, Mod. W. *-haig*. *ysgolhaig*, *iscolheic* BB. 91, 5, *yscoleic* 108, 13, *ysgolâig* Myv. 828 b 9 'a scholar': *ysgol*, *yscol* 'a school'; *blotteig* Myv. 343 b 5 'given to meal-begging'; cf. *blottai*; *bweyteig*, *bweytteig* Myv. 343 a 36 'voracious': *bweyta*, *cyntaig*, *cyntëig*, *cyntaic*, *kinteic* 'chief, principal': *cynt* 'before', *cyntaf* 'first, foremost'.

Having dwelt so long upon the formations into which the element *-ha* enters in Welsh, I come now to the development of the *-a* termination of the 3 sg. pres. ind., and the 2 sg. imperative. In Welsh this ending in the denominative verbs has for a long time been accented and long, the result of the contraction of *-a-* of the stem-suffix and an ending *-a* which, as will be seen below, cannot be regarded as a vestige of the old personal ending. In other verbs it is unaccented and short, and, if it sprang from the denominatives, must have been developed before the contraction occurred.

There are numerous instances of the uncontracted forms, as *amlykaa* Laws 575, *amlycâa* Myv. 945 b 7, *arwydockaa* RB. II, 144, 18, *adnewydhâa* 147, 14, *blinhâa* 154, 32, *cadarnâa* Laws 641, 642, *cadarnahâa* 50, *aniataa* 648, *casâa* Myv. 781 a 39, *cedymdeithockaa* RB. II, 144, 33, *clærockaa* 154, 20, *cwplaa* 146, 24, *cyslawnhâa* Myv. 376 a 1, *dynessaa* RB. II, 146, 11, 148, 3, *gnottaa* Myv. 731 b 13, *glanhâa* Laws 693, *goleuhâa* Myv. 368 b 24, *grymhâa* RB. II, 145, 8, *gwaghâa* Myv. 375 b 21, *gwarthâa* 353 a 16, *gwellhâa* 353 a 32, *gwanhâa* RB. II, 153, 22, *gwanâa* Myv. 793 b 29, *gwynhâa* RB. II, 151, 23, *irhâa* 147, 31, *llawenhâa* 147, 3, Myv. 368 b 22, *llawenâa* 783 b 29, *llehâa* Laws 170, *mawrhâa* RB. II, 223, 2, Myv. 376 b 12, *mwynhâa* RB. I, 138, 12, Myv. 223 b 14, *nessaa* RB. II, 148, 31, *ofynhâa* 144, 28, 152, 13, *parâa* Myv. 834 b 30, *racrymhâa* RB. II, 144, 23, *ryddâa* Myv. 940 a 53, *ryddhâa* Laws 722, *sarhâa* Laws 117, *trugarâa* Myv. 781 a 30, *ymdristâa* 775 a 25, *ymgasâa* 866 b 47.

Imperative. — *gwellaa* Myv. 201 a 16, *llawenâa* 783 a 29, *naccaa* RB. I, 61, 22, *ofnhâa* Myv. 369 a 29, *rhyddhâa* Myv. 373 a 15, *rydhâa* RB. I, 58, 7, *trugarhâa* Myv. 369 a 48, *trukarhâa* Laws 390, *uwyddâa* Myv. 783 b 13.

The contracted form is seen in the following. — *achwanecka* RB. II, 150, 13, *amlycca* Laws 236, *amlyca* 569, *arwydocka* RB. II, 173, 4, *atnewydhâa* 156, 22, *atnewyda* 155, 25, *blinhâa* 155, 10, *bucheddocca* Myv. 372 b 27; *kanhatta* RB. I, 265, 25, II, 134, 18, *cedymdeithocka* 151, 24, *cymdeithioca* Myv. 771 a 36, *cassa* 182 a 25, *casa* 348 b 43, *coffa* BB. 7, 11, *a gof(f)a* Myv. 946 a 20, *dynessaa* RB. II, 154, 3, *gwellâa* Myv. 865 a 44, *gwanhâa* BB. 9, 3, RB. II, 155, 5, *grymhâa* Laws 562, *gwynhâa* RB. II, 154, 31, *llehâa* Myv. 182 a 10, *mawrhâa* 182 a 44, *mwynhâa* RB. I, 124, 16, FB. 164, 21, 25, *nessaa* RB. II, 153, 12, *parhâa* FB. 164, 28, *para* RB. I, 62, 16, FB. 216, 19, 285, 2, Myv. 182 a 36, 287 a 43, *pellâa* Myv. 182 a 19, 853 a 21, *rydhâa* 182 a 12, *rythâa* Laws 498, *ruithâa* BB. 83, 10, *trugarhâa* Myv. 182 a 18, *tristâa* 871 b 1.

Imperative. — *dynessaa* RB. II, 150, 1, *kanhatta* 250, 25, *coffa* 12, 9, 232, 1, etc.

That the combination of two vowels was dissyllabic and not a mere representation of a long syllable is proved by the metre in the case of *mwynhâa* Myv. 223 b 14, *gwarthâa* 353 a 16, *gwellhâa* 353 a 32, and the imperative *gwellaa* 201 a 16. In the

first instance the metre is a *Huppynt* of five syllables followed by a 'lost (tail)' of four syllables; thus: —

<i>Treissur ai cymer</i> . . . . .	5
<i>Trosedd Eliffer</i> . . . . .	5
<i>Trawswalch ner muner</i> . . . . .	5
<i>Ai mwynhâa</i> . . . . .	4
Compare: <i>Lloegrwys i gysgu</i> . . . . .	5
<i>Lhuddineyd oi ddeutu</i> . . . . .	5
<i>Lluoedd ai dyfu</i> . . . . .	5
<i>Er ei difa</i> . . . . .	5

The second and third examples occur in a poem which starts with eight stanzas of the metre *Gwaedodyn Byr* which consists of two lines of nine syllables followed by a *Toddaid Hir*; thus: —

<i>Breisgior dor dweyrein cein amcana</i> . . . . .	9
<i>Brwysgedd alawedd ynn na liwia</i> . . . . .	9
<i>Brycheu encidiau Ion oeda — cywyd</i> . . . . .	10
<i>Bryd pawb ai gwrthyd ai gwarthâa</i> . . . . .	9
. . . . .	
<i>Bwriaf i weddi yur a wedda</i> . . . . .	9
<i>Bwriaf y gennyf gennyf ydd a</i> . . . . .	9
<i>Ban fo amser ner nertha — wrth angau</i> . . . . .	10
<i>Y synhwyrau mau mawr wellhâa</i> . . . . .	9

The last instance occurs in a metre of the type *Gwaedodyn Hir*, consisting of four or more lines of nine syllables followed by a *Toddaid Hir*; thus: —

<i>Gwyllon teyrnon tud amnoti</i> . . . . .	9
<i>Golluthon dragon dreic eryri</i> . . . . .	9
<i>Gollewin deyrn, gwellâa ui</i> . . . . .	9
<i>Gwellygyaw ryg kert yw ryg koti</i> . . . . .	9
<i>Gwell ytt wyf hael rwyf no riuedi — meirch</i> . . . . .	10
<i>Marchogwyr hyd bell ar dy deithi</i> . . . . .	9

Notice that in the first and third line *teyrn* [= O.Ir. *tigern*] is dissyllabic.

Before considering the origin of this double ending it will be convenient to study forms in *-a* of the 3 sg. pres. ind. and the 2 sg. imperat. of verbs other than denominatives. The characteristic feature of many of these is the presence of *h* or the unvoicing due to it. This is easily perceived in the following instances.



- anrecca* Laws 177. 318, 'presents a gift' as compared with *ae hanrec* Myv. 186 a 2.
- aruerha* Laws 417 'he uses', *aruera* RB. II, 149, 9.
- butra* Myv. 851 b 46 'pollutes' but *budrawd* RB. I, 308, 24. *Butra* may however be from the denominative *butrau*.
- beichoecca* Laws 417 'conceives, becomes pregnant', but *beichoges* Laws 251.
- kyghoruynha* RB. II, 150, 13, *kyghoruyna* 283, 3 'to grow anxious'. *nh* may however be the nasal mutation of *nt* of *kynghorfynt* 'anxiety'. Cf. *ellynghaf* RB. I, 56, 27. 58, 1, *gollynghy* 56, 28: *gollwng*, *ellwng* 'to let loose': Ir. *léicim*; *tynghaf* 69, 21 'I swear': O. Ir. *tongid*.
- creha* RB. II, 155, 18 'creates'.
- cyttya* RB. II, 158, 30: *cydio* 'to copulate', but *cytyaw* also occurs as a verb-noun, 282, 15.
- chwydha* Laws 281 'swells': *chwyddo*.
- dobyynha* RB. II, 155, 16 'bends'.
- damweinha* Laws 227. 239. 328 'happens', *damchweina* RB. II, 123, 20, *damweina* 189, 24; Contr. *a ddamwain* Myv. 842 a 55.
- dyheurha* Laws 48 : *dyhaeru* 'to contravert, disprove'.
- echtywynycka* RB. II, 153, 20 : *echtywynygu* Myv. 733 b 41 'to shine forth'; contr. *ymdywynic* RB. II, 144, 23. 147, 20. 151, 21, *dywynnyc* Myv. 161 a 35, 859 b 40.
- ennwaha* Laws 250, *enwa* 717 : *enwi* 'to name, appoint'.
- ehetta* RB. II, 147, 13. 152, 8, Myv. 224 b 17 'flies'; contr. *hed* 322 b 19.
- ebryvyca* Myv. 943 b 22, *ebryvycca* Laws 195 : *ebryfygu* 'to neglect'.
- ffynha* Laws 429. 475, *ffynna* Myv. 244 a 29 : *ffynnu* 'to thrive, succeed'.
- greha* FB. 114, 25 'flocks, assembles', possibly from *grehau*, but contr. *yd gre* Myv. 207 a 12, *ny reei* FB. 164, 2.
- gorthrymha* RB. II, 268, 1, *gorthryma* 149, 10 : *gorthrymu* 'to oppress'.
- gorchyvycka* 126, 3, *gorchyvyga* Myv. 862 a 13 : *gorchfygu* 'to defeat'.
- gwrthwynepa* RB. II, 144, 24. 154, 27, Laws 314 'opposes' : *gwrthwynebu*.
- gwatta* Myv. 224 b 14, Laws 104. 118. 125. 203. 330. 456, *gwata* Myv. 954 b 37, Laws 61. 78. 400, but *gwada* Myv. 320 b 27, Laws 61 'denies' : *gwadu*.

*neitta* RB. I, 77, 14 'jumps': *neidio*.

*oyta* Laws 514, *oeta* 542 'holds an appointment': *oedi* 'to delay, keep an appointment'.

*tangneuedha* RB. I, 37, 26 'to appease': *tangnefeddu* Myv. 728 a 22: contr. *ny thangnef* 119 a 42.

*teruynha* RB. I, 99, 22, Laws 142, *teruynnha* 262, *terfyna* Myv. 348 b 1, *teruynna* Laws 262: *terfynnu* 'to end'.

*tyckya* RB. I, 9, 8 'avails'; contr. *ny thygyawd* 19, 6.

*traenha* (= *traeanha*) Laws 410 'divides into three'.

Compare also the following imperative forms.

*kamha* WB. 93 = *camma* RB. I, 68, 6 'step'.

*na chapla* WB. 10 = *na chabla* RB. I, 6, 12 'denounce, curse not'.

*gwytha* RB. I, 274, 26 'watch, keep vigil'.

*kywirha* 222, 4 'fulfil': *cywiro*.

*notta* 120, 17 'state, name': *nodi*.

*octta* Myv. 319 a 40 'delay, keep in suspense'.

*plycca* RB. I, 97, 11 'bend': *plygu*.

Beside these are to be found forms of the 3 sg. pres. ind. which preserve no trace of *h*, but have parallel forms without *-a*. Such are: —

*atveilya* Myv. 182 a 35: *adveil* BB. 41, 4 'falls into ruins'.

*arfeiddia* Myv. 224 a 46: *arueit* 171 a 13. 194 b 43. 261 a 23, *arfaidd* 347 a 36 'dares'.

*arweinia* Myv. 364 b 14: *arwain* 795 a 48 'leads'.

*argaua* 952 b 41; cf. *gwarchae* 160 a 16, 265 a 30 'besieges'.

*bryssia* RB. II, 145, 8. 150, 4, Myv. 182 a 27: *a vrys* 289 b 36, *a ddyrys* 839 b 41 'hastens'.

*barna* Myv. 132 a 27: *rybarn* FB. 194, 5, *a farn* Myv. 359 b 36, *a feirn* 305 a 37 'passes judgment upon'.

*cerda* RB. II, 147, 19, 32: *a gerd* FB. 126, 16, *yt gert* Myv. 166 b 48, *cerdd* 848 b 28 'walks'.

*kymerwa* RB. II, 149, 1: *beirw* BB. 51, 1 'boils, seethes'.

*cyffroa* RB. II, 151, 4: *cyffry* Myv. 165 a 57. 304 a 55, *cyffro* FB. 296, 10 'to rouse'.

*kywarsanga* RB. II, 152, 32: *damsaing* Myv. 910 a 10 'to trample upon', *ymddarsang* 910 a 12.

*cilia* Myv. 130 a 39, 224 b 23 'retires, recedes': *nys kil* Myv. 207 b 53.

- cynnydda* Myv. 224 b 8 'increases': *ni gynnydd* 841 b 20 *cynnydd* 843 a 50, *ni chynnyd* JB. 94, 6.
- cymhortha* Myv. 781 a 34 : *pyrth* 'assists' FB. 79, 26.
- cospa* Myv. 861 a 20 : *cysb* 793 a 2, *cysp* Laws 652 'punishes'.
- caua* Myv. 943 a 39 : *kac* RB. I, 103, 27.
- diwedda* Myv. 224 a 28 : *a ddiwedd* 784 a 47 'ends'.
- diwygia* 936 a 30 : *a ddiwyg* 854 a 56, *ny tiuuc* BB. 8, 2 'repairs, improves, reforms'.
- gogana* Myv. 319 a 25 'disparages': *kan* BBC. 13, 4 'sings', *da-rogan* Myv. 346 a 42 'prophesies'.
- gollynga* 364 b 12 'let go, drop': *ellwng* 283 a 25.
- gwasgara* 376 a 5 'separates': *pan wasgar* 188 a 44, *a wasgar* 364 a 25.
- gweda* RB. II, 284, 5 'behoves, becomes': *nymgwet* Myv. 207 b 29, *a wedd* 770 b 46, *y gwedd* 791 a 10.
- gwledycha* RB. II, 126, 3 'governs': *wledych* JB. 220, 9.
- llwyda* FB. 164, 18 'prosperes': *lluitt* BB. 8, 10, *ny gyflwyd* Myv. 156 b 26, *a'i llwydd* 327 b 6.
- llygra* Myv. 349 a 45 : *a lwygr* FB. 297, 13, *lhwgyr* Myv. 265 a 13 'corrupts'.
- medylya* BB. II, 152, 23, *meddylia* Myv. 781 a 32 'thinks': *na vedduel* 775 a 38.
- metha* 319 a 13 'fails': *ni veth* 808 b 19.
- preswylia* 373 b 34, *preswylia* 722 b 9 'inhabits': *a breswyl* 375 b 35.
- ranga* (: *rhengi* v. n. Myv. 321 b 31) Myv. 368 b 37 'pleases, satisfies': *a reinc* RB. I, 127, 8, *a ranc* 128, 2, *a reig* II, 284, 1.
- sycha* RB. II, 149, 21 'dries': *sich* BB. 45, 10, 12, 14, 16.
- tramwya* Myv. 364 b 13 'traverses': *a dramwya* Myv. 368 a 38.
- traetha* BB. 8, 8, Myv. 250 a 44 'treats, discourses upon': *traeth* 245 a 3, *rydraeth* BB. 27, 5, *rhydraeth* Myv. 241 b 36.
- trefna* Myv. 182 a 22 'arranges': *a drefn* 844 a 21.
- treidia* 182 a 24 : *treit* BB. 59, 3 'pierces', *treid* FB. 283, 20, *a draidd* Myv. 363 a 17.
- treigla* Myv. 131 a 10 'elapses, rolls': *treigyl* RB. I, 105, 27, *ym-dreigl* Myv. 285 b 44.
- twylla* FB. 249, 5 'deceives': *a dwyll* RB. II, 145, 17, *ni thwyll* Myv. 152 a 3.
- twyssa* (< *tywysa*) Laws 401 'leads': *ae towys* Myv. 186 a 45, *a dwys* 841 a 28, *tywys* Laws 224.
- ymdebyga* Myv. 798 a 17 'resembles': *a debyg* 775 a 51.

*ymgela* Myv. 224 a 13 'hides' : *ymgel* FB. 242, 22.

*ystyria* Myv. 781 a 33 'considers' : *ystyr* 272 a 36.

Now whence came this ending *-(h)a* into non-denominative verbs? It has been regarded by Evander Evans and S. J. Evans as in part derivable from an older termination.<sup>1)</sup> With the exception of the vowel-affection and the Old Welsh and Middle Welsh 3 sg. in *-id* and *-awd* (< \**āti*, O. Ir. *móraid*, *móraith*, *caraid*, O. Bret. *-ot* in *fleriot* gl. *ridolet*) the language has preserved no traces of the older endings of the 3 sg. pres. indic. Another explanation must therefore be sought for the termination *-(h)a*, and the only satisfactory solution is to regard it with Nettlau and Strachan as having spread from the denominative, which theory is very strongly supported by the presence or the effects of *h* in the 3 sg. pres. ind. forms of the non-denominative verbs quoted above. The paradigms of the two types of verbs after the shifting of the accent to the modern penultima may be illustrated as follows, with the accentuation as indicated.

Pres. Ind. <i>parháaf</i> 'I continue'.	<i>gwádaf</i> 'I deny'.
<i>perhëy</i>	<i>gwëdy</i>
<i>párha</i>	<i>gwád</i>
<i>parháwn</i>	<i>gwádiwn</i>
<i>parhéwch</i>	<i>gwédwch</i>
<i>parháant</i> .	<i>gwádant</i> .
Imperative <i>párha</i> .	<i>gwád</i> .

The *-ha* of the 3 sg. pres. indic. and the 2 sg. imper. of the denominative was imported into that of the other type, *gwád* becoming *gwádha* and ultimately *gwáta*. This was possibly more easily effected in the case of monosyllabic stems, but the termination spread speedily into others of more than one syllable. When this had occurred a discrepancy was felt in the paradigm

<sup>1)</sup> The latter in his *Studies in Welsh Grammar and Philology* pp. 170—172 has a very interesting but incorrect account of the 3 sg. pres. indic. Speaking of the modern colloquial terminations *-ith* and *-iff*, he regards the former as the older form and the latter as a phonetic variant, and equates *-ith* with O. W. *-id*, *-it* and Eng. *-eth*, both of which equations, as every student of Welsh and English philology knows, are equally impossible. Nettlau in *Cymmrodor* IX, p. 61, has given a true account of the development of these endings and rightly considers *-iff* to be the older form.

of the denominative, and all consciousness of the origin of the *-(h)a* ending of the non-denominative having been lost, it was reimported into the former class and necessitated a change of accentuation. The importation and change of stress were assisted by the analogy of forms of the 1 sg., as *blassaaf* FB. 215, 5, *bwytaaf* RB. I, 289, 17, *kannattaaf* 117, 16, *cassaaf* BB. 100, 9, 14, *coffaaf* RB. I, 232, 4, FB. 233, 11, Myv. 221 b 1, *gwassaaf* Myv. 248 a 43, *mawrhaaf* RB. II, 294, 1, *rydhaaf* RB. I, 58, 8; and of the 3 pl., as *cedymdeithockaant* RB. II, 150, 24, *amlhaant* 148, 7, *llawenhaant* 147, 28, *tristaant* 154, 24, *ufydhaant* 144, 27.

Afterwards contraction set in and these forms along with those of other persons, as *parhēwn* (1 pl.), *parhēwch* (2 pl.) and the cognate substantives and adjectives in *-hād* (< *-hād*), *-hāus* and *-hāig* became oxytones, and they are almost the only class of words in modern Welsh which are accented upon their last syllable.

Dublin, 3 June 1910.

J. LLOYD-JONES.

## LE NOM DE L'ARAIGNÉE EN IRLANDE.

Note complémentaire. (Cf. VII, 450—461.)

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Le hasard me fait rencontrer un passage de Pline l'Ancien qui confirme mon explication de *damán*. C'est dans l'*Hist. Nat.* XI, 28: 'Araneorum plura sunt genera ... Phalangia ex is appellantur, quorum noxii morsus, corpus exiguum, varium, acuminatum, assultim ingredientium ...' ce que Littré a traduit ainsi: 'On nomme phalanges des araignées dont la morsure est venimeuse, le corps petit, bigarré, pointu, et qui avancent par sauts'.

Pline emploie le même mot dans un autre passage (VIII, 37) où il parle du crocodile et de cet oiseau, trochile ou roitelet, qui cure les dents du crocodile bienveillant pour se nourrir de ces restes; 'os primum ejus assultim repurgans', c.-à-d., traduit Littré: 'Le trochile ou roitelet nettoie d'abord le dehors de la gueule en sautillant'.

Il est à peine besoin de remarquer que *assultim*, ou *adsultim* comme certains l'écrivent par scrupule étymologique, est — avec *u* pour *a* sous l'influence de l'*l* suivante — de la même racine que *salio*, *salto*, etc., à laquelle Walde (*Lat. Etym. Wtb.* p. 540) rattache l'irlandais *tarm-cho-sal*.

L'adverbe *assultim* ne se rencontre que dans ces deux passages de Pline: c'est évidemment un terme de la langue familière. Mais le fait que Pline l'applique justement à une espèce d'araignée — probablement notre fauchex — justifie mon interprétation de *damán* comme signifiant 'le petit cerf'. La bestiole a frappé les regards par ses sauts, *assultim ingrediens*.

Paris, 15 mai 1910.

H. GAIDOZ.

## NEU AUFGEFUNDENE ALTIRISCHE GLOSSEN.

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Herrn W. M. Lindsay verdanken wir die freundliche Mittheilung zweier interessanter Glossenfunde, die er vor nicht langer Zeit in Fulda und Laon gemacht hat. Auf den ersteren stiefs er, als er den Codex Bonifatianus 3 der Landesbibliothek zu Fulda auf Abkürzungen hin durchmusterte. Abgesehen von dem Eintrag *Cadmug scripsit*, welcher zuerst von Herrn Dr. Carl Scherer<sup>1)</sup> richtig gelesen wurde, sind es sechzehn Glossen, die leider wegen der winzig kleinen und verkröpelten Hand meist sehr schwer oder gar nicht lesbar sind. Ich habe mich mit mehreren derselben lange an Ort und Stelle abgequält, ohne zu einer einigermaßen befriedigenden Lesung gekommen zu sein, und so ist es auch allen andern gegangen, denen ich die schönen vergrößerten Photographien gezeigt habe, die Herr Dr. Scherer gütigst für mich anfertigen liefs.

Die Handschrift enthält die vier Evangelien; von den Glossengruppen beziehen sich die ersten acht auf Stellen im Matthaeus, die letzte auf eine im Lukas.

f. 3v in umbra (i. fos<sup>2)</sup>) mortis (i. bais) lux (solsse) orta est eis (Matth. IV, 16).

f. 4r dicerint omne malum (i. cach nolec) aduersus uos mentientes (Matth. V, 11).

f. 7v simile est regnum celorum homini (i. dun duinu) negotiatori (Matth. XIII, 45).

f. 11v Tunc oblati sunt ei paruuli ut manus eis inponeret (intansin atdopartha ei dunherruss<sup>3)</sup>) (Matth. XIX, 13).

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<sup>1)</sup> 'Die Codices Bonifatiani in der Landesbibliothek zu Fulda.' Fulda 1905.

<sup>2)</sup> Zu lesen fos[cad].

<sup>3)</sup> at und nherruss unsicher.

f. 12r et mensas numulariorum (i. innadirnæ) (Matth. XXI, 12).

f. 14r quid enim maius est, aurum an templum quod sanctificat aurum (ool sodain) (Matth. XXIII, 17).

f. 15v coeperit percutere conseruos suos (i. ácommo<sup>1)</sup>) (Matth. XXIV, 49).

f. 18r erant *autem* ibi mulieris (i. muli<sup>2)</sup>) multe (Matth. XXVII, 55).

f. 39a nemo (nech) *autem* lucernam (lucarn:?) accendens operit (i. ::::) eam uasso (...<sup>3)</sup>) *aut* sub lectum ponit (i. ...<sup>4)</sup>) sed supra candalabrum (i. :: a ::::::) (Luc. VIII, 16).

Die Lesung der letzten Glossen ist noch dadurch erschwert, daß sie mit Ausnahme von *nech* durchgestrichen sind.

Wie aus Lindsays Bericht in seinem soeben veröffentlichten *Contractions in Early Irish Minuscule Script*<sup>5)</sup> ersichtlich ist, knüpfen sich manche Probleme an die Handschrift. Daß sie aus Irland stammt, darüber kann meines Erachtens kein Zweifel herrschen. So hartes und durchlöchertes Pergament ist auf dem Kontinent wohl nie verwendet worden. Ob Cadmug wirklich der Schreiber war oder ob ein anderer Schreiber seinen Namen ebenso wie die Glossen mit kopiert hat, ist nicht festzustellen. Mir scheint das letztere wahrscheinlicher, da *cadmug scripsit* ohne Absatz oder sonstige Auszeichnung mitten im fortlaufenden Texte steht. Nun aber erhebt sich eine größere Schwierigkeit. Lindsay möchte die Handschrift aus paläographischen Gründen in den Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts setzen und in Übereinstimmung mit der Überlieferung als Taschenexemplar des Bonifatius vindizieren. Dagegen spricht aber die späte Sprachform der Glossen, besonders *sodain* statt *sodin*, das eher ins neunte als ins achte Jahrhundert gehört. Anzunehmen, daß die Glossen später hinzugefügt sind, geht auch nicht; denn sie zeigen ganz deutlich dieselbe Hand wie der Text. So bliebe also nur übrig, die Entstehung der Handschrift rund ein Jahrhundert später anzusetzen. Ob das paläographisch wirklich unmöglich ist, vermag ich bei

<sup>1)</sup> Wohl zu lesen a c[h]ommoga.

<sup>2)</sup> Wohl nicht irisch; vielleicht ursprünglich Korrektur (*mulieres*) des verschriebenen *mulieris*.

<sup>3)</sup> Etwa 13 Buchstaben unleserlich.

<sup>4)</sup> Etwa 11 Buchstaben unleserlich.

<sup>5)</sup> St. Andrews University Publications, No. VI. Oxford 1910.



unserer mangelhaften Kenntniss der Entwicklung des irischen Schrifttums nicht zu sagen.

Derselbe Gelehrte, dem wir schon die Kenntniss einiger altirischen Glossen aus einer Handschrift in der Stadtbibliothek von Laon verdanken,<sup>1)</sup> hat ebendasselbst in einer aus dem Anfang des 9. Jahrhunderts stammenden Handschrift (Nr. 26, Cassiodorus in Psalmos) eine stattliche Reihe bisher unbekannter irischer Randbemerkungen entdeckt, die er mir freundlichst zur Veröffentlichung mittheilt.

f. 1r steht oben xb' (i. e. Christe benedic). Derselbe Eintrag oder vielmehr xb~ findet sich auf jeder Seite in der oberen Ecke links. Auch die folgenden Marginalien stehen alle auf dem oberen Rande der Seiten.

f. 2r Dei in nomine incipio

f. 4v In nomine Dei summi

f. 5v In nomine trinitatis

f. 6r ishúar allaa nisiu deithbirsón gaimred<sup>2)</sup>

f. 6v nisorsche suilse inditharni<sup>3)</sup>

f. 7r is nemnech ingáeth hisiu<sup>4)</sup>

f. 8r is lomm inmembrum nacailne hisiu<sup>5)</sup>

f. 12v bene díc Domine hanc operationem ut plana fiat

f. 13r cunge frimm amochoidiu argaibthib innabliadne<sup>6)</sup>

f. 15r isém linn indiu bloscad innagréne frisinnamargánu  
lethrati

f. 17r ismithich dún tra intinnscital ní dodénum<sup>7)</sup>

f. 17v car ihu achorrich niscraphphse inso menbath dó ar  
istarmenmin lim<sup>8)</sup>

f. 18v roséna dia moláma hodie<sup>9)</sup>

f. 19r fochen linn iñ nichelam inráithe dothét foir i. samrad<sup>10)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> S. Wh. Stokes, Supplement to Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, S. 82.

<sup>2)</sup> Dieser Tag ist kalt. Das ist natürlich. (Es ist) Winter.

<sup>3)</sup> Das Licht der Kerze (des Binsenlichtes) ist nicht hell.

<sup>4)</sup> Dieser Wind ist giftig.

<sup>5)</sup> Das Pergament dieser Lage (lies *cailirne* 'quaternionis'?) ist kahl.

<sup>6)</sup> Mögest Du mir beistehen, mein Herrgott, gegen die Gefahren des Jahres!

<sup>7)</sup> Es ist Zeit für uns, anzufangen etwas zu tun.

<sup>8)</sup> Liebe Jesum, O Corcrach! Ich schriebe (?) dies nicht, wenn es nicht für ihn (d. h. Jesus) wäre, denn es geht mir gegen den Sinn.

<sup>9)</sup> Gott segne meine Hände heute!

<sup>10)</sup> Willkommen ist uns aber — wir verhehlen es nicht — das Vierteljahr, welches darauf (danach) kommt, nämlich der Sommer.

- f. 19v *istriscach* (?) *inmembrum alind hisiu*<sup>1)</sup>  
 f. 20v *inanmim cia rocaim inso thrá*  
 f. 21r *isfinnach inmembrum hisiu im tra*<sup>2)</sup>  
 f. 23r *isém dúnn im inmembrum hisiu*<sup>3)</sup>  
 f. 24r *istromm armenmae linn im indiu nifetarsa cid notó*<sup>4)</sup>  
 f. 26v *αμνν. Deo laudes.*  
 f. 27r *Deo laudes.*

Herr Lindsay bemerkt zu diesen Marginalien: „All these entries are written in the top margins of the pages as clearly and carefully as the text itself. And that is a curious thing. How came the head of the scriptorium to allow his monks to spoil a manuscript by so prominent insertions of trivialities? It almost makes one guess that he must have been ignorant of Irish, i. e. that the MS. was written in a continental monastery where the authorities were continental, and that the Irish strangers felt they could play pranks with impunity. When asked what he had written the scribe would point to the Latin pious sentences on the preceding top margins and say ‘merely the Irish equivalents of sentences like these’.“

Außerdem findet sich in derselben Handschrift auf einem eingefügten unnummerierten Blatte folgende Glosse zu einem lateinischen Texte, den Herr Lindsay leider nicht notiert hat:

.i. *etargna indláthair aimserdi 7 comalnad neich forchain instoirsin*<sup>5)</sup>

Ich hoffe die Handschrift demnächst selbst einzusehen.

Zu diesen altirischen Glossenfunden gesellt sich einer aus späterer Zeit. Herr Dr. W. Dolch schreibt mir am 7. Mai dieses Jahres aus Stift Hohenfurt in Böhmen: „In der hiesigen Hs. LXXI (*Dialogi Gregorii*) finden sich auf einigen Rändern Bemerkungen, die z. T. verblaßt und durch Gebrauch abgerieben, z. T. mit dem Messer ausgeschabt sind. Ich halte sie für irisch und teile sie Ihnen mit, so schlecht ich sie eben enträtseln konnte.“

<sup>1)</sup> Dies schöne Pergament ist . . .

<sup>2)</sup> Dies Pergament ist aber einmal haarig!

<sup>3)</sup> Dies Pergament ist mir aber dünn!

<sup>4)</sup> Mein Sinn ist mir schwer heute. Ich weiß nicht wie mir ist.

<sup>5)</sup> Den Zeitpunkt zu erkennen und zu erfüllen was diese Geschichte lehrt.

f. 18r: anno dñi m̃<sup>mo</sup> lxxx.i.<sup>mo</sup> vincula scī petri innoct for-  
domnoch. aimpide fordia imdiligud achinad doecoin tróg imnedach.

f. 50r: anno dñi. m̃<sup>mo</sup> lxxxi.<sup>mo</sup> fél nēbmártein innocht for-  
tertid nouember. aimpide fordia imdiligud doecoin tróg imnedach.

fo. 51r ein ausgeschabter Eintrag.“

Durch die Güte des Herrn Stiftsbibliothekars P. Philibert Panhölzl bin ich in den Besitz von vorzüglichen Photographieen der drei Einträge gelangt und dadurch in Stand gesetzt, auch den fast ausgeschabten auf fo. 51r zu entziffern. Er lautet:

Anno dñi. m̃<sup>mo</sup> lxxxii.<sup>mo</sup> féil brigte innocht far mairt. a  
himpide fordia imdiligud doecoin tróg imnedach. Dann folgen  
noch ein paar unleserliche Buchstaben, vielleicht amen.

Es ist von Interesse zu sehen, wie der Ire Eoin (Johannes) seine heimische Schrift dem Gebrauch des Kontinents angepaßt hat, was sich besonders in den Buchstaben d, g und r zeigt.

KUNO MEYER.

## MISCELLEN.

### 1. Die Autorschaft von Cormacs Glossar.

Zu den Gründen, die Stokes in der Vorrede zu seiner Ausgabe von Cormacs Glossar S. XII ff. für die Verfasserschaft des Cormac mac Cuilennáin (831–908) aufführt, lassen sich noch einige hinzufügen. Zunächst die große Rolle, welche Munster in dem ganzen Werke spielt. Ich hebe besonders die Orts- und Stammesnamen Munsters hervor: Aine 4, Airmumu 4, Áru 4, Benntraighe 7, Caisel 10, Cláire 11, Dáirfine 16, Eoganacht 18, Foi 20, Femen 21, Imbliuch 25, Corcmorruad Ninuis 31, Orbraige 33, Salcuait 41, Mag Sainb(?) 41, zusammen sechzehn Namen, während aus dem übrigen Irland nur vier Namen so behandelt sind: Coire Bre-cáin 13, Elg 18, Temair 42, Tamlachta 43. Dazu kommt ein Beispiel aus der gesprochenen Sprache von Airmumu 32 s. v. nairne. Noch deutlicher spricht aber der Umstand, daß der Name Corbmac zweimal in auffälliger Weise verwendet wird. Erstens eröffnet er die Reihe der mit C anfangenden Wörter, der öfteren Praxis des Verfassers gemäß, Eigennamen an die Spitze der einzelnen Buchstaben zu stellen (*Adam, Adomnán, Brigit, Domnall, IHC, Sanct Pátraic*, usw.). Und wieder wird derselbe Name und sein Deminutiv *Cormacín* unter *deach* (S. 16) als Beispiel zwei- und dreisilbiger Wörter gewählt. Ob etwa auch die anderen dort aufgeführten Eigennamen (*Murchertach, Fíanamail*) Verwandten Cormacs angehören, wird sich vielleicht aus dem Stammbaum der Familie feststellen lassen.

### 2. Zur Bezeichnung des Patronyms im Irischen.

Daß einem Personennamen der Name des Vaters im Genitiv ohne Beisetzung von *mac* hinzugefügt wird, ist im heutigen Irisch

eine ganz gewöhnliche Erscheinung.<sup>1)</sup> Wie ich zeigen will, geht sie ins höchste Alter der Sprache hinauf. In den Stammbäumen aus alt- und mittelirischer Zeit tritt sie so häufig auf, daß man nicht an zufällige Auslassung von *mac* denken darf. So heisst Rawl. B. 502 der S. 121 b 43 *Fiacc mac Dáre* Genannte vier Zeilen weiter einfach *Fiacc Dáre*; *Mošenóc mac Mugnae* (S. 91g) wird dort auf S. 120 b und LL. 350 a *Mošenóc Mugnai* genannt; *Eogan mac Bruidge* (Rl. 502, S. 122 b) und *Eogan Bruidge* (LL. 314 b 49) sind dieselbe Person. In den Annalen von Ulster wird A. D. 584 *Aed mac Suibni* als *Aed Suibne* bezeichnet und *Coirpre mac Féicéni* heisst ebenda A. D. 600 *Coirpre Feicéni* (so die Handschrift). In Laud 610, fo. 97 b 2 kommt *Fiacha mac Araidi* als *Fíacha Araide* vor und in Rl. 502 S. 115 a 18 wird der bekannte König von Leinster *Find fili mac Rossa Rúaid in rigfíle Fínd Rossa Rúaid* genannt. Aber auch der Name des Großvaters wird gelegentlich ohne Hinzufügung von *úa* so verwandt. So steht AU. 550: *quies Davidis Farannaini*, d. h. *Davidis filii Gúairi úi Farannáin*, wie die Glosse daselbst belehrt. So mag auch in *Labraid Luirc* (CZ. III, S. 15) *Luirc* nicht als Genitiv von *Lorc* = Leinster, sondern = *úa Luirc* zu fassen sein.

Dieser Gebrauch des Patronyms wirft nun Licht auf einige bisher dunkle Beinamen in den Ogaminschriften. So wird z. B. *Mailagni Curcitti* (Macalister I, 37) wohl als ein altirisches *Máiláin Cuircithi* = *Máiláin maic Cuircithi* zu deuten sein; denn der Eigennamen *Cuircithe* findet sich Trip. S. 198, 3. Ebenso wird *Locid* in *Luguni Locid* (II, 121), *Nogati* in *Manumagu Nogati* (III, 184) und *Llotuti* in *Sangte Llotuti* (No. 39) den Vaternamen im Genitiv enthalten.

### 3. Die ältesten irischen Gedichte.

In den alt- und mittelirischen Geschlechtsregistern findet man öfters Zitate aus Gedichten, deren Verfasser der Überlieferung nach in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung gelebt haben sollen.<sup>2)</sup> Ohne etwa anzunehmen, daß diese Gedichte in

<sup>1)</sup> So z. B. *Murchadh Bhriain* = *Murchadh mac Briain*, CZ. I, S. 477.

<sup>2)</sup> S. z. B. *Luccraid mocu Riadda* (Rawl. B. 502, S. 118b), *Briccine mac Brigni* (ib. S. 118a = LL. 311b), *Ferchertne* (ib. S. 118a 9 = CZ. III, S. 8; 118a 20 = LL. 311b), *Senchán Torpéist* (118a 51 = LL. 311c 7), *Find fili mac Rossa Rúaid* (118a 37 = LL. 311b; LL. 190b 49). Dem letzteren wird

so alte Zeit zurückgehen oder immer mit Recht den betreffenden Verfassern beigelegt sind, können wir hier doch bei genauerer Betrachtung manches alte und echte erkennen und von später Hinzugekommenem unterscheiden. Auch fällt es gleich in die Augen, daß fast alle den ältesten Dichtern zugeschriebenen Gedichte in reimlosen, von Wort zu Wort alliterierenden Versmassen abgefaßt sind, während die späteren Verfassern, etwa vom 7. Jh. an beigelegten Gedichte daneben auch die bekannten auf lateinischer Poesie beruhenden reimenden Versmasse aufweisen.

Unter den älteren Dichtern wird des öfteren ein gewisser Lugair lánfili genannt, von dem wir sonst nichts wissen, obgleich O'Reilly (Irish Writers, S. XIX), wohl weil er ein Gedicht über Ailill und Medb verfaßt haben soll, ihn ins erste Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung setzt, was ich in meinen *Primer of Irish Metrics* (S. 45) hinübergenommen habe. Diesem Lugair werden nun in Rawl. B. 502, S. 124 a und LL. 135 c eine Reihe Gedichte zugeschrieben, welche Spuren hohen Alters an sich tragen. So kommt hier, um ein sicheres Merkmal zu erwähnen, der bekannte im Altirischen *Bresal* lautende Name zweimal in der Form *Bresual* vor, die offenbar aus einer Zeit stammt, wo ursprünglich intervokalisches *u* noch erhalten war, d. h. nicht später als das 7. Jahrhundert (S. Pedersen, *Vergl. Gramm.* § 41). Die Verse lauten (Rawl. B. 502, S. 124 a):

Ān grian gríssach goires breo da Bresuail (beo Bresual LL)  
bres Elgca haue Luircc láthras bith beolach.

Línais Nia nithach sabslógaib cach mairrig ar choin com-  
baig dorar ndian da mac búadaig Bresuail.

Da sie von Bresal Béalach, dem Könige von Leinster, handeln, der nach den Annalen von Ulster 435 or 436 starb, sowie von seinen Söhnen Énna Nia und Labraid Láidech, kann Lugair, wenn anders er der Verfasser ist, auf keinen Fall vor der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jh. gelebt haben.

Wenn Cormac S. 14 den Namen Domnall aus *doman-níall* oder *doman-úall* ableitet und S. 31 statt Nemnall (Trip. 132, 24,

—  
Rl. 502, 115 a ein gereimtes Gedicht zugeschrieben, das einer viel späteren Zeit angehört. Leider ist es, wie so viele in Zwölfsilblern abgefaßte Gedichte, in der Überlieferung arg verwahrlost.

AU. 749) die Form *Nemnuall*<sup>1)</sup> ansetzt, so wird darin eine Kenntnis der ursprünglichen Lautgebung zu sehen sein, die bei einem so gründlichen Kenner der heimischen Überlieferung nicht überrascht. Bei Cathal (S. 8) ist er sich dagegen der älteren Form nicht bewußt.

#### 4. Ein irischer Barde in Oxford.

Auf der Innenseite des vorderen Einbanddeckels der Handschrift Laud 610 findet sich ein Blatt Papier eingeklebt, welches folgende sauber und zierlich geschriebene Inhaltsangabe des Bandes von der Hand eines bekannten irischen Barden aus dem 16. Jh. enthält:

Oxford ye 9th of August 1573.

This booke is a famous coppie of a greate part of Saltair Caisil<sup>2)</sup> the booke of St Mochuda of Rathin et Lismore, and the chronicles of Conga wherin is contained many divine thinges, and ye most part of ye Antiquities of ye ancientest houses in Ireland, a Cathologue of their kings, of the coming in of ye Romanes unto England, of ye coming of ye Saxons, and of their lines and raygne, a notable Calender of the Irish Saints composed in verse eight hundred yeares agoe, wth the Saints of ye Romane breviary untill that tyme, a Cathologue of ye popes of Roome, How ye Irish and English were converted to ye catholique faith wth many other things as the reader may finde, and soe understanding what they containe lett him remember

Tully Conry

Tuileagna o Maolchonaire.<sup>3)</sup>

In der Handschrift H. 4. 4 (Trin. Coll.) wird diesem Barden ein Gedicht beigelegt, das von Leinster handelt. S. Abbott, Catalogue, S. 366.

#### 5. Die Zuverlässigkeit des Faksimiles von LL.

Stokes hat bekanntlich mehr als einmal darauf aufmerksam gemacht und an vielen Beispielen nachgewiesen, dafs man sich nicht immer auf die genaue Wiedergabe des Originals in dem Faksimile des Lebor na hUidre verlassen darf. Eine Kollation mancher Stücke im Faksimile des Buches von Leinster hat mich überzeugt, dafs hier noch weit gröfsere Vorsicht geboten ist, besonders auf

<sup>1)</sup> Diese Form findet sich auch in dem von mir in 'Fianaigeacht' abgedruckten alten Texte über Ailill Aulomm, wo sie wohl aus älteren Stammwörtern bewahrt ist. Nur hätte ich dort S. 30, 2 nicht *Nemnuail* drucken sollen.

<sup>2)</sup> In irischer Schrift.

abgeriebenen und schwerer lesbaren Seiten, wie z. B. auf SS. 49, 51 und 52, wo ich folgende Fehler bemerkt habe:

Auf S. 49 b Z. 12 steht im Fks. *ind u. cid*, während die Handschrift deutlich *indiu cid* hat.

S. 51 b Z. 41 hat das Fks. *badb*, die Hs. *baderb*.

ib. Z. 45 hat das Fks. *ciarochian*, die Hs. *ciasochian*.

S. 52 a, Z. 2 hat das Fks. *tribarrchaiss*, die Hs. *tribarrchaiss*.<sup>1)</sup>

ib. hat das Fks. *consbáig*, die Hs. *conscaig*.<sup>1)</sup>

ib. ist *Conali* zu *Conald* zu ergänzen.

ib. Z. 6 hat das Fks. *irabbad*, die Hs. *inabbad*.

ib. Z. 18 glaube ich statt *guin* des Fks. *grinn* zu lesen.

ib. Z. 20 steht in der Hs. *ronir*, wofür das Fks. *rom* aufweist.

ib. Z. 21 ist *Eoch* in *Eochaid* korrigiert.

ib. Z. 34 steht deutlich *daracend* ohne Aspirationszeichen.

ib. Z. 35 lese ich *fíor*, mit einem Strichelchen über *or*.

Leider ist die letzte Seite so abgerieben, daß ich die vielen Lücken des Faksimiles nicht ausfüllen kann.

## 6. Die Wortstellung in der altirischen Dichtung.

In meinem *Primer of Irish Metrics* §§ 29 und 30 habe ich kurz auf einige Typen freierer Wortstellung aufmerksam gemacht, die sich in altirischen Gedichten gegenüber dem Gebrauch der Prosa zeigen. Es ließe sich da noch manches hinzufügen, wie denn der freie Satzbau der ältesten ungereimten Gedichte, welcher ihr Verständnis oft erschwert, genauer Untersuchung bedarf. Hier möchte ich einige weitere Beispiele derart zusammenstellen, die sämtlich in einem alten, wohl noch dem achten Jahrhundert angehörenden Gedichte in LL 49 b auftreten, dessen Anfang lautet:

Slán seiss, a Brigit co mbuaid, for grúaid Liffí lir co tráig?<sup>2)</sup>  
is tu banflaith buidnib slúaig fíl for clannaib Catháir Mair.

‘Mögest du sicher thronen, glorreiche Brigitta, auf dem Ufer des Liffey bis an den Strand des Meeres! Du bist die Herrin mit Heeresscharen, die über die Kinder Cathairs des Großen herrscht.’

<sup>1)</sup> Hier hat O’Longan ein eigentümliches hohes *c*, welches über die Zeile hervorragte, als *c*, resp. *b* verlesen.

<sup>2)</sup> Dieselbe Wortstellung in *lir co hor* Str. 16, *réin cu cor* Str. 18.



Das Alter des Gedichtes wird u. a. durch die Form *boith* (acc.) für den Infinitiv des verbum substantivum erwiesen, die in Strophe 13 im Reime vorkommt:

Bressal [ro]ba ri for Eilgg, Fiachra Fobrecc fein co ñgaírg,  
Fergus Fairgge, Find mac Roith carsat boith i nAlind aird.

Hier findet sich auch in *fein co ngaírg* 'mit rauher Kriegerschar' eine seltene Wortfolge: Voranstellung des Hauptwortes, dem das adjektivische Attribut mit einer Präposition folgt. Mir ist davon kein zweites Beispiel bekannt. Dagegen kommt eine andere Wortstellung, eine Art Tmesis, in welcher die Partikel *ro* von ihrem Verbum durch das Objekt getrennt ist, auch sonst vor. Sie findet sich in Strophe 21:

Dunla[i]ng Fornacta, ba fial, flaith fri Níall ro chatlu  
elói<sup>1)</sup> —

'Dunling von Fornocht, er war freigebig, ein Fürst, der gegen Níall Schlachthaufen niederwarf.'

Eine ähnliche Tmesis kehrt in der vierten Strophe wieder, wo es heisst:

marid Currech cona li, ní mair nach ri robói for.

Hier läßt sich *for* nur als mit *bói* in Komposition stehend auffassen.

Zum Schlusse möchte ich noch auf den mir sonst unbekannten Gebrauch des Wortes *úe* (*ae*) als Femininum aufmerksam machen, was sich in der letzten Strophe findet:

Tathut bith[í]laith lasin Ríg cen a tir i fail do rúaim,  
a nū Bresail maic Deín, slán<sup>2)</sup> seiss, a Brigit co mbúaid!

'Dein ist ewige Herrschaft mit dem Könige, ohne das Land,<sup>3)</sup> in welchem dein Friedhof ist, o Enkelin Bresals des Sohnes Dians! throne du sicher, glorreiche Brigit!'

<sup>1)</sup> Daß nicht etwa *rochatlu clói* 'große Schlachthaufen warf er nieder' zu lesen ist, zeigt die Allitteration.

<sup>2)</sup> Die Handschrift hat *slán*.

<sup>3)</sup> d. h. abgesehen von dem Lande (Kildare).

## ERSCHIENENE SCHRIFTEN.

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John MacNeill, The Irish Ogham Inscriptions. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. XXVII, Sect. C., No. 15 (1909), SS. 329—370. 1 sh. 6 d.

Die kritische Sammlung der Ogham-Inschriften durch Macalister hat sofort eine wertvolle Frucht gezeitigt in dieser Abhandlung von MacNeill. Auf ausgezeichnet methodische Weise wird aus diesen alten Denkmälern der irischen Sprache das grammatisch Bedeutsame herausgeholt, sowohl was die Geltung der Buchstaben als was die Flexion und Wortgestalt betrifft. Unbeeinflusst durch fremde Anschauungen geht der Verf. seinen eigenen Weg und hat mit nüchternem Urteil und guter Kenntnis des irischen Namenmaterials meist plausible Resultate erzielt. Auch für die spätere Sprache fällt einiges ab, so vor allem das wichtige Gesetz (S. 347), daß hinter schwach betonten kurzen Vokalen in Silben, die mit *l*, *n*, *r* anlauten, auslautende *l* und *n* unleniert sind, daher später *ll*, *nn* geschrieben werden. So erklärt sich eine ganze Reihe von Erscheinungen viel einfacher, als durch mich im Handbuch § 329, 2 und Indogerm. Forsch. 26, 132 geschehen ist. Natürlich bleibt bei dem schwierigen Stoff auch manches zweifelhaft und bestreitbar.

S. 345 wird zu *Bivaidonas* ein Nominativ \**Bivaidus* für späteres *Beoaid*, *Beoid* postuliert; aber \**Bivaidu* (aus -*o*) ist die zu erwartende Grundform der *n*-Flexion.

S. 350. Schwierig ist der Fall *Dovatuci* = späterem *Dubthaig* (Nom. *Dubthoch*, jünger *Dubthach*), *Dovalesci* = *Duibleisc*. MacNeill setzt als ersten Bestandteil einen alten *o*-Stamm an (S. 351) und meint, das *v* (das hier leniertes *b* bezeichnet) habe die *u*-Färbung des Vokals verursacht. Aber warum fehlt dann eine solche Wirkung in analogen Fällen wie *lobad*, *lobur*, *cobur*, *cob* usw.? Und ist nicht der erste Bestandteil wahrscheinlich das spätere Adjektiv *dub*, also ein *u*-Stamm? Man kommt kaum um die Annahme herum, daß -*a*- den nur noch gemurmelten, im Schwinden begriffenen Vokal bezeichne, der ursprünglich *u*-lautete, und daß *o* in der ersten Silbe eine nicht ganz genaue Bezeichnung oder dialektische Färbung des haupttonigen *u* darstelle.

S. 353. Dafs -*ignas* später -*in* ergeben haben könne, scheint mir nicht glaublich; vielmehr wird ihm Suffix -*én* entsprechen. Die Nebenform -*in* entweder aus dem Vokativ und Genitiv des Singulars (mit palatalem *n*) oder lat. -*inus* nachgebildet (s. Handb. § 272) oder Einfluß von -*ine*.

S. 354. Dafs *magi* (*macci*) noch auf Inschriften erscheint, die sonst die Endsilben abwerfen, kann darauf beruhen, dafs es in diesen Fällen proklitisch war, also nicht wie ein vollbetontes Wort behandelt werden mußte (s. Handb. § 113).

S. 356. Die Lesung *Coligenn* (= späterem *Colgan*) für *Doligenn* ist wenig wahrscheinlich, weil die Schreibung *Colcu* darauf hinweist, dafs zwischen *l* und *g* kein Vokal geschwunden ist.

S. 360. 362. In *Ducovaros* sucht der Verf. späteres *cob(a)ir* ‚Hilfe‘. Ich frage mich aber, ob *cob(a)ir* nicht ursprünglich mit dem Akkusativ *cobrið* zusammengehörte als ein konsonantischer Stamm *com-uo-ret-* oder -*rit-* zu *fo-reth-* ‚helfen‘. Könnte nicht in -*covaros* der Genitiv des späteren *coir*, *coair* ‚ordentlich, richtig, würdig‘ stecken, das in der zweiten Silbe einen dunkeln Vokal besessen haben muß (s. Bergin, Eriu III, 84)?

S. 363. *magu* kann kaum das spätere *mug* (G *mogo*) sein, das vielmehr auf *mogu-* zurückgeht nach Ausweis von kymr. *meu-dwy* (aus *mou-*).

S. 369 f. MacNeill weist überzeugend nach, dafs zwischen *netta* (*Cuna-netas*, *Neta-*) und *niotta*, *niott* kein Unterschied besteht, wie auch später *Nioth-Fruich* und *Nad-(Nat-)Fráich* vorkommt. Er glaubt, dafs zwei verschiedene Wörter, späteres *nia(e)* ‚Neffe‘ und *nia(e)* ‚Krieger, Kämpfe‘ sich vermischt haben, dafs *netta* eigentlich diesem, *niotta* jenem angehört. Aber der Grund der Vermischung ist nicht deutlich. Könnte nicht *netta* nur eine altertümlichere (etwa aus \**ne[p]ótos* kontrahierte) Form sein, *niotta* eine durch den Nominativ \**nios* aus \**nepóts* oder \**nios* aus \**nepóts* beeinflusste? Es scheint mir übrigens, wenn auch natürlich nicht beweisbar, so doch auch nicht undenkbar, dafs jene beiden Wörter etymologisch nur eines sind. Die Wörter für weitere Verwandte wandeln oft ihre Bedeutung höchst sonderbar, vgl. lat. *nepos* ‚Verschwender‘, altind. *bhrátrvyañ* ‚Neffe, Vetter‘ und ‚Gegner‘, deutsch ‚Schwager‘ für ‚Postillon‘. Es könnte also auf Grund irgend welcher sozialer Verhältnisse im Irischen der Neffe zum Streiter geworden sein. R. Thurneysen.

Mary Rh. Williams, Essai sur la composition du roman gallois de Peredur (Pariser Doktor-These). Paris (Champion) 1909, VI u. 123 S.

Im Roten Buch von Hergest stehen unter dem Titel *Peredur* drei getrennte Erzählungen, der Anfang einer jeden durch neue Zeile und große Initiale deutlich gekennzeichnet, s. die Ausgabe von Rhys-Evans S. 220 und 232 oder die Mabinogion von Lady Guest I, 269. 282. Diese Dreiteilung ist bei neueren Behandlungen des Textes oft mißachtet worden, vielleicht weil sowohl San Marte und Loth in ihren

vielbenützten Übersetzungen als K. Meyer in seiner Sonderausgabe des *Peredur* den Anfang der einzelnen Teile im Druck nicht hervorgehoben haben; der zweite beginnt mit Meyers § 50 (Loth S. 82), der dritte mit § 66 (Loth S. 96). Selbst die Verfasserin dieser Dissertation, die doch durch innere und äußere Gründe zur Absonderung von Teil III geführt worden ist, geht über die handschriftliche Scheidung stillschweigend hinweg und beachtet den Abschnitt zwischen I und II so wenig, daß sie § 40—65 (Meyer) als einen einheitlichen Teil B zusammenfaßt. Dankenswert ist anderseits, daß sie die Tatsache scharf betont, daß in der Hs. Peniarth 7, wie schon Gwenogfryn Evans im *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* I, 317 bemerkt hatte, der Teil III (bei ihr C) völlig fehlt und zwar, wie der Schlusssatz von Teil II zeigt, nicht zufällig, sondern weil er sich in der Vorlage noch nicht fand; er ist also erst später hinzugetreten (S. 100). Ganz ähnlich, denke ich mir, ist früher einmal Teil II zu I hinzugefügt worden; sie haben unter sich keine Berührung als nur die, daß der Held beider der Artus-Ritter *Peredur* ist.

Daß auch Teil I, der in der Hs. als Einheit behandelt ist, aus zwei nur ganz äußerlich verknüpften Stücken besteht, ist bekannt. Nachdem *Peredurs* Schicksale im großen und ganzen im Einklang mit *Chrétien's Perceval* geschildert sind bis zu dem Punkt, wo er nach der Episode der Blutstropfen im Schnee von den Artus-Rittern aufgefunden wird (Ia), folgt eine ganz andere Erzählung (Meyer § 40—49, Loth S. 75) von der Liebe *Peredurs* zu *Angharat Law Eurawc* und seiner endlichen Versöhnung mit ihr nach vielen Abenteuern (Ib).

Wir besitzen also tatsächlich vier kymrische Erzählungen von *Peredur*, von denen zwei (Ib und II) keine nähere Berührung mit französischen Texten zeigen; nur haben sie aus Teil Ia die allgemeine Situation entnommen, daß *Peredur* als Artus-Ritter auf Abenteuer auszieht. Der Schlusssatz von Teil II lautet in Peniarth 7 (zitiert von der Verf. S. 2 u. 17): *Ac y velly y tervyna kynnyd Paredur ap Efracw* 'und so schließt das *kynnyd* *Paredurs*,<sup>1)</sup> des Sohnes *Efracws*'. Das Wort *kynnyd* ist dem Ende von Teil Ia entnommen (Meyer § 39), wo *Arthur* zu dem wiedergefundenen *Peredur* sagt: 'Sei gegrüßt, Herr, und du wirst bei mir bleiben. Und wenn ich gewußt hätte, daß dein *cynnyd* (dein Wachstum, deine Entwicklung) so sein würde, wie es gewesen ist, so wärest du nicht von mir gegangen, als du giengst.' Also an diesen zwei Teilen Ib und II sehen wir, wie ein kymrischer Erzähler der Ritterzeit zu fabulieren verstand, wenn er völlig freie Bahn hatte. Unter einander haben sie keinen näheren Zusammenhang, und sie gegen die Handschrift als einen Teil zusammenzufassen, wie die Verf. tut, haben wir, wie schon gesagt, kein Recht und keinen Anlaß. Dagegen lassen sich einzelne Episoden auch sonst in der keltischen Literatur nachweisen (Verf. 98 f.).

<sup>1)</sup> Über diese Form des Namens, die auch sonst hie und da vorkommt, s. die Verf. S. 32<sup>1)</sup>.

Anders Teil III. Dieser Erzähler hat sich zum Ziele gesetzt, die in Ia angeknüpften Fäden bis zum Ende zu verfolgen, ist also von vornherein in der Marschroute etwas gebunden. Er hat auch Teil II gekannt; denn er beginnt wörtlich mit demselben Satz wie dieser: *Arthur a oed ygKaerllion ar Wysc.* Vielleicht war seine Absicht, seinen Schluss an die Stelle des mit I nicht wohl vereinbaren Teiles II zu setzen. Die Bestandteile sind von der Verf. genau erörtert. Er erzählt zunächst ungefähr wie Chrétien von da an, wo Teil I abgebrochen hatte, bis zur Karfreitagsepisode, d. h. bis da, wo Chrétiens unvollendetes Gedicht zum letzten Mal von Perceval spricht. Dann kommen Abenteuer, die bei Chrétien fehlen, zunächst ein Märchen-Gemeinplatz, der Ritter, der dreimal unerkannt mitkämpft und zum Sieg verhilft; darauf aber das Abenteuer mit dem selbsttätigen Schachspiel und die daran sich knüpfenden Ereignisse, die sich bei Chrétiens Fortsetzer Gaucher (Wauchier) und in der Prosaerzählung, die die Verf. als Borons Perceval bezeichnet, wiederfinden. Sie mag mit Recht annehmen, daß der Kymre aus keinem dieser zwei Denkmäler, sondern aus einer gemeinsamen Quelle geschöpft habe; denn man sieht nicht ein, warum gerade nur diese Episode herangeschält worden sein sollte. Dann eilt die Erzählung mit Riesenschritten dem Schlusse zu: alle die sonderbaren Frauenzimmer, mit denen Peredur in Ia und III zu tun gehabt hat, entpuppen sich als Verkleidungen seines Veters, und das blutige Haupt, mit dem der Erzähler von Teil I die Schlüssel (*dygyll* = frz. *graal*) bevölkert hatte, von deren Inhalt Chrétien an der betreffenden Stelle nichts berichtet, wird an den Hexen von *Kaerloyw*, die ebenfalls schon Teil I eingeführt hatte, blutig gerochen, weil es sich gleichfalls als das Haupt eines Veters heranstellt.

Die Verf. gibt zuerst eine gute Übersicht und Klassifizierung der Manuskripte des kymrischen Peredur und untersucht dann vornehmlich dessen Verhältnis zu Chrétien. Obschon sie zugibt, daß Teil III Chrétien ziemlich genau folgt — die Varianten sind, von Kürzungen abgesehen, ganz unbedeutend —, glaubt sie nicht, dass Chrétien seine Quelle gewesen sei. Aber das Abenteuer Gwalchmeis, der beschuldigt wird, den Vater eines Earl verräterisch erschlagen zu haben, bricht doch § 71 mit den Worten ab: 'Und die Geschichte (*yr ystorya*) sagt nicht mehr als das von Gwalchmei nach dieser Richtung hin.' Diese Beschuldigung Gauvains bleibt in der Tat bei Chrétien unaufgeklärt, weil eben sein Gedicht nicht weiter geht. Will nun wirklich jemand annehmen, zufällig sei auch schon in einer gemeinsamen Quelle Chrétiens und des Kymren diese Episode nicht zu Ende erzählt gewesen? Gewiß nicht. Das Verfahren des Verfassers von III ist ja völlig klar. Er folgt Chrétien, so weit er ihn hat, dann fügt er ein paar anderweitige Abenteuer Peredurs hinzu und schließt mit den Elementen, die ihm Teil I an die Hand gibt, wobei ihm die beiden alten Onkel Peredurs, der hinkende (§ 16) und der nicht hinkende (§ 18 ff.), die ohnehin nicht genau mit Chrétien stimmen, in den einen hinkenden Greis zusammenrinnen (§ 83).

Aber, wendet die Verf. ein, die kymrischen Handschriften, deren

älteste dem 13. Jh. angehören, weisen auf eine Vorlage des 12., nicht des 13. Jahrhunderts. Prüft man aber ihre Kriterien, so findet man, daß die Handschriften wohl gelegentlich Reste einer älteren Schreibweise (u für w, t für inlautendes d u. ähnl.) zeigen, wie sie im 12. Jh. üblich war, aber keineswegs schließen lassen, daß diese in der Vorlage durchgeführt war. Vielmehr stimmt alles aufs beste zu einer Übergangszeit, wo die neuere Schreibweise noch nicht völlig durchgedrungen war, etwa in den Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts.

Das Hauptgewicht legt aber die Verf. mit Recht auf Teil Ia. Wie verhält er sich zu Chrétien und andern französischen Erzählungen? Das Resultat der Verf. ist äußerst kompliziert. Mit einer einheimischen kymrischen Erzählung, die vielleicht bereits aus einer Peredurssage und einer andern zusammengeschweisft war (S. 107), sind Elemente verschiedener französischer Versionen, von denen keine Chrétien ist, vermischt worden. Die französischen Quellen sind: 1. eine, aus der auch Chrétien (indirekt) und Kyot, der bei der Verf. wieder einmal seine Auferstehung als wirklicher Gewährsmann Wolframs feiert, geschöpft haben (S. 95). Das ist, wenn ich S. 103 f. richtig interpretiere, dieselbe, die auch der *Crône* Heinrichs von dem Türlin und dem französischen Prosaroman *Perlesvaus* zu Grunde liegen soll, oder wenigstens eine nah verwandte. 2. Ein französisches Gedicht, das Chrétiens Fortsetzer Manessier benützt hat (S. 101). Man wird sich schwer ein Bild machen können, wie diese Quellen, zumal die erste, ausgesehen haben mögen, wenn wir dem kymrischen Erzähler weniger eigene Änderungen zuschreiben wollen als bei der bisherigen Annahme, er habe Chrétiens Perceval nacherzählt. Aber eine so viel kompliziertere Hypothese an die Stelle einer einfachen und zunächst evident erscheinenden zu setzen, hat nur eine Berechtigung, wenn sich diese als unhaltbar erweist. Die Verf. ist daher mit Recht darauf bedacht, Eigentümlichkeiten herauszufinden, in denen Teil I mit anderen Versionen gegen Chrétien übereinstimmt. Wenn man alle ganz vagen Ähnlichkeiten abzieht und solche, die als zufällig zu nehmen bei der gegebenen Situation keine Schwierigkeit macht, scheinen mir nur die zwei Punkte übrig zu bleiben, die S. 92 f. herausgehoben sind. Einmal daß beim Hereintragen der blutenden Lanze sowohl nach dem Kymren als nach Wolfram von Eschenbach allgemeines Wehklagen anhebt; sodann daß nach beiden unmittelbar vor der Episode mit den Blutstropfen im Schnee Peredur-Parzival in eine Einsiedelei kommt. Von beidem meldet Chrétien nichts. Beim erstern liegt allerdings die Annahme eines Zufalls nicht allzu fern, da man sich eher darüber wundert, daß bei Chrétien auf das Vorbeitragen niemand besonders zu reagieren scheint. Das zweite ist auffälliger, da nur bei Wolfram die Einsiedelei mit der Geschichte verschmolzen ist und daher motiviert erscheint. Doch kann vielleicht der kymrische Erzähler durch den Schnee, der während der Nacht fallen muß, daran gekommen sein, den Helden nicht im Freien übernachten zu lassen; und da damals die Köhlerhütten, in denen spätere Romanschreiber in solchen Fällen ihre Helden Unterkunft finden lassen, noch nicht erfunden waren, hat er hier den Einsiedel eingeschoben. Ich bezweifle

wenigstens, daß diese zwei Übereinstimmungen genügen, Wolfram und dem Kymren eine gemeinsame, von Chrétien unabhängige Quelle zuzuschreiben. Die einzige bedeutendere Abweichung von Chrétien, die sich in Teil I findet, nämlich daß der Held bei Hexen die letzte Ausbildung in der Waffenkunst erhält, ist, wie die Verf. selber (S. 117 f.) erkannt hat, bei einem Kelten leicht verständlich, da uns der Unterricht des irischen Helden CuChulaind bei der Scathach in einer bedeutend älteren Sage lehrt, daß eine solche Vorstellung ihm geläufig sein konnte. Freilich war der Kymre nicht bloß ein '*copiste qui traduisait en gallois le Conte du Graal*' (S. 42), sondern ein Erzähler, der sich freute, in der bunten Geschichte, die die Wonne der französischen Ritter Englands bildete, Stoff zur Unterhaltung seiner Landsleute zu finden, indem er sie in die Form kymrischer Prosasagen umgofs.

Fraglich bleibt nach wie vor, weshalb der Kymre Chrétien Perceval mit dem einheimischen Helden Peredur, der um 580 gestorben sein soll, identifiziert hat. War es nur die Ähnlichkeit des Namens oder war in den Schicksalen der Helden irgend eine Parallele vorhanden? Das wissen wir nicht mehr. Auch der Ausdruck *mab Peredur penwetic* 'Sohn Peredurs des Haupt-Arztes' in einem älteren kymrischen Gedicht (S. 47) sagt über seine Sage nichts Greifbares aus. Daß wir in Teil Ib und II Stücke der alten einheimischen Sage über Peredur besitzen (S. 121), scheint mir unhaltbar; sie sind vielmehr deutlich vom französischen Rittertum der Chrétienischen Zeit beeinflusst.

Also, um den 3 Thesen der Verf. (S. 121) meine Ansicht entgegenzustellen:

1. Teil Ia des Peredur ist eine freie Nacherzählung Chrétien bis zu dem einzigen festeren Abschnitt innerhalb seines Fragments, der Aufnahme Percevals als Artus-Ritter, mit (geringer) Beimischung einheimisch-kymrischen Sagenmaterials.

2. Teil Ib und II sind freie, unter sich unzusammenhängende Erfindungen kymrischer Erzähler, angeregt durch Teil Ia, der Peredur als fahrenden Ritter in die kymrische Literatur eingeführt hatte.

3. Teil III ist eine spätere, dem Ganzen beigefügte Ergänzung zu Teil Ia, die Chrétien folgt, so weit er vorhanden war, dann aus einer andern — nicht kymrischen — Quelle schöpft, in der eine Gruppe von Abenteuern Percevals behandelt war, und endlich ziemlich gewaltsam das Ende mittelst der Daten von Ia nach freier Phantasie herbeiführt.

R. Thurneysen.

Whitley Stokes, A Supplement to Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus. Halle a. S. 1910, Max Niemeyer. 8°. 82 S. M. 4.

In this posthumous work the author has embodied all the numerous corrections, emendations and explanations which had occurred to him since the publication of the Thesaurus, as well as those of other scholars of which he approved. He has also included a number of suggestions communicated to him by Professor Bergin. In seeing the

book through the press I did not consider it right to make any alterations or additions, though if Stokes had been spared to edit the book himself he would no doubt have reconsidered and altered several things. Thus on p. 79 a non-existent *doberad* is assumed to explain *itubrad*; *commart* in LU. 74 a 45, quoted on the same page in support of a *t*-future, is probably corrupt for *co mema*, as Strachan, TBC. l. 1625, suggests; and for *der-ciu* on p. 80 *do-écciu* should be substituted.

I take this opportunity to add a few further slight corrections of the text and translations of the second volume of the Thesaurus.

P. 257, 10 for *neth*... the MS. has *neth*, i. e. a suspension for a name beginning with *Neth*-. P. 290, l. 25, *debrath* is translated by 'from Doom', which would be *ar bráth*. Thurneysen, Handb. II, p. 39 prints *de-bráth* and explains it as an exclamation. The word seems to occur in CZ. VI, p. 266 § 10 *dorata Dia debradh dún*, where it rhymes with *menman*. On p. 291, l. 35 *ingaes* is translated 'in wisdom', but the metre (*devide*) requires a disyllable. Read *la maccu ingáis* and translate 'with sons of folly'. The adjective *ingáeth* 'unwise' occurs LL. 158 a 11 and Rawl. B. 502, 87 b 44. On p. 293, l. 4 *tairi siabair mochondail* should have been rendered by 'may a fairy come to meet me'. On p. 293, l. 6 *ma romthoicthersa inso* should have been rendered by 'if this happen to me', and *manimrothcaither* by 'if it do not happen to me'. Cf. *ma romthoicthi éc ind-Hi*, Anecd. II 19. We have here a derivative of *toceth* (later *tocad*) gl. fors, Thes. II, 47, dat. pl. *de thoicdib* gl. fatis, Sg. 138 b 6. On p. 322, l. 9, I would read *i mbratha brithemnacht* and render: 'he has delivered us in the judgment of Doom'. On p. 331, l. 3, for *triär* read *triär*, and for *amru* read *amrae*. P. 340, l. 5, for *friu* read *friu*. P. 342, l. 22, read *clesam[n]acht*. P. 345, l. 1 for *niad* read *niäd*, and l. 2 for *iach* read *iäch*. P. 346, l. 7, for *triun* read *triün*. P. 351, l. 12, for *Devil's* read *devils'* (*demna*). P. 365, l. 22, for *Briain* read *Briüin*. P. 364, l. 28, for *Amalgaid* read *Amalgado*.

George Coffey, Guide to the Celtic Antiquities of the Christian Period preserved in the National Museum, Dublin. Second Edition. Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1910. 8°. Pp. IX + 111. 1 sh. 6 d.

It is no wonder that a second edition of this instructive and beautifully illustrated book has so soon been called for. Its first appearance was warmly welcomed by L. C. Stern in the last volume of the Zeitschrift. The author has used the opportunity of adding many excellent illustrations as well as a full account of various Scandinavian finds (pp. 88-93), among which twenty-six single- and double-edged swords with richly decorated hilts and four pairs of tortoise-shaped brooches are particularly noteworthy.

John MacNeill, An Irish Historical Tract dated A. D. 721. (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. XXVIII,



Section C, No. 6). Dublin, Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1910. Pp. 123-148. 1 sh.

This is a most successful attempt by the professor of Irish History in the newly founded National University of Ireland to bring light and order into the chaos of the Middle-Irish synchronisms known as *Lebor Gabála* and *Flaithiusa Érenn*. Every one who has read these compilations must have noticed that they are partly based upon much older documents. By dint of much ingenuity and labour MacNeill has succeeded in piecing together from the Books of Ballymote and Lecan several portions, which form a homogeneous and continuous account. Originally written in Latin it was translated into Irish by Flann Mainistrech (p. 138). The date of its original composition is precisely indicated by the author, who states that he wrote it 94 years after the accession of King Domnall mac Aeda, i.e. A. D. 771. Written in imitation of Jerome's version of Eusebius' Chronicon it synchronizes the chief events and famous kings of Ireland (beginning 300 years after the deluge) with those of Eastern, Greek and Roman history. MacNeill points out that it places the Gaelic conquest of Ireland in the year 331 B. C. (Alexander the Great), while in later accounts the date grows gradually more and more remote (p. 144). The original home of the Hiberi — a term which Columbanus uses as a name for the Irish (p. 147) — is located in Armenia, whence Mil started on his voyage to Egypt and thence *dochum a cheneóil féin* (p. 134) by which, as MacNeill plausibly suggests, the Iberi of Spain seem to be meant.

On p. 146 MacNeill claims the Partrige as Picts. This is in accord with Irish tradition. See above p. 112, where I have printed a statement that the Partraige Cera are descended from Genann mac Dela, who is elsewhere expressly called *Cruithnech*.

W. M. Lindsay, Early Irish Minuscule Script (St. Andrews University Publications, No. VI). Oxford, J. Parker & Co. 1910. 8°. Pp. 74. 3 sh. 6 d.

This volume contains a description of twenty-three Latin MSS. written by Irish scribes in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, with full lists of the various contractions and suspensions used by them, and illustrated by twelve plates. In the absence of any connected history of Irish palaeography monographs such as this are doubly welcome. Lindsay endeavours to make the abbreviations a test of age; but the conservative habits of Irish scribes often tend to make such inferences insecure. Thus while the most primitive abbreviations are undoubtedly those syllabic suspensions in which the initial letter of each or some of the syllables does duty for the whole word, as *aī* = *atque*, *at* = *autem*, *bī* = *bene* &c., we find them still used in several MSS. dating from the 8th century, though, as Lindsay remarks, the symbols were then obsolete and often not even understood by the scribes (p. 70). Incidentally many important points are touched upon, as e.g. the occurrence of regularly formed Irish minuscule script as early as

700 (p. 3); the use of the apex over vowels to mark Irish words in a Latin text (p. 67); the signature of one scribe only when a MS. had been partitioned among a number of scribes (p. 17) &c. Lindsay's suspicion that the entry *dimma macnathi* at the end of St. John's Gospel in the Book of Dimma is a later addition (p. 12) is confirmed by the use of the late Old-Irish or Middle-Irish form *Dimma* for an earlier *Dimmae*. The remarks on the share of the four scribes Mael-pátricc, Coirbbre, Finguine and Donnus in the St. Gall Priscian (p. 40) and on the wanderings of that codex (p. 43) are of particular interest to Irish students. The book is remarkably free from misprints; I have only noticed *orbit* for *oróit* on p. 12. Cadmng (p. 5) should have been rendered 'battle-slave' rather than 'war-slave'.

Rudolf Thurneysen, Handbuch des Altirischen, II. Teil: Texte mit Wörterbuch. Heidelberg, Carl Winter. 1909. 8°. 100 SS. M. 2,40; geb. M. 3.

Dafs Thurneysen seiner Grammatik des Altirischen ein Lesebuch hat nachfolgen lassen, wird von allen, die sich in diese schwierige Sprache einlesen wollen, freudig begrüßt worden sein. Aber auch der Vorgerücktere wird das Büchlein zu seinem Vorteil in die Hand nehmen. Denn Th. kennt die altirische Glossenliteratur und beherrscht ihre Sprache wie kaum ein anderer. Mancher hätte wohl eine reichere und buntere Auswahl gewünscht. So wären mir z. B. noch ein paar Seiten längerer Sätze aus den Würzburger Glossen ohne den lateinischen Grundtext und eine gröfsere Anzahl Gedichte in möglichst verschiedenen Metren willkommen gewesen.

Zu den Verbesserungen (S. 100) wäre etwa noch folgendes hinzuzufügen. S. 38 lies *Debide* statt *Debide*; S. 39 hätte *mora minn* mit grossen Anfangsbuchstaben gedruckt werden sollen, denn *Muir Menn debráth* (ib.) habe ich schon oben S. 189 meine Zweifel ausgedrückt. Da Th. auch sonst den Artikel getrennt druckt, würde ich dies auch in *insin* (S. 40, Z. 1) durchgeführt haben. Im Glossar ist mir *án(a)i* 'Reichtum' aufgefallen. Wie Reime mehrfach ausweisen, hat das Wort kurzes *a*. S. 77a, Z. 20 mufs es *atá* statt *is* heifsen. Auf S. 95a fehlt *Temuir* f. VII 'Tara'.

Julius Pokorny, Der Ursprung der Arthursage. Mit Diskussion: L. v. Schroeder und R. Much. (Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Band XXXIX, SS. 90-120). Wien. 1909.

Nach einem kurzen Überblick auf die Entwicklung der Artursage, die mit den Kymren aus Nordbritannien nach dem bis dahin gälischen Wales eingewandert sein soll (S. 94), erklärt der Verf. ihre rasche Verbreitung dadurch, dafs bei den Gálen seit uralter Zeit schon ähnliche Sagen bestanden hatten (S. 98), so bei den Nordiren die Mongansage, bei der sich alle charakteristischen Motive der Artursage wiederfinden,

bei den Südiren die Finnsage, welche durch den Übergang der Krone Irlands auf die Könige von Munster zur Hauptsage der Nation wurde. Alle drei Sagen sind dem Verf. nur Varianten Einer Grundsage, deren Hauptzüge er zu rekonstruieren versucht (S. 102). Um die mythischen Grundlagen dieser Ursage zu finden, zieht der Verf. den Sagenkreis von Conchobor und Cuchulinn heran, den er als die älteste Form der Artursage bezeichnet (S. 104). Hier findet er dann große Ähnlichkeiten mit Sonnen- und Mondmythen, vor allem aber — und damit kommen wir auf den eigentlichen Kern der Abhandlung — glaubt er in der Cuchulinsage deutliche Spuren einer Vogelmythe zu sehen. Dies Ergebnis formuliert er S. 109 dahin „dafs wir in der Arthursage und ihren Varianten nichts anderes vor uns haben als eine alte Kuckucksmythe, so alt, dafs sie vielleicht jenen vergessenen Rassen angehörte, die auf den britischen Inseln wohnten, Jahrhunderte, bevor die erste keltische Barke an den Küsten von Erin landete.“

Der Verfasser gleicht einem Luftschiffer, der sich von jedem Windstosse treiben und schliesslich in ein Wolkenkuckucksheim verschlagen läfst. Nirgends hat er festen Boden unter den Füfsen. Nur die Häufung so vieles Zweifelhafte kann überhaupt den Eindruck hervorrufen, als habe er seine Behauptungen erwiesen; einzeln genommen bleibt alles höchst problematisch. Denn er operiert viel mit unsicheren Etymologien, gewagten Gleichstellungen und vielleicht ganz zufälligen Gleichklängen (*Cuchulind* = esthnisch *Kukkulind* 'Kuckucksvogel'), mit schwierigen Rasseproblemen usw., wobei altes und neues, echtes und gefälschtes nicht streng geschieden wird. Ich kann ihm nicht folgen. Wohl aber würde ich mich nach seinem Vorgange anheischig machen, die Cuchulinn- und Finnsage als eine ursprüngliche Hirschmythe auszulegen.

Um indessen einiges richtig zu stellen, so steht der Name *Cú Chulaind* keineswegs ausserhalb der gesamten irischen Nomenklatur (S. 111). Ganz ebenso gebildet ist z. B. *Cú Chiaráin*. Nicht nur Cuchulind und Mongan werden als Drache (*drauc*) bezeichnet, sondern viele andere mythische und historische Persönlichkeiten; denn *drauc* ist nichts weiter als ein stehendes poetisches Epitheton für einen Helden, wie *gwaleh* im Kymrischen. Wird wirklich *Cuculaind* geschrieben (S. 103), so ist das nur Flüchtigkeit der Schreiber. Vielleicht ist es aber nur falsche Ergänzung der Herausgeber und in den Handschriften steht die Suspension *Cucl*. Der Ahnherr der südlichen Stammesgeschlechter heifst nicht *Erem*, sondern *Éremón* im Nominativ, wohl ein Diminutiv auf *-ón*. So kann der Name auch nicht mit *Rhys* als 'Pflüger' gedeutet werden. Zu S. 110 bemerke ich, dafs Kosenamen *Cua*, *Cuac*, *Cuacán* auch von anderen Vornamen mit *Cú*- ganz gewöhnlich sind (*Iam Chuā* = *la Mochuā*, Féil. Óing. Aug. 6, Dec. 24; *Cell Chuaca*, ib. S. 42; *Cuacán*, LL 317 b 8). In *Cú Chulaind* liegt der Hauptakzent freilich auf *Chulaind* als definierendem Element; doch hat *Cú* einen so starken Nebenton, dafs es reimen kann, wie z. B. in diesem Verse aus einer Handschrift in der Franziskanerbibliothek zu Dublin:

*sníomhuidhe sleagh Chon cCulann      medh d'fulang ccon is cconall.*

Zu dem was der Verf. über Avalon bemerkt, möchte ich hinzufügen, daß *Emain Ablach*, 'das apfelbaumreiche Emain' in der irischen Sage der Name einer der Inseln der Seligen war. So heißt es im Buch von Fermoy, S. 182a: *fa chosmailius treabh tíre tácbháil[l]e Tarrngaíre 7 Eamhna áil[l]e ablaighi*, und im Imram Brain (S. 5) bringt das Feenweib einen Apfelblütenzweig daher (*cróib dind abaill a hEmain*). Vgl. auch Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie (übersetzt von Stallybrass, S. 1545): *insula pomorum quae fortunata vocatur*. Später wurde der Name auf die Insel Aran im Busen von Galway übertragen (s. Rev. Celt. XXIV, S. 275), deren Apfelgärten berühmt waren. Vgl. *mad cu ablaig, ablach Arann*, Ir. T. III, S. 34.

K. M.

### Mitteilung.

Herr Professor Thurneysen bittet mich, eigens zu bemerken, daß seine Polemik auf S. 64 ff. gegen den noch lebenden Mitforscher gerichtet war, und daß bei Zimmers Tod der Druck des Bogens bereits abgeschlossen war.

K. M.

### Berichtigung.

„Bei der Niederschrift der Abhandlung 'Zur Kenntnis des Gallischen' ist mir Thurneysens Kritik der Arbeit Meyer-Lübkes 'Die Betonung des Gallischen' im Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Phil. 1901, S. 163, entgangen, wo Thurneysen den Flußnamen \*Argenou in Arguenon richtigstellt. Es fällt daher mein Erklärungsversuch des Namens Argenou auf S. 100 weg.“

RUDOLF HABERL.

# MITTHEILUNGEN AUS IRISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN.

(Fortsetzung.)

## *Ein altirisches Gedicht über das Ende der Welt.*

*Aus Laud 615, SS. 132—134.*

- 1 Dofil aimser laithe mbratha,<sup>1)</sup> bríghach tornech,  
rogab crith in domun druimnech fon mbith mbairnech.
- 2 Baithfíther<sup>2)</sup> fir, fotha n-aimser, trúagh ind airmairt,<sup>3)</sup>  
crínfaith gach maith, mór tonn treabla[i]t, mairg dodna[i]rnic!
- 3 Tairceba olc, bidh mór in t-olc la cech nduine,  
raghaidh cech recht tar araile fon mbith mbuidhe.
- 4 Bāithfíthir cích *ocus* cothach,<sup>4)</sup> rúagh<sup>5)</sup> ind álaigh,  
nī bía clóemhlódh<sup>6)</sup> forsind áiremh<sup>7)</sup> fri sīl nĀdhuimh.
- 5 Nī bīa cáthus, nī bīa cluche, nī bīa áenach,  
forrír! tiucfa aimser dērach fo nim nōemach.
- 6 Nī bīa cert nā recht nā riaghail<sup>8)</sup> cen bāis mbloir,  
nī blat rīg is nī blat súidh for a coir.
- 7 Nī bīa crábud isna[ib] ceallaib, airdiu sétaibh,  
nī bīa gaisced isna[ib] hógaiibh cith<sup>9)</sup> lir cétuib.
- 8 Ticfa tarrngoire na sruthe, nī bat cesa,  
coin, foile, fianna, ialla glasa, cit<sup>10)</sup> ba[d] mesa?
- 9 Cách oc fochuidbhiud a chéle,<sup>11)</sup> deabt[h]a búana,  
cletha im[m]aicsi cen sēna, cridhe hūara.
- 10 Ili ceanna, úatte enech, mend cech maghar,  
cintach melede cen treabadh, ilar ngalar.

<sup>1)</sup> *Lies* aimsir laithi brátha.

<sup>2)</sup> *L.* báidfíthir.

<sup>3)</sup> *L.* airmirt.

<sup>4)</sup> *L.* cotach.

<sup>5)</sup> *L.* rúad.

<sup>6)</sup> *L.* cóimchlód.

<sup>7)</sup> *L.* áirim.

<sup>8)</sup> *L.* riagol.

<sup>9)</sup> *L.* cit.

<sup>10)</sup> *cid.*

<sup>11)</sup> *L.* chéli.

- 11 Bith brēc bealgach, aimser gente, cella dāera,  
ili áera, sína sáebha, túatha clāena.
- 12 Bretha camma, caingne cen chert fri lár lughach,  
cech mesriut[h] iar ndith a ainech, aimser dubach.
- 13 Crith for dhuiliph, trácht cen toradh, tuath cen ergna,  
foimath cinadh, aimser dighla, ilar mberla.
- 14 Ré cen foghlaim, cāch oc rothces, int ord triamhain,  
cert cen tinne,<sup>1)</sup> coraith cech recht asa ríaghuil.
- 15 Nathir cach ben, gríb cach ingen, serbha a [n]gnāsa,  
faithchi lāna, ili craosa, cuile fāsa.
- 16 Fith cen blátha, cāch in<sup>2)</sup> fiannas, immed [n]-athles,  
aimser lethglas, meic go frebnais,<sup>3)</sup> tír co n-atlimes.
- 17 Cāch oc dere[h]joinedh tre bithu, díghal fota,<sup>4)</sup>  
daoine becca, étach n-ecca, ilar coca.
- 18 Athcha lonna, lethra tromma, tochar ferga,  
crecha meinci, immed burba, reilge derga.
- 19 Cidh dognem de, a maicc mo<sup>5)</sup> Dhe, fri glunnu gnátha?  
tuargabsat, fogeir ar túatha, idhain brátha.
- 20 Tāncatar sed<sup>6)</sup> isan domhuin,<sup>7)</sup> ba ferr foät,  
farrir! ardubneat fo rith rout.<sup>8)</sup>
- 21 Tiucfa macu dochum domhuin co feib láthair,  
fer trēn túachail, deirfiur<sup>9)</sup> dō-som bid sí a máthair.
- 22 Ingen dotngēna fria hathair<sup>10)</sup> amail nathruigh,  
dia dobethir an mac geinfeas<sup>11)</sup> isin c[h]athraigh.
- 23 Ōenchlār a dét, dearb<sup>12)</sup> doma<sup>13)</sup> sgēlaibh, scor iar mūraibh,  
sé meóir for a c[h]osaib cāelaibh isna[ib] rūnaibh.
- 24 Fer serbh serigh, sraigleóir ifirn, fir dom cēdul,<sup>14)</sup>  
braithemh dub dían, ocus tom liath assa ēdun.<sup>15)</sup>
- 25 Dogni ór do<sup>16)</sup> māethlaibh muighe,<sup>17)</sup> cia nī is toghra?<sup>18)</sup>

\* \* \*

<sup>1)</sup> *L. tindi.*<sup>2)</sup> *L. i.*<sup>3)</sup> *L. maicc co frebnas.*<sup>4)</sup> *L. fota.*<sup>5)</sup> *Auszulassen.*<sup>6)</sup> *L. séuit.*<sup>7)</sup> *L. isin domun.*<sup>8)</sup> *sic!*<sup>9)</sup> *L. derbsiur.*<sup>10)</sup> *L. dodngēna fri athair.*<sup>11)</sup> *L. gignes.*<sup>12)</sup> *Auszulassen.*<sup>13)</sup> *L. dommu.*<sup>14)</sup> *L. chétul.*<sup>15)</sup> *L. étun.*<sup>16)</sup> *L. di.*<sup>17)</sup> *L. maige.*<sup>18)</sup> *L. cid as dogru. Hier bricht das Gedicht ab.*

*Tiughraind Bhécáin meic Luigdech do Cholum Cille*  
ann 80.

*Aus Land 615, SS. 114—115.*

- 1 Dofed<sup>1)</sup> andes a<sup>2)</sup> ndáil Fiadhhatt, findál caingéal,  
Columb Cille cētaibh landa, lethan caindeal.
- 2 Caine rissi, rige la Día a ndeoidh<sup>3)</sup> retha,  
righe n-ūasal ō rochindi cēimmo betha.<sup>4)</sup>
- 3 Brississ tola, dobert<sup>5)</sup> cochrú cró nglinde (*sic*),  
gabhaiss foraibh finnuibh coruibh Columb Cille.
- 4 Caindeal Condacht, coindeal Alban, amhra fiadhhatt,  
fichtibh curach cechuing trichait troichet ciabhat.
- 5 Cechaing thondaig tresaigh maghain mongaigh rónaigh  
rolaind bedhgaigh bruchrich barrind<sup>6)</sup> failidh mbrónuigh.
- 6 Birt búaith [n]-ēcna hi cūairt Eirenn co mbó harda,  
amra n-anma, ailter Leatha, linter Alba.
- 7 Amhra tuire, téora lemna, lethnaibh coraibh,  
Columb Cille ant (*sic*) gnoō gnótho foraibh.
- 8 For muir gáirech gart an ruirich fallnar milibh,  
follnur magh ós mbruighibh<sup>7)</sup> réidhibh, righaibh, tíribh.
- 9 Trinóit hi seilbh siächt cobluth caoin conūalath,  
ūasal la Día dia mba *forderc* fescsur, mbūarach.<sup>8)</sup>
- 10 Búachail manach, mediamh clēirech, caissi<sup>9)</sup> retaibh,  
righdhaibh sonnaibh sonaibh tedmann trichtaibh, cētuibh.
- 11 Columb Cille coinneal tóidhius téora reachta,  
rith hirroidh tuir doréd<sup>10)</sup> midhnocht maigne Erca.
- 12 A<sup>11)</sup> eir tinach tinghair niulu nime doghair,  
dín mo anma, dūn mo ūadh hūā Connail.
- 13 Hūā Connail cloth co mbúadhuibh .ba cain mbetha  
bá bárc maone .bá muir necna .hua Conuill costigh daoine.<sup>12)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> L. tofed, um mit dem letzten Worte des Gedichtes (tenga) sogenanntes comindsma zu haben.

<sup>2)</sup> *L. i.*

<sup>2)</sup> Statt a ndeoidh lies deud.

4) *L. ó roching céimmenna betho?*

<sup>a)</sup> L. tobert, um Alliteration (für's Auge) mit tola zu haben, wie sonst überall.

6) *L. barrfind.*

7) *L. mruigib.*

<sup>8)</sup> *L. búarach.*

\*) *L. caissiu.*

<sup>10)</sup> *L. toréd?*

<sup>11)</sup> Hinter dem a scheint noch ein Buchstabe, etwa i, zu stehen.

<sup>12)</sup> *L. Aue Conaill, cloth co mbúadaib, ba bárc móine, ba muir ecni aue Conaill. coscid dóine.*

- 14 Bá dair nduillech, bá dín n-anma, bá hald nglinne,  
ba grían manach, bá mór coimdhe<sup>1)</sup> Columb Cille.
- 15 Ba caomh<sup>2)</sup> dia mbo hadhba ail fri rolainn,  
roppo dorair dú forría imdha Coluimb.
- 16 Colaind crochsus, sgoirsiss for faill<sup>3)</sup> finna tæbha,  
dogó dána dén is leeca, léiccis cráobha.
- 17 Lécciss coilcthi, lécciss cotludh, caoine<sup>4)</sup> bertaibh,  
brisiss bairne, ba fri fáilti, feisibh tercaibh.
- 18 Teachtaiss liubhra,<sup>5)</sup> lécciss lá slán selba aithri,<sup>6)</sup>  
ar séire leighind léiccis coicthi, leicis caithri.<sup>7)</sup>
- 19 Lēgiss cairptiu, carais noō, nāmha guáa,  
gríanda loingsech, léicciss lá seól sealmand cluaa.
- 20 Columb Cille, Columb [ro]baoi, Columb bīaas,  
Columb bithbeó, ní hé sin in snádhudh cīaas.
- 21 Columb canma gu<sup>8)</sup> dáil n-écca iarum, rīaamh,  
riaraibh imbhaiss<sup>9)</sup> imá comhaire cách fongníaam.
- 22 Guidhe mār ghuidhe maic do Eithne<sup>10)</sup> is ferr<sup>11)</sup> maoinibh,  
m'anam dá dheis dochum richigh re ndoman dainibh.<sup>12)</sup>
- 23 Dia forroghena righdha énaire hi lantt leasaibh  
lá toil n-aingeal húa treibh Conaill cressaibh.
- 24 Cearnach dubhairt Dia do adhradh aidhc[h]ibh, laithib,  
lámhuibh faēnaibh, finnaibh gartaibh, gnImuibh maithibh.
- 25 Maith bóí hi curp Columb Cille cleirech neamba,<sup>13)</sup>  
imbed<sup>14)</sup> fedbach firian mbelmhach, búadhach tenga.

D.<sup>15)</sup> f. a.*Colum Cilli dorinne an ochtfoctach sa sīs.**Aus Laud 615, SS. 122—127.*

- 1 Dia mōr dom imdeg hail,  
Dia mōr dom imdīdīn,  
Dia mōr dom foircetal,  
Dia mōr im fáil:

<sup>1)</sup> *L.* coimdiu.<sup>2)</sup> *Zwischen caomh und dia fehlt ein zweisilbiges, mit c anlautendes Wort.*<sup>3)</sup> *L.* ar faill?<sup>4)</sup> *L.* cáiniu.<sup>5)</sup> *L.* liubru.<sup>6)</sup> *L.* aithre.<sup>7)</sup> *L.* caithre.<sup>8)</sup> *L.* canme co.<sup>9)</sup> *Über m steht ein Zeichen wie das der Aspiration.*<sup>10)</sup> *L.* d'Eithni.<sup>11)</sup> *L.* as ferr.<sup>12)</sup> *L.* dia deiss dochum richid re ndomuin dóinibh.<sup>13)</sup> *L.* nemdae.<sup>14)</sup> *Sollte mit n anlauten.*<sup>15)</sup> *L.* T.



Dia mör im aigseradh,  
 Dia mör dom imrādhadh,  
 Dia mör dom imśnādhadh,  
 Dia mör rommair.<sup>1)</sup>

- 2 M'athair mör muinnterach,  
 mo choimdhe cumachtaigh,<sup>2)</sup>  
 coimsigh mo c[h]omarle,  
 Críst cathbarr cáich:  
 m'oide *ocus* m'anmcara,  
 mac Muire ingeine,  
 rí an ríchedh<sup>3)</sup> ríghnimhe,  
 ríghbile ós raith.

- 3 [R]í dimor dífregra,  
 dílgedhach dé[še]rcach,  
 dúilem na ndulgeine,  
 da ndealbam dúain:  
 rígh<sup>4)</sup> trócar tætheanach,  
 toirbertach tidnaic[th]ech,  
 tug dam cèill deghearghna,  
 tigerna an tsluaigh.

- 4 Tobar finn firdéirce,  
 an fiordia an fiordhuine,<sup>5)</sup>  
 feithemh na firinne,  
 fer choisceas cáich:  
 breithem an breitheamhnais,  
 bías agan breitheamnacht,  
 berus bre[i]th briathargla[i]n,  
 briathar iar mbrath.

- 5 Binn leisna harcainglibh  
 ilceol na hénlaithe  
 gan áes, gan oirisim,  
 gan íuacht,<sup>6)</sup> gan tess:  
 ceòla gan cumscughadh  
 an Coimdeghe cumachtaigh<sup>7)</sup>  
 eistes friu a comfogus,  
 cáich cnes fria cnes.

<sup>1)</sup> *L.* domair.

<sup>2)</sup> *L.* cumachtach.

<sup>3)</sup> *L.* rí richid.

<sup>4)</sup> *L.* rí.

<sup>5)</sup> *L.* firdia is firdhuine.

<sup>6)</sup> *L.* úacht.

<sup>7)</sup> *L.* in Choimded chumachtaig.

- 6 Cróc[h]aingéal coimdetá,  
caithreacha coinnleacha,  
casracha cneisgeala,  
cāch 'na cert cóir:  
na srotha sīrmillse,  
na sretha sīrsoillse,  
na sruithe sírfoirfe<sup>1)</sup>  
iman<sup>2)</sup> sliab n-ard n-ōir.
- 7 Egar na n-arcaingéal  
eidir na hanmcairdibh,  
imatt na ndeiscibal  
im rígh na nāemh:  
cunnlacht an c[h]ostudha,  
ceóilbinne an c[h]oigetail,  
cāeime na cloistechta  
cloistitt co cāemh.
- 8 Ceirti na cantana,  
cuibhdhe na claiscetal,  
ciúine na ceileabradh  
frissa<sup>3)</sup> cloistenn clúas:  
tāebgloine an tálghadha,  
trénsoillsi an taithnemha,  
tláithbinne an fóircetail  
do Thrínōitt thūas.
- 9 Trom orm a iunisi,  
an t-Athir oirdnidhe,  
nīr fáisneis āenduine,  
nī cumaing cāch:  
rométt na rosoillse  
roc[h]āeime an rocoimdegh,<sup>4)</sup>  
rígh an domnaigh déigheanaigh<sup>5)</sup>  
atré don bráth.
- 10 Búadhach an bráthairsin,<sup>6)</sup>  
buidheach Dia deisidhe,  
do deōin an Dúileamain<sup>7)</sup>  
dēchas a dreich:

<sup>1)</sup> *L. sírfoirbthe.*<sup>4)</sup> *L. in rochoimded.*<sup>6)</sup> *L. bráthairse.*<sup>2)</sup> *L. 'man.*<sup>5)</sup> *L. rí domnaig dédenaig.*<sup>7)</sup> *L. Dúileman.*<sup>3)</sup> *L. fris'.*

gan aoir, gan achmusān,  
cen fúacht,<sup>1)</sup> gan acorass,  
gan comrád n-anoirc[h]es,  
gan égnach neich.

- 11 Gan āeir, gan achmusān,  
gan feirg, gan forlūamhain,  
gan éd, gan adhaltras,  
gan farbás ann:  
gan tnúth, gan tromthoirrse,  
cen troitt, cen tachasul,  
gan traigh, gan tūarthuile,  
'gan tslúagh fil thall.

- 12 Gan toighthe trenfedha,  
gan tūar, gan treabaire,  
gan dula d'athchuinnge  
airgeit nā óir,  
gan crú muc, gan mocheirghe,  
gan anbuar baethanach  
(abgeschnitten)

- 13 Muintir an mōrchoimdeg,<sup>2)</sup>  
mōr test a tig(er)na  
'tat ina amsaine  
gan aos, gan fás:<sup>3)</sup>  
buidhech bat bithbuidhech,  
būana bat bithbūana,  
bolltanaig bithslāna,  
betha gan bás.

- 14 Tre biuthiu a mbithslainti  
blāthsolus bennachtach,  
is borb nāch rofiarfaige  
rīchedh an Rīgh:  
aingil is ar(ca)ingil  
ann ana n-oireachtaib,  
enlaith 'ga n-oirfidiud  
tre biuthiu sīr.

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<sup>1)</sup> L. úacht.

<sup>2)</sup> L. mōrchoimded.

<sup>3)</sup> L. ás.

- 15 Sruth ola etorra,  
uaisli fina a primabann,  
finnsruth lán lemnachta  
leig mar atáit<sup>1)</sup> tall:  
eiti oir étrochta  
for gach n-én enlaithi  
do lucht an ardaonaigh  
innistir ann.
- 16 Áibne na hardäenaigh,  
binne na hilc[h]eöla,  
imdha na hilblassa,  
mördha a neart a nimh:<sup>2)</sup>  
an mil mblaith mīnalainn,  
an meas maeth m[ ]baigh  
isn[a]<sup>3)</sup> maghaibh mōrtsóillsib  
'man ric[h]edh réil.
- 17 Ríosum is rothreabham  
do deōin an Dúilemain<sup>4)</sup>  
ar toirbeirt dílgadha  
don domnán c[h]é:  
dīdin romdīdnea,  
deghsain a díaghachta,<sup>5)</sup>  
dūalghas a dēnnachta,  
dúnárus Dé. D. i. a.
- 18 Din m'athar aitchim-si  
re hudhacht, re hégcoimnert,<sup>6)</sup>  
re holcaib adhéitchibh  
a n-aghaidh an<sup>7)</sup> gáidh:  
Dia mór romc[h]umhdaighfea,  
an cara coinni(r)clech,  
an coimdhe cumachtach,  
cend creidme cáich.
- 19 Coimnert an cumairce  
chuinncim dom c[h]ertugud  
Crist re gach comn..gain  
ō ma c[h]orp cáel:

<sup>1)</sup> *L.* 'táit.<sup>4)</sup> *L.* dúileman.<sup>7)</sup> *Auszulassen.*<sup>2)</sup> *L.* nert néim.<sup>5)</sup> *L.* diadachta.<sup>3)</sup> *L.* 'sna.<sup>6)</sup> *L.* re udacht écomnirt.

tig de mo t[h]esargain  
 ar tes na tromlasrach,  
 is trēn an tigerna  
 risa<sup>1)</sup> tabram taobh.

- 20 Ticc dhe mo t[h]esargain  
 atā 'ga trēnatach  
 an trōcar toirbertach  
 toirbrigh na trāth:  
 atā dom anmhbhāinne  
 corab mōr mh[im]egla  
 resan mac mallachtan  
 mallachus cách.
- 21 Is cáem an cumairce,  
 ní claon an c[h]onnailbhe,  
 ní taobh re tollairbhe  
 tolltar fa trí:  
 in bile ōs braonaibnibh,  
 slighi re saormaidhribh,<sup>2)</sup>  
 Ri nime nāemhanglech  
 dá tig gach ní.
- 22 Neart ag ár nāemabaid  
 ōs gach recht rāenabaig,  
 is cert romc[h]āemnagair,  
 is cáem an cuing:  
 bile gan bāeghlaigi,  
 fethal co fāebraighi,  
 mac sethar sāergloine  
 śíol Ádaim uill.
- 23 Athair an fíregna  
 co rathaib ríghc[h]ealla,  
 co ndathaib dī[f]regra,  
 co ndeirgi drech:  
 caomrigh<sup>3)</sup> romc[h]aomustar,  
 saórrī romsaorustar,  
 naomrī romnaomustar,  
 naomustar nech.

<sup>1)</sup> L. ris'.<sup>2)</sup> L. sáermaigrib.<sup>3)</sup> L. cáemrí.

- 24 Na naoim, na naomōgha  
ar<sup>1)</sup> nem naomainglech  
co ndilgudha<sup>2)</sup> De:  
trī buidne bithbūana  
bētar co bithaodbda  
doc[h]um na bithbethad  
don bith caom cé.
- 25 Costadh, ceöl, cumsanadh,  
connail(be), comraidhne,<sup>3)</sup>  
ar clūmaib coimgeala  
gan cloich, gan crann:  
sosadh na siršoillsi,  
sāsadh na sochaide,  
slainti *ocus* sIrc[h]ennsa,  
as edh fognus ann.
- 26 Adhbal rea n-innisi  
adhabra<sup>4)</sup> an fīrūasail,  
imadna n-anaithneidh<sup>5)</sup>  
nāch aithnigh<sup>6)</sup> dūinn:  
a druim re dīmsachaib,  
a des fri deiblenaib,  
a gnui[s] fre (*sic*) *desciplaibh*,  
Dūilem na ndu[i]l.
- 27 Dala De d'innisin  
as disceōil dīscruta,  
as toirsi dit[h]arbach  
fria duine ndall:  
airdri gan airdr...,  
aoinfer gan aónoman,  
aondia *ocus* aonfoladh  
innistir ann.
- 28 Isa Crist costadha,  
in coimdi cumachtach,  
in cennmil cumdachta  
cumdaight[h]i adci:

<sup>1)</sup> *L.* ar in?<sup>4)</sup> *L.* adamra.<sup>2)</sup> *L.* ndilgud.<sup>5)</sup> *L.* n-anaichnid.<sup>3)</sup> *L.* comraigne.<sup>6)</sup> *L.* aichnid.

ga... d athlaochu,  
obaidh mór n-egnaidib,<sup>1)</sup>  
aithríghaid airdrígha,  
airdríghaigh rí.

- 29 Rí tren an taithnema,  
Trínóid na tromdeirci,  
taithnem na ....,  
tarracht gach treóin:<sup>2)</sup>  
súidroll art<sup>3)</sup> soillsidhi,  
sithbarr ar síthaide,<sup>4)</sup>  
samrig<sup>5)</sup> ar samaigt[h]i,  
ar sláinti, ar súil.
- 30 As eisim sláinícidhe  
tsil Ádhaim aithremail  
... na hicsláinti  
icas gach aon:  
ticfa dar coimighnad<sup>6)</sup>  
co cunnailb chairdemail  
gan nech ar comaighedh  
codarsna claon.
- 31 [C]rist ar cuairt coimíne,  
Crist conar abraíne,  
Crist conar congraimhne,  
Crist in gach cill:  
is Crist rocrochsamar,  
is Crist rotochtsamar,  
cló derg rogeallsamar  
tre cnes ar cinn.
- 32 Cned lem an luathglacadh,  
ladraínn 'ga lámhugadh,  
laighne tiugha tan faobracha  
tugsat 'na thaobh:  
aithechda an fírdhechsain,  
arnaigh<sup>7)</sup> rohurgabad,  
amhnus rohaithisighedh<sup>8)</sup>  
Ísa Crist caomh.

<sup>1)</sup> L. mór d'ecnaidib?

<sup>4)</sup> L. síthaigthe.

<sup>7)</sup> L. arnaid.

<sup>2)</sup> L. triúin.

<sup>5)</sup> L. samrí.

<sup>8)</sup> L. rohaithised.

<sup>3)</sup> = ardd.

<sup>6)</sup> L. coimídnad.

- 33 Cagar rocagrat-san  
 gan chin 'na c[h]oimeitteacht  
 isin<sup>1)</sup> c[h]édäin c[h]éd[c[h]rothaig  
 co cēdaibh dath:  
 būaidhredh robu[a]idherthea,  
 betha robeathaighthea,  
 na buidne brégacha  
 rabai 'ga brath.
- 34 [B]riathar an Duileman  
 iter a deisciblaibh  
 dīa dardāin cablaide  
 admaid-ne and:  
 atā im absdala  
 absdal romidhbera  
 fria chroich, fria cēsachtain,  
 fria cēsadh crand.
- 35 Nīr cīan cor comailledh  
 an coimēs faisteine,  
 tāebh leis rolamhusan  
 an lucht dar līa:  
 Iudás ro[f]iormthigh-sen,  
 d' Iudaibh rotreigsetar,  
 rotreig a thigerna,  
 rotreig-sen Dia. d. i. a.
- 36 Dia hāine dīdine  
 d' Ísa fo dochraigi,<sup>2)</sup>  
 is de an sengsatharnn  
 sāethrach fa sech:  
 uathmar an eirmeirge  
 do nert na heisēirghi  
 re nōs an adhnacuil  
 asmearreht(?) nech.
- 37 Ar n-argain fūarifrin, n,  
 ar n-ēirge ōn adhnacul  
 a ndāil<sup>3)</sup> na n-ardespāl  
 doluidh ar ló:

<sup>1)</sup> *L. 'sin.*<sup>2)</sup> *L. dochraidi.*<sup>3)</sup> *Mit punctum delens über d.*



a n-oidche an degdhomhnaig  
 attracht ar Tigerna  
 dochum na deghadhbha  
 rodealbadh dó.

- 38 Rondúisge ar Tigerna,  
 atré an brugh barrannta,  
 budh bloisgbeim breicthinntech  
 brúchtfus don bráth:  
 fortrén an forcongur  
 síl Ádhaimh d'esseirge,  
 dúscad na derglasrach,  
 dealb Críst ós cách.

- 39 Budh calma a cumang-san,  
 bud caol a cumaing-ne,  
 rí cródha attcífem-ne,  
 rocífe Críst:  
 docluínfe an tsochaide  
 bud ttiachail taigerus,  
 bud trom an t-achmusán,  
 bud trén an trist.

- 40 Teine fíir purgatoire  
 fíir, mná, meic malartfíidh,  
 bud mairg do c[h]omhaithib,  
 bud crúaidh an cith:  
 bud ard an derglasrad  
 sech gach n-ard n-anfosadh,  
 bud borb an balblasair  
 bhías ós an mbith.

- 41 Banc[h]áinti, brethemain,  
 buiden ghér geilleintech  
 go nglór gach gluinn:  
 eiscért[h]ar, aoirfaigher,<sup>1)</sup>  
 caiscérthar, caolfaidear,  
 traiscérthar, traothfaigher<sup>2)</sup>  
 fon teinidh truim.

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<sup>1)</sup> L. áerfaider.

<sup>2)</sup> L. tráethfaider.

- 42 Budh trūagh an t-achmusān,  
*bud* trom an tūarusgbāil,  
 daerfaider, dingfaigher<sup>1)</sup>  
 fon teinigh<sup>2)</sup> trēin:  
 mnā drūtha demnata,  
 drūith *ocus* drohcainte,  
 dāescarslūag dic[h]oimsech  
 an domain déin.
- 43 Na drochrigha<sup>3)</sup> dibechea  
 dīmaithe dīmsacha  
 nāch geibeann comairle  
 nā cert nā cōir:  
 rostollfad<sup>4)</sup> an trēnlasair,  
 nostesgfa an trēnoidhred,<sup>5)</sup>  
 nī dhamhann mesrugud  
 asa<sup>6)</sup> mōrdhail móir.
- 44 Mairg dona cristaidhibh  
 nāch comhuill compánacht  
 gemadh cerd cīrmuire  
 nō cennaighe crūaidh:  
 fili cidh feithemail  
 nach oide firdhlighidh  
 fuilit asin<sup>7)</sup> rothinidh  
 rolasraig rūaid.
- 45 Na rīghna romhiadhacha<sup>8)</sup>  
 rosgmalla rogheala  
 robreg beg derlaigitt  
 do Chrīst roscinn:  
 cé beth da lánáille,  
 acht man bad lāndercaig,  
 a laithe an chrīarta<sup>9)</sup>  
*bud* crann leo a cinn.
- 46 C . . . . irt<sup>10)</sup>  
 cliara ciūil, cornaire,

<sup>1)</sup> *L.* dingfaider.<sup>2)</sup> *L.* teinid.<sup>3)</sup> *L.* drochrig.<sup>4)</sup> *L.* rostollfa.<sup>5)</sup> *L.* trēnoigred.<sup>6)</sup> *L.* 'sa.<sup>7)</sup> *L.* 'sin.<sup>8)</sup> *L.* romlādcha.<sup>9)</sup> *gen.* von criathrad.<sup>10)</sup> Vom Buchbinder abgeschnitten.

ceitherna cūainbérla  
 cách cena atchí[d]:  
 a durn an Duilemhan  
 do réir a dhúthrachta  
 dílfaidher, dingébhthar  
 gach duine díbh.

- 47 Dáilfidher, doirtfighear<sup>1)</sup>  
 deoch báis don buidhin-sin,  
 bíaidh sgol aga<sup>2)</sup> scribobthar  
 bud scribhtha an sgél:  
 taisigeacht trēnfeithech,  
 tūatha gan trōcair[i],  
 taca gan tidhlucud,  
 don Trīnōid trēin.

- 48 Trēd muincech mīnālainn,  
 mná slemna sādhaile,  
 sāeth lim-sa an ainīarmairt  
 bías dóib Iar tain:  
 mná dúra díthlecha,  
 díthles an degmuinnter  
 dognīad gach urobair  
 amuigh isa<sup>3)</sup> toigh.

- 49 Disgaireacht n-aiginta  
 olc dona sagartaib,  
 sechmullad forcedail,  
 feis frisna mnáib:  
 egnaidh nāch ernāigt[h]ech,  
 airc[h]innech ēgerāibt[h]ech,  
 espuig ag adhaltras,  
 ag meallad an<sup>4)</sup> grāidh.

- 50 Olc dona brēgairib,  
 bíaidh úair na achmusān,  
 nīsfóirfe an brēgairecht,  
 bud ēg re n-ēg:  
 soiscēla sūaithenta,  
 siredh a samradaib,

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<sup>1)</sup> L. doirtfidher.

<sup>2)</sup> L. 'ga.

<sup>3)</sup> L. 'sa.

<sup>4)</sup> Auszulassen.

slithemnacht, selgaireacht,  
sanntugud sed.

- 51 Sil Ādhaim anfoclaig,  
adhbhal an toichestal,  
trēnrī rustimaírgfe,  
tiucfa da réir:  
mac Muire mínmála,  
mōрмаor na mōrdála,  
mōr in trēd timsaidhis<sup>1)</sup>  
thall ōsin tsléib.
- 52 Tiucfad fan toic[h]istal  
gach trēn, gach toghaide,  
gach trúadh,<sup>2)</sup> gach tuisnidhe  
tuisnighes tall:  
gach beó robeoghaighedh  
biaidh isin bfiadnaise,  
biaidh Éua an imarbuis,  
biaidh Ādham ann.
- 53 Adhbhal an imirci  
d'innsaíde<sup>3)</sup> a n-aonbaile,  
daradha<sup>4)</sup> an t-aodhaire<sup>5)</sup>  
tiucfa an gair fúair<sup>6)</sup>:  
taispénfa, toígeba  
a t[h]aob don tsochaidhe,  
bíð turrtacht tromc[h]aingne,  
bíð trom don tslúadh.<sup>7)</sup>
- 54 Féchfaider(?), taigéraidh  
bretheam brechtnaidhe (sic),  
brethem an brēclaithi  
úair a mbia an bráth:  
biaidh ina c[h]ertfar[r]adh  
in c[h]roch risar certaighedh,  
biaidh arna certugud,  
noscife cách.

<sup>1)</sup> L. timsaiges.

<sup>2)</sup> L. doraga.

<sup>3)</sup> L. tslúag.

<sup>4)</sup> L. trúag.

<sup>5)</sup> L. áegaire.

<sup>6)</sup> L. d'innsaige.

<sup>7)</sup> L. úar.

- 55 *Dobera a muintera*  
 doc[h]um an mesraigthi,  
 dodéna<sup>1)</sup> an mesrugud,  
 mó inā gach ord:  
 ongfaid na heclasa,  
 baithfid na pec[th]acha,  
 nosbruithfe an bréfine  
 bréclsrach borb.
- 56 *Dobera a deiscipla*  
 for a dess n-espulaigh,  
 co mbíad ina<sup>2)</sup> fiadnaise  
 uime siu is tall:  
 slúadh<sup>3)</sup> talman trenadhbail,  
 dām ifrinn fúarangmaid,<sup>4)</sup>  
 slúadh<sup>3)</sup> nime naomainglig,  
 aob aiblidh<sup>5)</sup> ann.
- 57 *Aos tiucfa díbh-sidhe*  
 do dreim na heiseirgi  
 gan urchra ar aonduine  
 d'fir nō do mnāi min:  
 comaós comc[h]osmaile  
 gan coimmēid n-aonordlaig  
 d'esbaid nō d'imarchraid<sup>6)</sup>  
 ar duine dib.
- 58 *Adre frach<sup>7)</sup> firbrátha*  
 . . . . .<sup>8)</sup>  
 [bud] feidhm nāch fulaingther,  
 budh ferg, bud fūath:  
 robrāth na breictheinedh,  
 robrigh na borblasrach  
 resi.. bra . . . . .  
 . . . nach lūath.
- 59 *Lacha ocus lūathaibne*  
 budh rolūath loiscfider,  
 lasfaidh an lānfairrgi  
 lānainfech<sup>9)</sup> leir:

<sup>1)</sup> *L. dogéna.*<sup>4)</sup> *L. úarangbaid.*<sup>7)</sup> *L. fráech?*<sup>2)</sup> *L. 'na.*<sup>5)</sup> *L. aiblech.*<sup>8)</sup> *Abgeschnitten.*<sup>3)</sup> *L. slúag.*<sup>6)</sup> *L. immarcruid.*<sup>9)</sup> = *lānainbthech.*

dréchtfaid an dubhalamh  
re dreich na daimt[h]einedh,  
beg nāchar taithmighedh  
don teinidh tréin.

- 60 Tarmgal na troimt[h]einedh,  
achar na troime[h]inadh,  
tūairgnech na tromchloidhimh  
bid tend don tslūagh:  
atré an doigh derglasrach  
assa tig tolgasnach,  
bīaidh an bith [b]orbamsach  
ina brisc brūar.

- 61 Bert[h]ar de an buidean-sa,  
bīaidh ina bithfāsach  
gan beó, gan baistedach  
aram bith<sup>1)</sup> (c)āemh cé:  
ésca ní faicfidher,  
uathmar an fārmēirge,  
grīan gan a grīanēirge,  
gidh glan a gnē.

- 62 Gairfitit, grechaidhitt<sup>2)</sup>  
le guth an Duilemain<sup>3)</sup>  
an tan adera-samh  
'dingmaidh<sup>4)</sup> as ūaim!'  
An teglach trēdamhail  
tēit ōn c[h]iul (c)antamail  
isin treibh n-íchtaraigh  
n-ithmaraigh nfuair.<sup>5)</sup>

- 63 Nertugud n-aigenta  
do neoch risa n-aibéra,  
budh naomda an imdegail,  
nī bfuidhbed<sup>6)</sup> bās:  
tēighed na bendachtaigh  
don bith blāith bithsuthain  
co mbīad a mbithbethaid  
gan brōn, gan bās.

<sup>1)</sup> *L.* ar bith.

<sup>4)</sup> *L.* dingbaid.

<sup>2)</sup> *L.* grēchfaidit.

<sup>5)</sup> *L.* n-ūair.

<sup>3)</sup> *L.* Dúleman.

<sup>6)</sup> *L.* fuigbed.

- 64 Bud iar mbúaidh mbrethamhnais  
adēra an t-aithesg-so  
Isu rea firencha  
‘im[th]ighid lemm!’  
Moc[h]en da tegēma  
do neoch (r)uscreidēba  
ūair noch a n-aibēra  
nech nī bus ferr.
- 65 A haithli an mesraigt[h]i  
mesfus an mōrc[h]oimdi,  
mogēnair goirfe-san  
chuige co cīan:  
as maig rosdīultfa-san  
do neoch nāch dēchfa-san,  
as maig rosbrēgfa-san  
an brēg a mbiad.
- 66 Mogēnair goirfi-san,  
mogēnar doglanfa-san,<sup>1)</sup>  
mogēnar docarfa-san<sup>2)</sup>  
cart[h]ain roclos:  
do neoch dīb tachtfā-san  
bīaidh nem ag a nochtadh-son,  
bīaidh aga mbochtaibh-san  
gidh bochta abos.
- 67 Rīsum, roaitreabum  
aonta[id] na n-arcaingel  
as ferr an trāth tartamar  
go Dīa fodéin:  
nī roith nā hanurnaidh  
nā sār nā sragellad  
nāi ngrādh na nglanaingeal  
rodaingen reill.
- 68 Ar aon romc[h]ertaighfe,  
ar aon romc[h]umdaighfe,  
ar aon romnertaigfe  
ar nem is ar lār:

<sup>1)</sup> L. glanfa-san.<sup>2)</sup> L. charfa-san.

Rí an ríched<sup>1)</sup> roglana  
 rodelb gach n-anmanna  
 'san eglus talmánda  
 don dechmad grádh.

- 69 Guidhem-ne, guidhed-san  
 ar Christ ar cennabaid,  
 co tuillem bennachtain  
 ōn *Spirut Nāem*:  
 nāi ngrād na gnāthśairsi  
*bud* fāl fam naomhaib-si,  
*bud* hī an baidh brāithreisi  
 beith dūinn mar aon.

- 70 Ar aon romfoigēba,  
 ar aon romfregēra,  
 ar aon romtoigēba  
 do t[h]oigh Dē deis:  
 Dīa fein romfūarustar,  
 Dīa fein romfēgustar,  
 as leir romlegustar,  
 leghfamaid leis.

- 71 Ar liaidh,<sup>2)</sup> ar lānbreithem,  
 ar lānrī, ar lānc[h]leirech,  
 ar lubgort lānmilis,  
 ar lestar d' ōr:  
 ar ndelb ar derglassrad,  
 . . . . . ius,  
 diadacht am dānnachta,  
 daennacht am dīa. Dīa.

- 72 Mōgēnair cristaidhe  
 choidhc[h]i nocomailfe  
 comairli an tsoiscēla,  
 taithmech na trāth  
 umla *ocus* inisli,  
 idna *ocus* in[n]racus,  
 eglaise d'athighe,  
 dīlgadh do c[h]ách.

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<sup>1)</sup> *L.* ríchid.

<sup>2)</sup> *L.* liaig.



- 73 Cennsa *ocus* sochraidecht,  
 cæmdúdracht, cāinbēsa,  
 coibeis rēil reithenach  
 re trēn, re trúagh:  
 dēra re deiblenaib,  
 dēra co dúthrachtach,  
 dúthracht co tighnacul<sup>1)</sup>  
 do t[h]abairt uadh.
- 74 Dermad ar dubailchib,<sup>2)</sup>  
 druim risna drochgráduib,  
 dílsi gach acabair,  
 ēdach do nocht:  
 mogénair gnáthaighes,  
 bíd grema an gnáthugad,  
 gemnaideacht gnáthmaorda,  
 bláthc[h]aomna bocht.
- 75 Biaidh tan bus tabachtach  
 an tríar-sa thuirmim-si  
 dontí ga bfuighbithér,  
 bíd ferdi a díl:  
 an dimus d'ingabáil,  
 an deoch donn itadhach,  
 an almsa incleithi  
 don fírbocht fír.
- 76 Egnaid óg irnaigt[h]ech,  
 espug mór mīnbrethach,  
 Martain na mórdéirci,  
 maith cách roc[h]inn!  
 ferdi do deismirecht,  
 serc duine ar daonc[h]aire,  
 serc Dē ar dáidh díaghachta,<sup>3)</sup>  
 dešerc do seirc.
- 77 In drem roscuimeodhbad  
 ón c[h]ineöl tānaisti  
 a laithi an c[h]oimeirgi,  
 bíd caomha a cuirp:

<sup>1)</sup> *L.* tidnacul.<sup>2)</sup> *L.* duailchib.<sup>3)</sup> *L.* ar dáig díadachta.

- an oig do aiselbad  
 asuim na haithrighe,  
 éoin aca d'a[th]aithris,  
 nī haithris uilc.
- 78 Oirecht na haithrighi  
 for imt[h]ūs n-ardabsdul,  
 drem dīb dan anaithnigh,<sup>1)</sup>  
 drem dīb dan eōl:  
 nī hāil an athc[h]aolad,  
 fir is mnā maccaoma,  
 Pedar ag a n-athtaoba  
 doc[h]um an eōil.
- 79 Dēra dognīaad-san  
 go dīmōr dī[f]regra,  
 denam-ne an degaithris,  
 ūair dlegar dinn:  
 trēigim an tūarusbāil  
 ar tīr na Trīnōidi,  
 tabramar tūarustail,  
 tabrum ar ndīlmuine  
 do Rīgh na righ.
- 80 Righnaide an t-ordugud  
 fuil ag na naomōghaib  
 do neoch dīb asselbus  
 oighe gan acht:  
 Muire ag a laighedh-san,  
 Muire 'ga mūnadh-san,  
 maith le-si muinnterda  
 mōra 'ga mac.
- 81 Muinnter an mōrc[h]oimded  
 'ma Michēl n-arcaingel,  
 nocha n-ē an banc[h]aingen  
 berar ar cūl:  
 co mbīaidh ag cathugud  
 ar aon re caithmīl/dīb<sup>2)</sup>  
 tar cenn gach enduine  
 re deman dūr.

<sup>1)</sup> *L. anaichnid.*<sup>2)</sup> *L. cathmīlid.*

82 Tēgad dom tsaoradh-sa,  
 nā lēgat m' aoradh-sa,  
 bīd agam naomadh-sa  
 da muintē mē:  
 dream dona deiblenaaib (*sic*),  
 drem dona deisciplaib,  
 d' ainglib bas astaraigh  
 d' absdalaibh Dē. Dīa mór.

### *Die Helden von Emain Macha.*

Mongān mac Fiachna cecinit do thecosc<sup>1)</sup> a athar.

*Aus Rawlinson B. 502, S. 158.*

- 1 A Fiachnae, nā rāid in gæ, is buidech Dīa do cach fīr,  
 bretha cōra for cach dāil, is ed dlegair do cach rīg.
- 2 Mad cumma ech ocus ech, mad mē nothecmad oc rath,  
 madat comluatha frim les, nīmliūaidfed mes(?) ara ūdath.
- 3 Doine bātar sunn co se for bruinnib Emna Mache,  
 mad dia nostised taithlech, a nhūabur isim aithrech.
- 4 Fergus mac Leite in rī nolūaided cairptiu ar Machi,  
 Ulaid cen ēcnach, cen on dia ēis rosgab Conchobor.
- 5 Nochon do biuc bæ dia brīg, ba ferr Conchobor cach rīg,  
 acht in Rī rodelb in sam, coimdiu nime ocus talman.
- 6 Ba fial Cacht mac Ilguine, ba suithe[h]erna fria guide,  
 mad ar a būar cessed nech, roindfed a chrod i certleth.
- 7 Ropu chalmu læchaib Lūar bale i comraiced cach slūag,  
 is ē bas genaige tra cach duine nāchacūala.
- 8 Meicc beca nī geibtis eill do Muinremur mac Geirrceind,  
 menad leis oc ūaim a brond tan naigonta i cath comthrom.
- 9 Nochon fuilgitis na liūin buille Fergusa fortriūin,  
 nodaimtis cauraid cāra do mac Roāich rodāna.
- 10 Dā hūa Roāich rūamna gass Illann ocus Ilarchass,  
 trī hūi Chleite, comol ūglē, Hiruth, Hūath is Aislingthe.
- 11 Macne Conchobuir ind rīg, la Ulta ba mōr a mbrīg,  
 nī rothimchell cath nā crech nōnbur ardosāraigfed.
- 12 Cormac Con Loingess don Lāind, Fiachna, Glaisne ocus  
 Conaing,  
 Maine, Cuscraid, comol ūglē, Findchad, Fiachu, Furbaide.

<sup>1)</sup> thecoscose MS.

- 13 Clann Amargin ercetha chned, Conall Cernnach a sinser,  
Mess Dē is Mess Dedaid dian, Lægaire, Cass, moam bid bían.
- 14 Trí meicc Fiachrach a Cúailnge, cethern nobid fri húaibre,  
fri gail nī cōimclōitis dath, Ross is Dāre is Findchad.
- 15 Nī facbaitis nī dia n-urd macne Durthecht a mMurbulg,  
is cian ō thānic a rrē, Eogan, Crimthan, Congal Clē.
- 16 Macne Uislenn, ard a ūgus, maith a teglachus hi fus,  
reithitis caurach dar sāl Nōisse is Aindle is Arddān.
- 17 Ibar coicthi cinnas lat? ocus trí meicc Ríangabrat,  
Foroll ōn tuind, trēn a ferg, Conall cuinnid, Áed ōderg.
- 18 Fer robæ sund fria sella Bricriu noithech neimtheŋga,  
dī cich mnā nochlōitis leis, ba meiti nosimrestais.
- 19 Ailill Milteŋga nād mair, is dia innisin nomfail,  
fir domain dia ndelbtais cath, ba derb ardosidaigfed.
- 20 Gilla nobid sunn innu diarbu chomainm Caulind [Cū],  
robæ a hūamun in cach airm, co mair a ainm in cach dū.
- 21 Is lia a turim ar cach dail, is leōr sin dia tūarascbail,  
nochon fūaratar fria rē slūag fo nim dia n-ergaire.
- 22 Dia mbātar i nEmuin ūais muinte Conchobuir co crūais,  
triār as cach cōiciud cain daimtis cert d'ōenfiur d'Ultaib.
- 23 Roscāchatar sin uile, nocho mair dīb ōenduine,  
is erchraidi in domun dāi, cid nāch déice, a Fiachnai. A.

### *Zwiesgespräch*

#### *zwischen MacLiac und Irard MacCoisse.*

*Aus B. IV, 2, fo. 89b.*

- [M. L.] 1 Marthain duit, a Ioraird féil, a meic Coisi co ccáim-  
c[e]íll,  
as mithidh dúinn tocht d'ar ttoigh, atámaid i fus bliadh-  
ain.
- 2 Gidh goiritt let-sa accus lind an denus sin i nDuibblind,  
as faide le Brian Banba gan eistecht rem urlabhra.
- 3 Gan sceċla mac Miledh mōr is Tūath Dē Danann drechmōr,  
gan a cċloistecht cend i ccend gabhāla airdriogh [n]Ērenn.
- 4 As faide damh-sa buċein beith ind-eċcmais Briain blāith-  
reidh,  
beith ind-eċcmais Conaing c[h]ais is Mhurchaid meic Briain  
bratmhais.

- 5 Cindus do bheind-si i mbethaid ind-éccmais Dál cCais  
creachaig,  
ind-éccmais a n-óir 's a n-each, gan port na læch, gan  
Luimnech?
- 6 Ní do bhreith ar Leth Cuinn caomh, a mheic Coisi, a sóer-  
chlann sær,  
acht fúarass cech maith amuigh, nocharb i an mhaith gan  
marthain.
- [I.] 7 Marthain duit, a meic Liag lāin, romōr mholadh teallaigh  
Tāil,  
crēd th'onōir ó Dhál ccaoin cCais innis dúinn fōs co bfech-  
mais.
- [M. L.] 8 As liom-sa lethlāmh Bhrīain Bhregh sech gach flidh,  
sech cech fer,  
tosach fothraiccthi re bfeidh, tosach cuirn, tosach cuiridh.
- 9 Dā sirinn a meic nō a mnā ar an laochraid sin rem lá,  
dofuicfedis tes 'gom thoigh rea marbadh nó réa marthain.
- [I.] 10 Ní fúarais maith, a mheic Liacc, far mholta dhuit idir iad,  
mās éiccen duit ní d'iarraid ar Dhál cCais rot coimhriaraig.
- [M. L.] 11 Dar leis an uisseōice mōna, a fir do Leith C[h]uinn  
crōdha,  
as si féin ar imell raith as ferr innell don enlaith.
- [I.] 12 Nocha n-anfadh sibh cot écc ac moladh Dail cCais na  
ccéd,  
dā bfangtha i lLeith Mogha amuicch m'onōir-si i lLeith  
C[h]uinn c[h]ēdaig.
- 13 Do luidhes lā ō T[h]eamhraigh co teach Eachlach meic  
Ardgail,  
dob ē ar lion ar tteacht ōr tticch, cōicer ar ceithri fichtib.
- 14 Do cluin Eochaid i nEamuin misi do t[h]echt ō T[h]emuir,  
tāinicc trī cōecait fer fionn ō mūr Eamhna na móirdionn.
- 15 Soichmitt-ne co Dún Dealga, co baile Con na cerda,  
dogheibhmit ann-sin an slūag Uladh im Eochaid armrúadh.
- 16 Éirgis cuccainn an flaith féin, ferais fáilte úasail eimh,  
domrucc ar a mhuin don mūr no go rānag an ríoghdhūn.
- 17 Ní má ar gabāil ar lāmha ūaind, ar Ulaidh an agha,  
nā tāngabhair fer gach fir dúin da mbreith isin mbruigin.
- 18 Ticc días im gach n-aoinfer ūaind do dhál fFiatach an  
fiorsluaigh  
ar righthibh, a[r] formnaibh fer ronruccadh isin righthegh.

- 19 Trí *cōecait* each sríanbrecc seng fúarus an lá sin, dar lem,  
do chorcair, do ghorm, do ghlas trí *cōecait* brat bláith barrechass.
- 20 Targaidh ar sin ar Sliabh Fúaid mac Ardgaill, an sárchlann  
súaire,  
gach ré mboin, ní becc an crodh, ótá Liounglais co Lughmagh.
- 21 Tucc a ionar súaichnuidh sróil co cciomhsaibh arceait is óir,  
tucc a each, tucc a fálaigh co secing ccorra ccotharaigh.
- 22 Ní áirmhim a leth nó a thrían gach a fúaras ó sin siar,  
gidh chuicce téighinn da thoigh ropadh maith mór re a  
marthain.
- [M. L.) 23 As fir duit-si, a mhic Coisi, nāch comhmaith neach  
anoisi  
accus fer do Leth C[h]uinn c[h]aíd dh acht Brián Luimnig ó  
Lorcáin.
- [I.] 24 Romhoch adere, a deighfir, a mic Liacc an láineinigh,  
co ccluintea mo thoise do thoigh Taidg mic Cathail a  
Crúachain.
- 25 Lá damh i tTailltin tredaig re taebh Maelsechlainn sēdaigh,  
co toracht cusin flaith fial eachradh Uladh is Oirghiall.
- 26 Each ciar ó Cherbhall mac Brain, rí Oirghiall an ghaisceidh  
ghloin,  
ech odhar Innrechtaiḡ eimh, rí Ūa Meith gusan móirmein.
- 27 Each geal Mongáin mic Mórna, rí Ua nEchdach cen dogra,  
ech buidhe Catháin cēt gníomh, each donn Eachdach an  
aírdriogh.
- 28 Each gorm hūi Faeláin an áigh, rí Murtheimhne co mórgráin,  
each dubh rígh Line slúagaig, Flainn mic Cathail cathbhua-  
dhaigh.
- 29 Arna ttecht i tTailltin trein adubhairt an rí co reidh:  
tucc a ttrí roicchne re a roinn, do mhac Coisi re a ccomhroinn.
- 30 Dobhādus selat im thoct, noch a dubart maith nā ole,  
ann adubairt an flaith fein: 'do dlistea, a Ioraird, th'aimhréir'.
- 31 Adubart-sa co dergna re hairdri[g] triathach Temhra:  
'lucht mo riartha ba recht lais do beith accom 'na éccmais'.
- 32 Do eirigh suas co sotla, do iarr a each go hocla,  
dochuaid uirre, nír an rind, go Loch n-úarthondach nAindind.
- 33 Do gabadh m'ech damh budein, doíacbus clann nárach Néill,  
accus ní dhechus da druim go ránacc siar tar Sionuind.
- 34 Soichim-si co Tadg triathach, nocharbh é an fuiche fiachach,  
noch a raibhe ar sin sēna, innisim dó mh'airdsgela.

- 35 Ann adubairt rim-sa an ri cosnamhach tighe Dathí:  
'mairce do iarr ar fer ndána altachud a édála!')  
36 Nár lór dó bheith co buidhech?' adubairt ri na ruirech,  
gar bhecc naidh do chomha ar crodh, gan a dhiomdha do denomh.  
37 Tucc cōecait each fa ech ngorm, cōicait fail is cōecait corn,  
cōecait léine, cōecait lend dorad dam-sa Tadhg taoibhseng.  
38 Tucc cōecait damh re hūair n-air, tucc fithcell Branān meic  
Brain,  
tucc an flaith fuair cech n-éiccin cloidemh coscrach Ceind-  
eidigh.  
39 Toingim don Rígh domroighne, as derbh romcluín an Coimdhe,  
nár thothlaighius búar na brat ar in rígh gusa rānace.  
40 Do dheōnaighius do T[h]adhg trēn do chuingidh na laoch ceu lén,  
dol ar cend mo bó 's mo brat co slōgh Temrach ō tānacc.  
41 Adubairt Tadhg foltchas fionn: 'as fiu ole a rāidhe riom,  
ga ferr duit crodh Temhra thoir inās an crodh-sa im Chrū-  
achain?  
42 Mas ferr let do chéle féin, fíos ar a c[h]end co cloinn Néill,  
ní riefā a les maith anoir accus meisi do mharthoin.'  
43 Conn cēdc[h]athach cloinne Cuinn, Tadhg coscrach a Crūachain  
cuirr,  
Conall ōs feraibh d'iomghuin, eo Rosa ōs gach ríghfíodhbhaidh.  
44 Mo Themhair drongach daoinech, mh'Uisnech álainn iol-  
mhaoinech,  
mo muir-sí sīar Tadhg tend, mo slābh árd ōs gach íseall.  
45 Mo mhíol mór ōs na maighribh, mo muir-sí ōsna mionaibhnibh,  
mo thonn co flait[h]ibh an fer, mo naithir lonn, mo leomhan.  
46 Bennacht ūaim ar Tadhg tūathach, ar an mlídh mareslūaghach,  
lāmh tar Luimneach gach tráth toir, bráth na Muimneach  
a mharthoin.  
47 Bendacht orra macaibh, mnáibh, do siol Muiredhaigh an máil,  
nā rabhat gan rath ríghē a meic 'nāit a móirdhíne.  
48 Míne 'na laochaibh lonna, míre 'nāit na morthonda.  
mór a ngnūs ōs cūasaibh corn, sochla nās an mhuir mōrghorm.  
49 Ferr an slūagh-sa im Chrūachain chuirr inās slūagh an talman  
truim,  
ferr fōs an flaith aga fíuil mar a mbia maith ar marthain.

1) Von hier bis zu Ende hat O. Bergin die Freundlichkeit gehabt die Handschrift für mich abzuschreiben.

- 50 Marthain do Maol-Ruanaidh rán, do mhac Taidhg da ndenaim  
dán,  
co raibh 'con carait romc[h]ar mac ind-ionat an athar.  
51 Marthain do Thadhg ó Cheallaigh, codhnach an ri go rendaibh,  
nā raibh re a lind an flaith fir gan maith *accus* gan marthain.  
52 Go ris co Ciarān Cluana gusna ceōla rochūala,  
go mber isin flaith i bfuil mar i mbia maith ar marthain.  
Marthain.

[*Mac Liac .cc.*]*Aus B. IV. 2, fo. 151a.*

- 1 Samhoin so, sodham<sup>1)</sup> go Tadhg tar Echtge na n-ard 's na n-áth,  
tar Ard Soghain,<sup>2)</sup> tar Magh Maoin, tar Druim nDaol is tar  
Druim Ráth.  
2 Tar Sruth Dā Loilghech na ndrúadh, tar Caille na Sluag  
re seal,  
ō Leith Mogha go Leith Cuinn, cūairt ō Luimnech go Druim  
nDen.  
3 Tar Dūn Urscátha na n-arm, tar an carn 'gar thuit an trīar,  
tar Dūn ac Loduin go moch, laim re gach loch go Loch Riach.  
4 Trīallam isin tīr bot[h]úaidh ō fein glúair d'ibh Caisil Cuirc,  
ō Brian as díon da gach droing, ō Chenn Choradh, ō chloinn  
Luirc.  
5 Ní tre diomdha ar clandaib Tāil dar laimh Briain na ccloidemh  
slim,<sup>3)</sup>  
fodero damh dul bot[h]úaid, acht grādh Taidg leis nāch fuath  
sind.  
6 Leithbliadhoin damh is tīr tīar ag Brian ar Sionainn, ar Siúir,  
is biad leithbliadhain oile ag Tadhg in Ath Luain ina bard siúil.  
7 Ní frith leithbliadain budh ferr, ní ruccadh geall cloinne Cais,  
na dā ráithe-si ó chloinn Tāil do droing dán dáil feidm re frais.  
8 O chettsamhain dam i bfus go tteile gach dos dlaoi da clúimh,  
biad ó hsamhain is tīr thúaidh go gairm don chuaich ós dloimh  
dúin.  
9 Anois tig cadhun tar cūan, taod éigne ar súan re sruth nglan,  
ricc<sup>4)</sup> gach en a adhba gnáth, ticc mo thráth ō ticc an samh.

<sup>1)</sup> = sagham.<sup>2)</sup> *ccorr nō slim MS.*<sup>3)</sup> *sodhain MS.*<sup>4)</sup> *ricci MS.*



- 10 Do áirmhius *nōi* fichit scíath do beit[h] gom thríat[h] tre goil  
ngaírg,<sup>1)</sup>  
gan scíath díbh acht scíath rig ráin arna tuitim re laim Taidg.
- 11 Adubairt Murchadh mac Broin: 'A mic Liag ō thoigh na ttriath,  
Tadg ō Ceallaig, gid ceim nirt, ní leigfind fein leis mo scíath'.
- 12 Do raidhius ris 'na thoigh óil, begān glóir do budh mōr neimh:  
'Ní gēbadh uaid Tadg<sup>2)</sup> mo thríath gan do scíath is gan do  
sleigh'.
- 13 Do ráidh slúag Laigen go léir, ca drong as féile inás iatt?  
'Iomarbáigh<sup>3)</sup> ní fuil bar n-ord, nā freccroidh go borb Mac  
Líag!'
- 14 Ar in tres laithe ō sin sūas, lór a lúas, ráinic a fíos,  
dob ē an t-aithiuse gusmhor garg dochūala Tadg sin 'ga lioss.
- 15 A riocht amhois doriacht Tadhg, ní thuicc lais laoi ch, ní thard  
coin,  
ar cách nochar cóir a cleith, doríacht do dúnadh mic Broin.
- 16 Comrac aoinfir do iarr Tadg ar in ngeal ngarcc nār[bo] thréith,  
'Ní thiubor' ar Murchadh mer, 'ar son dá sleg ocus scéith.
- 17 A ccomrac da ttuitinn let, duit ní démthaoi cert fam c[h]jenn,  
da ttuitéa, a T[h]aidg, is becc secath, adérdáis cách gomadh  
feall'.
- 18 Scíath clochdond go ccomhraibh óir, dā sleigh Murchaidh, fa  
mōr neimh,  
nocharb ē an ghiolla gan arm iodlaict[h]er le Tadg da thigh.
- 19 A cceinel Eogain mic Neill doríac[h]tus fein ō thigh Taidg,  
ō Maol Doroidh do fúair sinn ar binn ōs Loch Feabail aird.
- 20 Fliuch gach slíab is ard gach benn, aimhréidh gach glenn, garbh  
gach mín,  
le mac Ruaidne doráidh sind: 'aithríoch linn techt in bor tír'.
- 21 'Aenaide[h]i dom aimdeōin fein', ar Maol Ruaidne reidh nāch  
gann,  
'na áonlá ge mōr ré a mess ní biad rí ō Ess anall'.
- 22 Do ráidius re mac Uí Neill, re Maol Ruaidhne fa reidh rinn,  
re macaomh laoch Leithe Cuinn focal nāchar thuill a gciond.
- 23 'Is grema duit nāch é Tadhg do comharsa garcc do gnāth,  
damadh é, ní tiubrainn dō láogh nā bō a ccomhoid sech cách.

<sup>1)</sup> Hier bezieht sich Mac Liag auf das unten S. 227 abgedruckte Gedicht.

<sup>2)</sup> tadg uaid MS.

<sup>3)</sup> iomarbaidh MS.

- 24 Trí haidche garbo a nGlenn Gerg do bí Tadg re glór an fíir,  
gan tionnabhradh, tréagh an feidhm, do bádhús fein ann faris.
- 25 Cland Conaill, síol Eogain aird ruccsat ar Tadg a nGlenn Gerg,  
secht ccatha dóibh druim ar druim do c[h]lannaibh Cuinn nár  
maol ferg.
- 26 'Ge dorónsat tionól trom clanna Conoill na ccorc ccam,  
ar ndula Meic Liag 'na ndáil innis dáibh gorab mé Tadg.
- 27 Is mé Tadg ó tteichenn<sup>1)</sup> cách, is meisi Tadg ó Áth Lúain,  
is mé Tadhg atá a nGlenn Gercc, is mé Tadg do bern bhar  
slúaigh.
- 28 Bíaidh orm ga aithris tarm eis, maradh le cloinn Neill tre tár,  
nách mó lémad tocht na ccend ná dul a nGlend Gerg go bráth'.
- 29 Glúaisim tricha dom scoil fein re techtairecht reidh mo rígh,  
nir céilis a ndubairt Tadg, ar clandoibh Neill fa hard gníomh.
- 30 Fiuchais ferc Mhaol Rúaidhni reid is Aodho úi Neill, fa hárd  
úailh,  
go rachad dalta Dál cCais beó tar ais tar Eirni úair.<sup>2)</sup>
- 31 Clann Conaill, síol Eoghoin Móir, secht ccatha dóibh, fa céim  
ard,  
eirgitt re hanfadh a ffercc do dhul a nGlenn Gercc ar Tadhg.
- 32 Gairmther caismirt reidh mo rígh, gor éirigh síol Maine móir,  
im Gadhro, im Choncobhar, Clíach, im rígh Soghain<sup>3)</sup> na scíath  
n-óir.
- 33 Im rígh Éile na n-ech n-ard, im rígh Delbhna dar balbh sreabh,  
im rígh Urmuman ó chrích Táil, im rígh bFer cCeall ag dáil  
slegh.
- 34 Im rígh Breifne ó Gulbain Guirt, im clannoibh Moga Ruith  
reidh,  
's um Conmaicne na ccolcc gcaol teid gach laoch ar cúl a sceith.
- 35 Ón laithe sin a nGlend Gercc ní raibhe ag rígh dar derg cnedh  
muinnter mar muintir mo rígh Taidg úi Cheallaigh re sníomh  
slegh.
- 36 A ndaingen nochar an sé, glúaisis co cloinn Neill da deóin,  
ceim troighed ag dul re hard beiris Tadg a gconne an tslóig.
- 37 Cromait clanna Neill fan cath, cromais mac Moire ó Magh  
Maoin,  
bloghait<sup>4)</sup> sceith is corcrait croind, scoltait ceinn is tollait  
taoibh.

<sup>1)</sup> tteithenn MS.<sup>2)</sup> sodhain MS.<sup>3)</sup> fúair MS.<sup>4)</sup> blodhait MS.

- 38 Dar láimh Briain is cloinne Taid, dar an mbethoidh a ttā mac Dē,  
nochar gabhadh re láimh Taidg in gach aird dar imthigh sé.
- 39 Deic[h]neabor is fiche *cét*, is é a fíor is ní bréce dhamh,  
do c[h]annaibh Neill na ndrech ngorm do thuit le colg Taidg  
'sa treas.
- 40 Brister an cath ar cloinn Neill, gabthar ann Maol Rúanaidh  
réidh,  
beirmit a mbroid is a mbúar linn tar Eirne úair<sup>1)</sup> da eis.
- 41 Losccadh longport Briain bodeas le cloinn Conaill go cenes  
nglan,  
ar nert cloidhem<sup>2)</sup> is sciath gil do dighail Taidg sin re samh.
- 42 'Bí', ar Taidg re Maol Rúanaid réid, 'a cCionn Coradh fan leir magh  
i ngeimel Taidg na *cét* ngnímh ó shamhoin nogo ttí samh'.
- 43 Doradois Maol Seac[h]lainn saor Fergal ó Rúairc is Aodh Breg  
i ngeimhil rígh Rosa Crē a meic Moire dana dé samh.
- 44 Eochaid mac Ardgoil na n-each, Murchad mac Brain do c[h]rech  
magh,  
tuccais i ngeimil Briain Breg mac Bē binn dar fled samh.
- 45 Ó beltaine don taoibh tes rachad go Brián na nderc glan,  
ag Murc[h]adh fa n-íadand slóg bet ag ól no go ttí samh.
- 46 Mo chíos ó Mhurchad mac Briain, ó C[h]onaing, ó C[h]ian  
romc[h]ar,  
trí céd uinge d'ór ní r eniocht, trí *cét* bó bliocht gacha samh.
- 47 Mē mac Liag do chengladh síth, ollamh Briain, is as fíor damh,  
is as lem leathgōala mo rígh ó samoin no go ttí samh. Sam.

*Incipit do dūanaib sochair clainne Ceallaig dorinni  
Mac Liag et alii poete do Thadg catha Brīain.*

*Aus Egerton 90, fo. 19a.<sup>3)</sup>*

- 1 Beannacht, a Bruin, ar Brigit, fuil am thig rim nāch anait,  
docuaidh, a Bruin, gan bara mo c[h]ara tar do charaid.
- 2 Cara dam-sa Taidg toirt[h]each da ndenter dān bard ndlig-  
theach,<sup>4)</sup>  
as ē as ferr icht im arthrach, is ē marbthach na minchreach.

<sup>1)</sup> fúair MS.

<sup>2)</sup> cloidhm MS.

<sup>3)</sup> Blatt 19 und 20 dieser Handschrift stammen aus dem Buch von *Húi Maine*.

<sup>4)</sup> ndleteach MS.

- 3 Creac[h]a bega in bheatha eir nāch bī fōir nā fatha,  
as fearr beth ar sgāth airdrig inā fairbrīgh na flatha.
- 4 Mōr tūarastal Taidg taibhseing ō Brīan do bensead geibind,  
etir creich agus cuire a ngeba uile d'Éirind.
- 5 Cinēl Aedha aird eanaigh Í Íarthach guna hoiribh,  
do gab Taidg asa tulaigh curaidh glan ard gach oirir.
- 6 Na trí Conmacni cāma gar mborbślait-ni fa bhūanna,  
im Corcamoroith rāmach dāma fa sona slūagha.<sup>1)</sup>
- 7 Duibtrian Connacht an c[h]agaidh fan drongfolt n-ālaind  
n-abaigh,<sup>2)</sup>  
ō C[h]eanannus gu Gulbain, ferannus cumgaigh cagaigh.
- 8 Í Iart[h]ach gun craein comlan da cinēl Aedha imslā[i]n,  
ō Grēin co Caraidh Cūile ag flaith Duine aird Imgāin.<sup>3)</sup>
- 9 Ō Frēmaind Midhe meadraigh ga fine seghain[n] Sodraigh  
gu Leim Lāra tar linnmuir, fa reim cāna agus coblaigh.
- 10 Muscraige an tíre tríat[h]ach, fond na gríbe gu gnāthach,  
rula<sup>4)</sup> leim Eile bñadach, fin sgeimhe nochar sgāthach.
- 11 Mo c[h]ara-sa Taidg to[g]da gac[h] aird nār gab gu ngaba,  
do thogu-sa brugh bragha dubh docharus a chara.
- 12 Rug da Taidg būar da baile, a Bruin, dang dual a duibe,  
an aird-sea Ū Maistin Mide tug mo T[h]adg-sa ar ais uile.
- 13 Éirghid fo cend mo c[h]reiche dream da teigidh na tart[h]e,  
lucht tige Taidg na taisteal<sup>5)</sup> da tairg gaisced len graifne<sup>6)</sup>.
- 14 Conc[h]ubar ō Mael Ruadnaigh, Mael [S]eachlaind mac Taidg  
tíri[g],  
gēga can tarbha tarraigh, is Gadra dēdla dillig.
- 15 Cathal amuigh a Mēnmach, gilla ar nār laigh a lāmach,  
Taidg Echtge ō Conaill clíarach, fiadach nāch do[dh]aing damach.
- 16 Sil Sogain ar nār seachnadh ca foghail ar nāch fiuchbad?  
ca baramail re mbeanfad re Danaraib do triuchbad.
- 17 Taidg mac Eidighain fáilidh<sup>7)</sup> go hēgeandail nīr fēnnigh,  
Āed ō Donnchada dūanaigh, in cræbh<sup>8)</sup> confada cēillidh.<sup>9)</sup>
- 18 A Goill 's a amais imdha tegaid lem banais mbrogdha  
bet ag digail mo dimdha ar milid<sup>10)</sup> Clidna is Cnogbha.<sup>11)</sup>
- 19 Mac maith ingene Domnaill, in findbile 'ga faghbaim,  
bachaig mo c[h]rod do chomraind do cach dograing dha labraim.

<sup>1)</sup> sluadha MS.<sup>4)</sup> Vielleicht rubi.<sup>7)</sup> failigh MS.<sup>10)</sup> miligh MS.<sup>2)</sup> abaidh MS.<sup>5)</sup> taintéal MS.<sup>8)</sup> cræibh MS.<sup>11)</sup> cnodbha MS.<sup>3)</sup> imdain MS.<sup>6)</sup> graithfine MS.<sup>9)</sup> ceallaig MS.

- 20 Cuilen disi gan duibe ba seisi do cach baile,  
urchar don glōr as gile, mōr Midhe Murc[h]adh Maine.  
21 Do thuill feindid<sup>1)</sup> na findfolt, dō fa cēilligh a ceandacht,  
Tadg noch a cian ōdcondarc da drongfolt ō Brian beannacht. B.  
23 Dogeib ō Chonaing coma, dogeibh ō Murchad meadha,  
a muirnn a craid in crinaigh ibhaidh ar Brian na mbeanna. B.

*Mac Liacs Schildlied.**Aus Egerton 90, fo. 19 a b.*

- 1 Sciath rīgh Gæla, glantar hī! cræba cailce for a cliu!  
[ōen] sciath ar nāi fichtib sciath do fag[b]ad 'gon sciath adciu.  
2 Nī hindsa coindleadh a cuirp, cimsa coirrsleagh for a cailc:  
in lucht bāi 'ga tuba um teirt, ar Cnuc Duma Eirc rop airc.  
3 Mōr sciath rofag[b]ad 'ga fir, mōr cliath cathad fa mbi gol,  
mōr crīch ar cach leath rolamb, mōr magh rocreach um a  
crodh.  
4 Nā bīd teimeal tairrsi siūd, taidhbhsi theinead, dīn ar trēd,  
bīdh co daghsocur<sup>2)</sup> re fōd d'anacul ar n-ōg ar ēg.  
5 Sciath rīgh Muige Tulcha Lis, cuire cumtha cīa nār ceis?  
nīr sceing re haladh gāi [n]glas nīrgabadh fras tar a feis.  
6 Sciath rīgh Aidne siūd adchīm, fer gan bailbhe re brīg mbūain,  
gilla Cellaig Thulcha in trīr tarraid<sup>3)</sup> urchra 'na t[h]īr thūaidh.  
7 Sciath rīgh Éile leath abhus co ngēire ngus agus ngreas,  
Cearball mac Dublaidhe Duind fūair turbaidhe agon tuind teas.  
8 Sciath rīgh Delbhna so ar a cūl, ina dūn fūair teadhma trēn,  
maiden ōs Dūn Colmāin Cais fūair fogrāin gāi glais go gēr.  
9 Sciath rīgh Teabhtha seo 'na dāil co mbeathra Clāir Midhe  
mūaid,<sup>4)</sup>  
Domnall mac Muireagān menn, ropo duinecān teand tūaid.  
10 Fearghal Sinda, sūaichnidh<sup>5)</sup> hē, gilla nār luaithigh re lā,  
tuc Tadhg a c[h]reich asa c[h]jeand, nochon fēarr sa ferr atā.  
11 Nī thīg dīnd āiream a sciath, acht is fāilidh fiach da fāth,  
muna ethaind in t-eō fīs, nī fētfaīnd beath ris co brāth.  
12 Teaglach Taidhg<sup>6)</sup> Muighe na mbūadh, nī cuire gan caint adciu,  
doberait creich, dīl a saint, gen co beath Tadg arān rīu.

<sup>1)</sup> feindigh MS.<sup>2)</sup> tarraig MS.<sup>3)</sup> suaichnigh MS.<sup>4)</sup> daghsocair MS.<sup>5)</sup> mhuaī MS., über dem mh ein b.<sup>6)</sup> taidgh MS.

- 13 Mairg anocht, a Dhe, nàch dìbh Í Maine, tìr na ngort ngluair,  
doberait creich as cach aird, rogabsad um dreich Taidg tùaidh.
- 14 Taidg Lacha Ríach, rìghda in rail, dìrma co h-àth Chìath  
do cuir,  
minic leis aisdear ar groigh<sup>1)</sup> re goil, re gaisgedh, re guin.
- 15 Tèbh neich um tanaidh<sup>2)</sup> ro treadhg, nochar teith d'fanaigh  
nà dh'ard,  
ò rucadh rì nan n-each borb tolg ò nèch nìthar ar Taidg.
- 16 Taidg ò Ceallaig cara dam, teandaig mo mana's mo modh,  
ataid a cheathra ar mo chrud, ataid a sgur ar mo sgor.
- 17 Atait a aisgedha am fail, atait a taisgeadha um t[h]oigh,  
atait a c[h]uirn is a c[h]oin, ata a groigh<sup>1)</sup> guirm agus gil.
- 18 Ata fein òs cìach a curp agum reir co bràth na mbert,  
a gein rab bladhd agus blicht, co rab òs gach nirt a neart.
- 19 Neart in Choimhdhed<sup>3)</sup> re Taidg tren! nà tì a toirnem d'ard  
nà fàn!  
marcach srothaige na sìn, sochaide dar dìn a lām.
- 20 Ar a lām deis bìm-sea beòs, bid leis in tìr-se gan tlàs,  
coimseach a glac geal do grès, gurab ead a bès co bás.
- 21 Bàs nìr faghbha in rì dorad teas um tìr Tarbga do trod,  
is duillmeach glonnudh a glac,<sup>4)</sup> is e mac na mbronnad mbog.
- 22 Bòdalach ratha in rì reidh, nì hòdalach catha crùaidh,  
creach soir leis, creach siar dar leas, creach budheas is  
creach buthúaid.
- 23 Cèim re cloidhem cosnam cach crìch, fosgnam fa Loch ro-  
geal Rìach,  
ó théid a cath adcì cìach nì bì ar a sgáth acht a sgiath. S.
- 24 Sciath Í Nechtain Lacha Rìach, nìr fearr sgiath Ehtair ar áth,  
sciath Conc[h]obair mic mic Taidg, bidh fada a gail gairg co  
bráth.
- 25 Cathal Enaig in cach áth ó Málalaigh Lacha Rìach,  
fear ris nach gabthar'san agh, nochò lamthar lām'na sgiath. S.
- 26 Glantar sciath Gadra [na] ngìond, nochà beg a tharba thall,  
dorad Gadra deabthach donn, greathlach trom fa garra<sup>5)</sup>  
nGall.
- 27 Sciath rìg Ò Lomán gan col, as mór tromágh risar bean,  
each dub go nduburla ndub do sgur Í Duburla dam.

<sup>1)</sup> groidh MS.<sup>2)</sup> tanaigh MS.<sup>3)</sup> coimghed MS.<sup>4)</sup> glach MS.<sup>5)</sup> garrga MS.

- 28 Glantar sciath Eidighāin ūais, nīr díall éceandāil da eis,  
nī targa a tír Maine meand ūglach bud fearr tar a eis.
- 29 Glantar sciath Soghain nāch sūaill, mōr conair tuc rath is réim,  
tugsat slūagh Sogain don moigh crech cach domain da toig fein.
- 30 Sciath Crumthain nāch clāntar breath co n-imad a cleath,  
nī gō,  
nī bean ō C[h]rumthain gan ar furrthain dam is each is bō.
- 31 Sciath Flaitheamail donī ar leas tuc creach anneas is atūaid,  
donī Flaithemail na creach aitdeabaigh re neach fa būaid.
- 32 Sciath Breasail būada 'gar ndīn, docūala teas agus tūaidh,  
is mōr cosgar ruc le lūgh, mōr ndūn da loisgead le slūagh.
- 33 Glantar sciath Murchaid mīc Briain donidh troid um tult[h]aib  
Tāil,  
cindas bias in meirseang mīn gan tír nEirenn ina lāim?
- 34 Glantar sciath Briain amar blath, nā cluinem 'na díraig a fiach,  
fuidleach feighe fear ced crích, meide gemadh scith a sciath.  
Sciath.

### *Mac Liacs Totenklage um Tadh ua Cellaig.*

*Aus Egerton 90, fo. 20a.*

- 1 Leasg amleasg sind gu Āth Cliath, co dūn Amlāib na  
n-ōrsciath,  
ō Āth Cliath na lland 's na lecht is dían, is mall m' imthecht.
- 2 A lucht Ātha Cliath na clog eidir abaidh<sup>1)</sup> is easbog,  
nā cuiri[d] ūir tar Tadh toir co tair[i]g dūinn a dēchain.
- 3 A s[h]il Arailt rúadhus rand, a iarsma læc[h]rad Lochlann,  
nī Gall do báid<sup>2)</sup> Ō Maine, nī rand d'āir nā d'esgaine.
- 4 Dā raibe beō a haithle an āir ōigfear des ō Dūn Imgāin,<sup>3)</sup>  
nochar fæm Gædel a guin, fa bægal díbh a dechsain.
- 5 Mairg enfear do dūthraig sin, maideadh Taidg ar cur cosgair,  
se ag dith na nGall 's na nGædheal, sgith and am ro hēg-  
ainead.
- 6 Mairg doluigh le Leith Moga 's a cath inn-ūair imgona,  
tar imguin Māilseachlaind t[h]air mairg docūaid a ceand  
cosgair.
- 7 Tairgid Mælseachlaind na slegh do degmac a derbsethar  
a mbiadh 'na lāim ō Brian Breag gan dāil, gan gliaid, gan  
gaisgead.

<sup>1)</sup> abaigh MS.

<sup>2)</sup> maig MS.

<sup>3)</sup> imdain MS.

- 8 Seoid Eirenn o t[h]uind go tuind      targaid Mael sùlgorm  
Seachlaind,  
dochreidhe mór fa mear miad      as ríge slógh<sup>1)</sup> fear nOrgiall.
- 9 Do ráid Tadhg o Chruachain c[h]uirr      re Mael sogradach  
Seachlaind:  
'Ort, a sdúag dēdgel delb[d]a,      ní trēgeab mo t[h]igerna.'
- 10 'Ní fearr Bríán ná misi, a mic,      d'fag[b]áil oir ocus airgit,  
's ná mac in C[h]artha calma      ní fearr Murchad mórfeadma.'
- 11 'Annsa lium-sa teaglach Táil      naid Gaidil uile d'enlaim,  
ní mill[f]ead in ceart catha,      noch a bē breath anflatha.'
- 12 'Acht cidh dian adeire sain,      a T[h]aidg i c[h]rōda Ceallaig,  
bead-sa slán dot eis, a fir,      gan sbeis ad grād, a Gaidil.'
- 13 Tríd sin fúair Tadhg na togha      beannachtain Bríain Bōroma,  
mongēnear fúair a beannacht,      búaíd da ngebt<sup>2)</sup>har garbc[h]en-  
nacht.
- 14 Nocho bīu-sa beō da n-eis,      'sa Banba is mór mo mīsbeis,  
slán úaim do Leith Cuind romc[h]ar,      do C[h]aiseal, do C[h]ind  
Coradh!
- 15 Slán úaim do Súca na sreab      's da Sinaind aird na n-inber,  
slán úaim do Mānmach amoigh      's do Ráith Crúachna a  
Connachtaibh!
- 16 Slán do Leirg Aisi os Maigh Māin      's do Dūn na Ríg fa  
romāin,  
slán do chlainn cathgloin Ceallaig,      don droing athlaim  
Eirindaig!
- 17 Slán úaim don ceird clechtaim fein      o nāch mair Tadhg gan  
toibeim,  
slán úaim in gach sēd ma seach,<sup>2)</sup>      slán na trēd, slán na  
tāintead!
- 18 Tug dam Tadhg la Lacha Riach      cēt bō, cēt cloidem, cēt sciath,  
cēt do damaib re hūair n-air      ocus cēt each n-adasdair.
- 19 Tug dam oidche Glinde Gearg      cēt brat is cēt inar nderg,  
tricha sleag ba rúadh reanda,      deich failbe, deich fī[d]chella.
- 20 Tug dam aideche a mbuailid<sup>3)</sup> Guill      trí chēt do beannaibh  
būabail,       
trī chēt cupa lán do lind,      a chū 's a each 's a ōrmind.
- 21 Tug dam-sa<sup>4)</sup> a Cinn Coradh,      ba mōradh mic ollaman,  
torc as gach trēd cūairt dom chleir      ó C[h]inn Corad co  
cāmGréin.

<sup>1)</sup> sloigh MS.<sup>2)</sup> sead MS.<sup>3)</sup> buailigh MS.<sup>4)</sup> dama MS.



- 22 Do bi a nDún Cat<sup>1</sup>raige chain uaisle Éirenn a n-áentaigh,  
fa Brian, fa Aed o Neill nár, fa Maelseachlaind guirt Gabrán.
- 23 Tegmaid gilla Briain co mblaidh re gilla Taidg i Cellaig  
fa glanadh a sgiath scenmdha a triath is a tigerna.
- 24 'Dligid<sup>1</sup>) sin Brian tús coindle', do ráid gilla Briain Boirne,  
'sé do chosain geall cland Cuind, is leis tús na mbeand  
mbúabuill'.
- 25 'Le Taidg' do ráid ara Taidg, 'tús cach catha cloideamgaig,  
leis do sgoilted scéith Fer mBreagh, sé do chosain táb  
Taillten'.
- 26 '[Is] Brian do deónaigh daib sin,' is ed do ráidh in t-araid,<sup>2</sup>)  
'dúal dō beith aige ar éigin 's ag síl maith mic Ceindeidig.'
- 27 Tógbais gilla Taidg in láim ar n-éirge don imarbáigh,  
túg dorn<sup>3</sup>) ar a ded gur'dluig, a ucht gur'dearg da dondfuil.
- 28 Leigid an gillanrad<sup>4</sup>) gair . . . . .<sup>5</sup>)

*Colum Cille .cc.**Aus Laud 615, S. 138.*

- 1 Ceileabram, leighim,<sup>6</sup>) lubrum, trāetham, timairccim, tabrum,  
aitchim, airlichimm, ailim, aidhim, imriadum,<sup>7</sup>) adram!
- 2 Amlaid is maith céili De gan ní bud mó, gan ró re ré,  
gan ailges bídh, gan bethaid meth, gan crodh, gan cr[e]ich  
mar lon fo cléth,
- gan olc do rádh re trōgh nō trén.
- 3 Ainmne, aoine, figheall, atach, nā rab sāithech, nā rab goirt,  
fostadh, feithemla gan baois, mesrughud craois, coimhéd cuirp.
- 4 Cidh maith aine is irnuight[h]e, cidh maith tredhan is troscud,  
is ferr ní do thidnucal ocus tenga do c[h]ostud.
- 5 Figeall, aoine, irnaight[h]e, almsa maith dognē,  
acht nā rab clos do daoínibh buidech dhe mac De. C.

*Gebet um Fürbitte.**Aus 23 N 10, S. 92.*

- 1 Aitte[o]ch friut a ndechmad grādh i talmain trebuid,  
aite[o]ch Michel moltach dom c[h]obuir ar demnuibh.
- 2 Atteoch friut um Michel muir is tīr gan tathom,  
atteoch friut cen dimes cech díles De athar.

<sup>1</sup>) dlige MS.<sup>2</sup>) araigh MS.<sup>3</sup>) dornn MS.<sup>4</sup>) gillandraid MS. <sup>5</sup>) Hier bricht das Gedicht unten auf fo. 20 a ab.<sup>6</sup>) Lies léigem, timaircem usw. <sup>7</sup>) Lies imráidem.

- 3 Ateoch friut, a C[h]oimde, cesud do c[h]uirp c[h]achtbain,  
 aiteoch friut in teeoir, aiteoch friut in n-achtail.<sup>1)</sup>
- 4 Aiteoch muintir nime co Michel domm anmain,  
 aiteoch<sup>2)</sup> nōema in domain dom chobair for talmain.
- 5 Aiteoch muintir nime co Michel nglan nglēsda,  
 atteoch friut in treidhe, gaith is grein is escca.
- 6 Atteoch frit a n-usce oculus in n-ēr n-angbaid,  
 atteoch frit in tenid, atteoch frit in talmain.
- 7 Aitteoch frit an Trínōit, an tentide tūaghda,  
 atteoch in dā mesraigthi, atteoch in dā uarda.
- 8 Aitteoch frit in tacmainc, in firmimint fonnmar,<sup>3)</sup>  
 ateoeh gach ngrād ngégmall, slūagh na rétlann roglan.
- 9 Aitteoch frit cech beōthach roblais bais is bethaid,  
 atteoch frit cech marbdūil ar do dāgrūin ndrechaig.
- 10 Atteoch frit do dešef[i]rc is doimne<sup>4)</sup> inna fairrgi,<sup>5)</sup>  
 atteoch tusa fēini,<sup>6)</sup> a Rīg greine gairge.
- 11 Cach naom fuil, bōi, blās, 's cech nāmóg cen brefail,  
 co Mic[h]el cām comuid dom c[h]obair cen cechuid,  
 romaingid<sup>7)</sup> in lucht-sa atteoch frit-sa, a Athair! At.

<sup>1)</sup> accta MS.<sup>2)</sup> aiteoch frit MS.<sup>3)</sup> ind firmimint fonnmar MS.<sup>4)</sup> Lies as doimnin. <sup>5)</sup> Lies fairge.<sup>6)</sup> Lies fēine.<sup>7)</sup> Lies romainged.

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KUNO MEYER.

## GALLISCH *ANDERA* UND DIE BETONUNG IM GALLISCHEN.

(Siehe Zeitschr. VIII, S. 95—101.)

Als ein Beispiel, das gegen Anfangsbetonung im Gallischen spricht, sieht Meyer-Lübke (Ztschr. f. rom. Phil. XXX, 422 f.) frz. *landier* < gall. *andera* an. Die nordfrz. Form *landier* stammt, wie die Zusammenziehung des Substantivs mit dem Artikel beweist, aus dem Südfranzösischen, wo gall. *andera* > nprv. *anders* (plural), *anderre*, kat. *anderris* (plural) wurde. „Die Dehnung des *r*, die nur südfranzösisch ist, läßt sich, sagt Meyer-Lübke, wohl daraus erklären, daß ein *-éra* (in *andéra*) lateinischer Lautung widersprach; man konnte nur zu *ándera* oder zu *andérra* greifen. In Nordfrankreich, wo nach gewöhnlicher Annahme die Kelten länger und dichter safsen, hat sich trotzdem *andéra* gehalten, im Süden ist die gallische Tonsilbe und Tondauer bewahrt, aber die Silbe zweimorig geworden durch die Dehnung des Konsonanten.“ Das Nordfranzösische kommt aber, wie oben bemerkt, nicht in Betracht und nimmt man selbständige Entwicklung des gallischen Wortes im Norden an, so weist *landier* auf eine Form mit langem *ē*, das allerdings durch die spätromanische Dehnung der freien Tonvokale aus einem ursprünglich kurzen *ĕ* hervorgegangen sein kann. Doch kann das *ē* schon ursprünglich lang gewesen sein, da das Gegenteil nicht erwiesen ist. Man kann daher nicht sagen, daß sich im Norden die Form *andéra* gehalten habe. Gerade die Verdopplung des *r* nach kurzem betonten Vokal im Südfranzösischen entspricht nicht den romanischen Lautgesetzen. Wenn nämlich der Konsonant nach dem Tonvokal im Romanischen verdoppelt wurde, so sehen wir stets, daß der Tonvokal lang war, so daß die Gruppe: langer Vokal

+ kurzer (einfacher) Konsonant zu kurzem Vokal + langem (doppelten) Konsonanten wurde, z. B.: clt.-lat. *tōtus* > vlt. *tōttus* (it. *tutto*), clt.-lat. *pīpa* > vlt. *\*pīppa*, frz. *pipe*, *bēta* (gr. *βῆτα*) > frz. *bette*, clt.-lat. *brūtus* > it. *brutto* (Meyer-Lübke, Rom. Gram. I, 458). In gr. *βλῆτρον* > frz. *bléte* ist zwar kurzer Vokal vorhanden. Hierher gehören auch die romanischen Diminutivsuffixe *-ittu* und *-iccu*, die, wie ich in Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XXXIV, 26 ff. gezeigt habe, auf germ. *-it(o)* und *-ik(o)* mit einfachem Konsonanten zurückgehen. Die lautliche Entwicklung, die man in diesen Fällen erwarten würde, ist zunächst der Übergang des kurzen *i* zu geschlossenem *e*, der auch stattgefunden hat im dritten bis vierten Jahrhundert n. Chr., und dann die Dehnung des geschlossenen *e* etwa im sechsten Jahrhundert.

Da aber bei der Aufnahme dieser fremden Wörter und Suffixe ins Vlt. sogleich Verdopplung des Konsonanten eintrat, war die Dehnung des Vokals später nicht mehr möglich. In den zuerst angeführten Fällen spricht man häufig von einer Umsetzung der Quantität. Damit ist aber keine Erklärung gegeben. In Ztschr. f. rom. Phil., XXXIV, 36 ff., habe ich zu zeigen versucht daß bei *p*, *t*, *k* die Verdopplung eintritt, wenn diese Konsonanten nicht der Erweichung zu *b*, *d*, *g* verfallen sollen, was einerseits bei Lehnwörtern, andererseits bei Erbwörtern dann der Fall, wenn der Konsonant durch den Einfluß von Wörtern gleichen Stammes gehalten werden soll. Für die Verdopplung von *l*, *r* und *n* sind aber nur Beispiele der letzteren Art vorhanden (vgl. lat. *sororgu* > frz. *sororge*, *līngu* > frz. *linge* durch Einfluß von *soror* und *linum*) und solche, wo der gedehnte Konsonant vor dem Tonvokal steht, z. B. lat. *carex* > span. *carrizo*. Beide Fälle kommen bei *andera* > nprv. *anderre* nicht in Betracht. Es kann somit *andera* nur langes *e* aufweisen. Da es im Frz. kein eigentliches Fremdwort, sondern ein Lehnwort ist, sollte das *r*, das im Gall. vielleicht anders gesprochen wurde, seine Aussprache bewahren und wurde daher verdoppelt. Denn im Vlt. besaß doppeltes *l* und daher wohl auch doppeltes *r* eine andere Aussprache als einfaches *l* bzw. *r*. Der Tonvokal mußte dann wie in den Fällen von sog. Quantitätsumsetzung Kürzung erfahren, da die Tonsilbe im Rom. nur dreimorig sein kann.

Ist diese Erklärung richtig und liegt im Gall. tatsächlich langer Vokal zugrunde, so ist auch die rom. Betonung gerechtfertigt. Wie wir früher aus den Untersuchungen über die zu-

sammengesetzten Ortsnamen ansehen haben, werden die gallischen Wörter bei ihrer Aufnahme ins Romanische dem lat.-rom. Betonungsgesetz unterworfen und gerade die Ausnahmen, in denen Zurückziehung des Akzentes eintrat, haben uns gezeigt, daß im Gallischen der Ton auf der ersten Silbe, der Stammsilbe, ruhte. Die Beispiele *Nemausu* > frz. *Nîmes* neben *Nemours*, *Atrebatēs* > frz. *Arras*, *Bituriges* > *Bourges* beweisen, daß trotz Anfangsbetonung nachtonige Silben mit langem Vokal im Gallischen möglich sind wie auch im Ahd. namentlich bei Suffixen, vgl. ahd. *kizzîn*.

Dies läßt vielleicht die Vermutung zu, daß auch gall. *andēra* mit einem Suffix *-ēra* gebildet ist. Den Stamm *and-* möchte ich dann zu ahd. *anda*, skr. *anti* = ‚entgegen‘, ‚vor‘ stellen. Der Komparativ von *anda*, ahd. *andiz*, *anpiz* bedeutet nach Torp, Germanische Spracheinheit, ‚früher‘, ‚eher‘, so daß gall. *andēra* soviel bedeutet wie das ‚frühere‘, woraus sich die Bedeutung von ‚jünger‘ ergibt, so daß *andēra* zu den Bedeutungen ‚junges Weib‘, ‚Färse‘, ‚junger Bock‘, schließlic ‚Feuerbock‘ kommen konnte. Aus der letzteren Bedeutung erklärt sich auch der Genuswechsel im Romanischen. Nimmt man also Länge des *e* in gall. *andēra* an, so lassen sich die Verdopplung des *r* und die Betonung im Romanischen erklären und die Annahme der Anfangsbetonung im Gallischen ist dann zwar nicht bewiesen, aber auch nicht widersprochen, so daß die aus anderen Erscheinungen gezogenen Schlüsse aufrecht bleiben. Die vermutungsweise aufgestellte Ableitung des Wortes würde natürlich für Anfangsbetonung im Gallischen sprechen.

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## SYNTAX OF THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB *THA* IN MODERN SCOTTISH GAELIC.

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### 1. Uses of *tha*.

The Gaelic substantive verb indicates existence or state of existence, and cannot be used to express equation. In origin it is parallel to the Latin *stat*, and its uses may be compared with those of the English *stand* in such phrases as 'to stand idle', 'to stand in need of'.

*Tha* is usually a verb of incomplete predication, requiring as its complement either an adverbial adjunct or an adjective used as an adverb. So for example:

Anns a 'ghleann 's an robh mi òg, 'in the glen where I was when I was young'.

Thus while the sentence *is làidir e*, 'he is strong', may now be regarded as representing the prototype *is duine làidir e*, 'he is a strong person', the sentence *tha e làidir* does not stand for the prototype *tha e duine làidir* — an impossible construction — but if extended would assume the form *tha e 'n a dhuine làidir*. The adjective following *is* now stands for a noun, but the adjective completing *tha* stands for an adverbial adjunct.

The complement of *tha* cannot be a noun, pronoun or substantive clause.

The subject of *tha* can only be a noun or pronoun (also a word used as its own name, or words cited in direct quotation), not a substantive clause.

It follows that *tha* cannot be used, like *is*, to form sentences of the type of sentences of emphasis.

A substantive clause introduced by *gu 'n* or *nach* may, however, stand in apposition to the demonstrative pronoun *e*,

that pronoun serving as an anticipative subject of *tha*. In this case these clauses were originally adverbial, relating to the complement of the predicate.

## 2. Order of construction with *tha*.

The order of construction with *tha* is the same as that which prevails with other verbs of incomplete predication: verb, subject, complement of predicate. Conjunctive and negative adverbs precede the verb, as may also other adjuncts of the predicate.

Other examples are:

*Tha e mar bha e*, 'it is as it was'. Here *mar bha e* is an adverbial clause completing the predicate *tha*. *Mar* is a conjunctive adverb which completes the predicate *bha*.

*Tha an sneachd na 's fuaire na 'n t-uisge*, 'snow is colder than rain'. Here *na 's fuaire* is an adverbial clause completing the predicate *tha*; *na 'n t-uisge* is an adverbial clause relating to, and required to complete the meaning of, the comparative *fuaire*.

*Co th'ann?* 'Who is there?' Here *th'ann* is an adjectival clause used substantively as the subject of the sentence, of whose predicate, the copula implied, *co* is the subjective complement. *Tha* is here used relatively, and therefore contains its subject. Its complement is *ann*.

In some cases the complement of the predicate may stand between the verb and its subject. This inverted order is met with more commonly when an adjectival clause follows and relates to the subject of the sentence; but the usage is unidiomatic. Thus:

*Tha againne beannachadh as dòcha nach 'eil aca-san*, 'we have a blessing which probably they have not'.

An elliptical clause introduced by *ach* 'but' followed by an adjective, sometimes stands between the substantive verb preceded by the negative, and its subject related to by an adjectival clause. For example:

*Cha 'n 'eil ach gann long a ràinig an t-àite*, 'but few ships have reached the place'. Here *gann* is the complement of the predicate of a co-ordinate principal clause *ach [tha i] gann*. The complement of *cha 'n 'eil* is not expressed.

An inverted construction may also occur when the subject of an elliptical clause introduced by *ach* follows the substantive verb preceded by the negative. For example:

*Cha robh ach leanabh innte*, or: *cha robh innt' ach leanabh*, 'she was only a child'. Here the subject of *robh* is not expressed; *leanabh* is the subject of a co-ordinate principal clause *ach* [*bha*] *leanabh* [*innte*].

### 3. Sentences of attribution.

The chief function of *tha* is to indicate *state* of existence; that is to say, temporary state or change of state rather than perpetual or unaltered condition, which would more naturally be predicated by *is*. When *tha* predicates an adjective of its subject, *tha* differs from *is* in suggesting that the state predicated is new or changed. For example:

*Tha mi sgith*, 'I am tired'.

*Tha e duilich a ràdh ciamar a tha a' chuis*, 'it is [has become] difficult to say how the matter stands'.

It follows that a passive participle completes the predication of *tha*, not of *is*, unless it has become an adjective without participial meaning. E.g.: *tha e folaichte*, 'it is hidden', but: *is folaichte sin uam-sa*, 'that is obscure to me'.

As another result of the difference in their usage, it may be observed that the past indicative of the copula is much less used than the past of the substantive verb, while the future of the copula has been lost except in wishes.

Several adjectives when used to complete the predicate with verbs of incomplete predication change their meaning when they are put into the 'adverbial form', which here indicates state of health. Thus: *tha e làidir*, 'he is strong', but: *tha e gu làidir*, 'he is in robust health'.

### 4. Sentences of classification.

Sentences which are virtually sentences of classification are formed with *tha* in this manner: — the noun naming the class into which the subject has entered is placed under government of the preposition *an* 'in', in a prepositional phrase which relates to the verb *tha* and serves as its complement.

This construction with *tha* is an extension of similar construction with other verbs of incomplete predication. It has



been aptly likened to such English phrases as 'the house is in ruins', 'the glass is in fragments'. Such English sentences also imply *change* of state.

In this construction, in Gaelic, the noun naming the class is always related to by a possessive adjective of the same person and number as the subject of the verb.

For example:

Tha iad 'n am fògarraich, 'they are exiles'.

Bha e 'n a thuathanach, 'he was a farmer'. Compare with this the sentence: Rinn iad e 'n a rìgh, 'they made him a king'.

For this use of the possessive adjective we may compare its use with nouns indicating a state; e. g.: tha e 'n a chadal, 'he is asleep.'

### 5. Existence and possession.

To express existence, *tha* is usually complemented by the adverb *ann*, 'there, in existence'. Thus:

Bha rìgh ann roimhe so, 'once upon a time there was a king'.

Tha bhuil, or: tha bhuil ann, 'the result of it is'.

Possession is expressed by placing the noun or pronoun naming the possessor under government of the preposition *aig* 'at', in a prepositional phrase or compound which relates to the verb *tha*, and serves as its complement. Thus:

Tha cù agam, 'I have a dog'.

Cha 'n 'eil ùine agam air a shon sin, 'I have no time for that'.

Am bheil a' Ghàidhlig agad? 'Do you know Gaelic?'

Possession is similarly expressed with the copula, here used as a substantive verb. The noun or pronoun naming the possessor is placed under government of the preposition *le*, 'with', in a prepositional phrase or compound which follows the verb *is* and serves as its complement.

### 6. Paradigm of the substantive verb.

	Indicative.		
	Present.	Future.	Past.
Independent:	tha	bìdh, bìthidh	bha
Relative:	tha, a tha	a bhios, a bhitheas	a bha
Dependent:	bheil, 'eil	bi	robh

**Secondary Future.**

	Singular	Plural
Independent:	1 bithinn	bhitheamaid
	2 bhiodh tu, bhitheadh tu	bhiodh sibh, bhitheadh sibh
	3 bhiodh e, i, bhitheadh e, i,	bhiodh iad, bhitheadh iad
Relative:	a bhithinn, etc.	
Dependent:	bithinn, etc.	

**Subjunctive.****Past.**

The same as the Secondary Future Indicative.

Also after the conjunction *na 'n*.

Dependent: robh.

**Imperative.**

	Singular	Plural
1	bitheam	bitheamaid
2	bi	bithibh
3	biodh e, bitheadh e	biodh iad, bitheadh iad

**Infinitive.**

a bhi, a bhith.

The uncontracted forms are used when stress falls upon the verb.

The infinitival phrase has supplanted the verbal noun in use. *A bhith* occurs instead of *a bhi* when stress falls upon the verbal noun. A present participial phrase does not occur; the perfect participial phrase is *air bhi*, *air bhith*.

*Bheil* becomes *'eil* after *cha 'n* and *nach*. Final *m* of the conjunct particles frequently disappears before it; in many districts *gu bheil* stands for *gu 'm bheil*.

Certain impersonal forms of the substantive verb take quasi-passive terminations. Thus:

Present, Independent:	thatar
Past:	bhatar
Future:	bithear, bitear.

These are followed by a participial phrase, to which they convey a passive meaning: *Thatar ag ràdh*, 'it is said'.

Instead of *tha* there was also a form *atà*, but it is now obsolete except in rhetorical language. *Tha* appears as *tà* in the phrase *matà*, 'well!'

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## WELSH CANHORTHWY, CYNHORTHWY &c.

In his article 'Zur keltischen Wortkunde' (*Zeitschrift* VI, 144 sqq.) the late Professor Osthoff equated W. *mordwy* and Gaulish *moritex* CIL XIII, 8164a, and noticed in them the root *\*(s)teigh-* whence O. Ir. *tiagu* 'I go', Gr. *στειγο*, Goth. *steigan*, &c., with the weak-ablaut form *\*tigh-* whence W. *taith* fem., O. and Mid. Ir. *techt* fem. 'a journey' (< *\*tiklā*) and Bret. *tig* m. 'allure, démarche, hâte' (< *\*tikto-n* or *\*tiktu-s*).<sup>1)</sup>

*Mordwy* 'sea-voyage' and *mordwyaw*, *mordwyo* 'to sail' are not the only words that preserve the long ablaut stem *\*teigh-* in Welsh. Osthoff quotes Ir. *fortiag* 'I help', whose equivalent, as will be shown below, is contained in W. *canhorthwy*, *cynhorthwy* 'help, support, assistance'. The latter is now the usual form like *cynhebrwng* : *canhebrwng* 'funeral', but in Mid-Welsh *canhorthwy* prevailed, as e. g., *canhorthwy* BB 73, 11, *kanhorthwy* RB II, 7, 22. 16, 24. 46, 15, *ganhorthwyaw* 173, 22 'to support, help'. It is an example of a double prepositional prefix, *canhor* resolving itself into *cant-* and *gor-*. *Cant* [= Corn. *kans*, *gans*, Bret. *gant*, O. Ir. *cét-*, *ceta-*, *cila-*, Gr. *κατά*] through nasal mutation of its final consonant, became *can* e. g. BB 46, 8, *kenhin* 49, 6 'with them', but as a preposition its initial consonant is usually mutated, as e. g., *gan* BB 3, 6. 48, 18, *genhiw* 101, 13 'with me', *genhid* 10, 2 'with thee', *genhin* 83, 3 'with them', while as a conjunction ('because') it occurs as *can*; e. g., BB 43, 2. 70, 1. 78, 11. 79, 7. 85, 11. 97, 3. 106, 2. It is found as a prefix also in *canfod* (= O. Ir. *célbuid*, *célbaid*) 'to perceive', *canlyn* 'to follow', *canllaw* 'a balustrade, a parapet', *canhymdaith* 'company' (see below), *cynhenid* (< *\*kŷta-genitos*) 'original, native'.

<sup>1)</sup> The Welsh noun *tuth* m. 'canter, trot' (*rac yscawnhet tuth y gorweyd y danaw* WB 228 a 38 'so light was the horse's canter under him') with its verb *tuthio* 'to trot, canter' is of course of different origin.

*Gor-* is the usual form of *gwor-* (< \**gor-* < \**uper*, Gr. *ἐπερ*, Goth. *ufar*, Gaul. *ver-*, Bret. *gor-*, Ir. *for*<sup>1)</sup>); e. g., *gorthaw* Myv 158 a 23 'to be silent', *goresgynnu* 193 b 55 'to conquer', *gortho* 3 sg. 210 a 4 'covers', but *gwor* occurs in *gworymda* FB 307-15 'progresses, spreads' (see below) and under the influence of the following vowel as *gwar-* in *gwarchadw* (Mod. W. *gwarchod*) RB I, 149, 9. 171, 18; II, 383, 16 'to defend', *gwarchae* Myv 160 a 16 'to besiege', *gwarandaw* 'to listen' (see below), and as *gwer-* in *gwercheidw* FB 266, 12 'defends, keeps guard', *guereskynn* WB 8, 29 'to conquer', *guerendewis* 44, 4 'heard'. The same root occurs in *gwarthaf* 'top, summit' which, when compared with Lat. *summus* (< \**sup-mo-s*) is an irregular superlative of the Idg. compar. \**upero-* [cf. Gr. double comparative (in form) *ἐπερ-τερός* 'over, above, higher' and its derivative *gwerthefin* (cf. *cyntefin* : *cyntaf*) 'the highest part or summit of', as e. g., *Yg gwertheuin bro dunawt* FB 279, 2 'in the highest part of the region of Dunawd'.

Welsh, like Irish, has numerous instances of two or more prepositions in composition, of which the following are the more important.

*amddifad*, Bret. *emgivad*, *emgiñvad* 'orphan, destitute' = *am* (O. Ir. *imb*, *imm*, Gaul. *ambi-* < \**mbhi*<sup>2)</sup>) + *di-* (O. Ir. *dí*, Lat. *dē*<sup>3)</sup>) + *mad* 'good'.

*amgyffred*, O. W. *amcibret* 'comprehension, conception' = *am* + *cyf-* (O. Ir. *com*) + *rhed* (Ir. *rithim*). Cf. *cyfret* FB 143, 33. 249, 12 and *cyffredin* 'common, general'.

*canhymdeith*, *canhimteith* BB 104, 15 'company' = *cant* + *ym* (= *am*) + *teith*. Cf. O. Ir. *coimthecht* (= *com-imm-thecht*).

*cyfarfod* 'meeting' = *cyf* + *ar* (O. Ir. *air*) + *bod* 'to be'. Cf. *cyfaros* 'to wait' = *cyf* + *ar* + *ho-* [a root which occurs also in *annos*, *Anhos* Welsh Laws (ed. An. Owen) 409, 410 'to chase, to drive', 3 sg. id. 409, 410 *enhy.*], *cyfarwydd* 'acquainted, skilled' = *cyf* + *ar* + [*g*]*wydd* 'sight, presence'.

*cyfathrach* 'connection, affinity' = *cyf* + *athr* [= *ithr* through assimilation to the vowel of the originally accented syllable, = O. Ir. *etar*, *eter*, Corn. *ynter*, Bret. *entre*, Lat. *inter* &c.<sup>4)</sup>] + *ach* 'lineage, descent'.

<sup>1)</sup> Thurneysen, Hdb. d. Altir., § 830.

<sup>2)</sup> Id. § 833.

<sup>3)</sup> Id. § 824.

<sup>4)</sup> Walde, Lat. Etymol. Wtb., p. 305.

*cyfarsengi*, *cywarsangu* 'to trample, to crush' = *cyf* + *ar* + *sang-* 'to tread', or *cy-* (Lat. Osc. Umb. *co-*, Ir. *co-*, Gaul. *co-*<sup>1)</sup>) + (*g*)*war-* (: *gwor*) + *sang-*.

*darogan*, Bret. *darogan* 'presage, prophecy' = *d* + *ar* + (*g*)*o* (= *gwo-*, Ir. *fo*) + *can* 'song'. Cf. O. Ir. *do-n-aurchain* Karlsr. Beda 33 b 11 from *to-air-fo-can-*<sup>2)</sup>. It is difficult to decide in every instance whether *dar-* comes from \**do-are-* or from \**do-ro-*. The former is probably true of *darganfod* 'to perceive, discover', *darllain* 'to read', *darymred* 'excursion, ramble' = Bret. *darempred* 'communication habituelle avec d'autres personnes, compagnie, assemblée de plusieurs personnes', but the latter seems to be the better derivation of *darfod* 'to have been, to cease to be, to happen' = Bret. *darvêgout*, *darvout* 'survenir, arriver par accident, par hasard'.

*echdywynnu* 'to shine, to glitter' cannot be very old, because *ech-* is not the normal development of \**eks-* before *t* as shown by *eithr*, *eithy* 'except, but' = Ir. *echtar*. Like *echdoe* 'the day before yesterday' it was formed on the analogy of words in which *ech-* was regularly developed. The remainder of the word consists of *dy-* (= Ir. *to*, *do*) and (*g*)*wynnu* 'to whiten'.

*gorthywys* 'leader' = *gor* + *ty* (= Ir. *to*) + (*g*)*ncys*.

*gorymdaith* 'procession, sojourn' = *gor* + *ym* (= am) + *taith* 'journey'. Cf. *gworymdaa* IB 307, 15 'progresses'.

*gwarandaw*, *gwerando* 'to listen' = *gwar* (= *gwor*) + *an* (= Gaul. *ande-*?) + *taw-* 'to be silent'.

*tragwydd* 'eternal, everlasting' = *tra-* + *cy-* + (*g*)*wydd*.

The double preposition presents, therefore, no difficulty in the equation of Ir. *fortiag* and the latter part of W. *canhorthwy*.

There are still two other stems in Welsh, the second part of which seems to be identical with that of *mordwy* and *canhorthwy*, viz. *andwy-o* 'to damage, to spoil, to ruin' and *ardwy-aw* 'to govern, to rule, to direct'. The latter stem is also found in *ardwy* 'rule, direction' and *ardwyad* 'governor, ruler'. As to *andwyo*, I cannot determine the force of the prefix or the development of meaning. *An-* is not the negative prefix (= Lat.

<sup>1)</sup> Walde, Lat. Etym. Wtb., p. 134.

<sup>2)</sup> Thurneysen, Hdb. d. Altir., § 817.

*in-*, O. Lat. *en-*, Gr. *ἀ-*, *ἐ-*, Goth. *un-* < Idg. \**ṇ*) inasmuch as this would nasalize a following *t* as in *annhrefn* 'disorder' (: *trefn*), *annhrugarog* 'pitiless' (: *trugarog*). Pughe explains *andwyo* very easily by coining a \**twyaw* 'to check, restrain, curb' and regarding *an-* as an intensive prefix which it really is in several Welsh words, but if the identification of *-dwyo* with Ir. *tiagaim* is accepted, it is extremely difficult to define the use of the intensive prefix in this particular connection. I prefer to regard it as a prepositional prefix possibly equivalent to Gaulish *Ande-* in proper names like *Anderoudus*, *Andecamulos*, the exact force and meaning of which, however, has not yet been determined.

In *ardwy-aw* the voiced-mutation of *t* after the prefix *ar-* indicates the loss of a vowel, and the prefix which occurs also in *arbennig* 'principal' (Ir. *airchinnech*), *ardderchog* 'excellent' (O. Ir. *airdirc*, *erdairc*, *irdirc* 'conspicuous'), *arfer* 'custom, use' &c., is identical with Gaulish *Are-* in *Are-brigium*, *Aremoricus* &c., and O. Ir. *air* 'before, for'.

Dublin, 10th October 1910.

J. LLOYD-JONES.

## ABBREVIATIONS &c. IN MS. VATICAN-PALAT. LAT. 65.

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In my introduction to the reproduction of some pages of this manuscript recently published by the authorities of the Vatican Library<sup>1)</sup> I have suggested that it was probably written at earliest in the second half of the twelfth century in the abbey of Coupar-Angus in Scotland, in whose possession it certainly was in the thirteenth century.

MSS. in insular script but written in a Scotch scriptorium are so rare that Prof. W. M. Lindsay suggested that a register of the abbreviations in this ms. would be valuable as the commencement of a series of *catenae* which may eventually lead to the discovery of some peculiarly Scotch forms.

It must be remembered that the ms. is a very late one; I am now more inclined to assign it to the beginning of the thirteenth century when scribes had advanced to an audacious extension of legitimate abbreviations; what we want is something earlier.

I should like to take this opportunity of calling attention to the remarkable similarity both of script and abbreviations in the ms. of the so-called 'Rosslyn Missal' (Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, ms. 18. 5. 19) published with two facsimiles by Prof. Lawlor in vol. XV (1898) of the Henry Bradshaw Society's Publications, a ms. which (*pace* the editor's argument, which is founded on one interpretation of one passage) I believe to have been written in Scotland rather than Ireland, and which may

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<sup>1)</sup> Specimen Pages of two manuscripts of the abbey of Coupar-Angus &c. Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi, series minor, Volumen II. Rome. Danesi, 1910.



very possibly come from Coupar-Angus; for some of the mss. of that house passed after the Reformation into the hands of William Sinclair of Rosslyn.

The Palatine ms., a glossed Psalter, presents no difficulties of interpretation as its text is well known from other sources, and the few fly-leaves at its end (B), the beginning of Boethius *de Divisione*, probably by a contemporary hand, are equally clear. Hence we are able to gain a fair idea of the abbreviations used at the time in an apparently Scotch scriptorium.<sup>1)</sup>

No account is here given of the script, which can be studied in the Vatican reproduction; letters &c. which do not appear there are: a peculiar Q fol. 90<sup>r</sup>, conjunct *st* and *xt* on fol. 33<sup>r</sup>; a line added later at the end of the gloss on fol. 74<sup>v</sup> contains a short *s*.

I am much indebted to Professor W. M. Lindsay and Dr. E. A. Loew for counsel and suggestions as to the arrangement of this note.

[To avoid the cutting of fresh symbols reference is occasionally made to the pages of Prof. W. M. Lindsay's *Contractions in Early Latin minuscule mss.*, Oxford 1908 and *The Rosslyn Missal*, Henry Bradshaw Society 1898, where the symbols can be seen.

Unless otherwise stated there is an abbreviation stroke (horizontal, unless otherwise noted) over the letter preceding the omission; so far as possible its position is represented below.

All the references are to the *corpus libri* (A); those found *only* in the fly-leaves at the end of the ms. are marked B; examples found in *both* the main text and the fly leaves are shewn as AB; \* denotes rare or late forms.]

### 1. Abbreviations, whether by contraction or suspension.

adeo; adō.

aliud; ald with stroke through the shaft of the *d*.

anima, animus; aīa, aīus. In B the *i* is omitted though it occurs once in aīal.

ante; an, both with and without stroke. B has aīcedit (antededit) with stroke.

antichristus; \* anīχῖs.

<sup>1)</sup> Two thirds only of the Psalter has been collated, but the abbreviations are apparently uniform throughout.

apud; ap with stroke above or across the *p* (AB).

ant; ā (AB).

autem; the characteristic Irish *k* like symbol (Lindsay, 8) is found (but very rarely) in A and B; the continental au (with and without stroke) is frequent in A.

bene; b with cross stroke traversing the shaft; bñ is also found.

caput; cap̄t, c̄p̄t and c̄p̄, with stroke always over *p*.

causa; \*cā<sup>1</sup>); as no other cases of the word are found, it is impossible to say whether this is a contraction or a suspension.

ceterum; c. with punctum after it.

contra; A and B use for the first syllable the Irish symbol for con (a reversed C), the second syllable being represented by *t* with a suprascript. The *con* symbol occurs in other words beginning with this syllable (AB).

cujus; c̄s (AB). A also uses *c* followed by the *us* symbol, a suprascript comma above the line.

cum; c with the musical oriscus sign<sup>2</sup>) over it, called by Lindsay the *um* symbol (AB).

de; the use of a horizontal line starting from near the top of the shaft of the *d* is more properly a graphic variation: it occurs in A only and always at the end of a line.

dico &c.; A and B use the pure contraction forms: d̄t for dicit and d̄r for dicitur. A has dx (dixit), dxī (dixi), dnt (dicunt), dnr (dicuntur) and dmr (dicimur); B has dms (dicimus). A contracts *dicens* both as dcns and dc̄s, but the latter form is frequent in A and B for dictus (similarly dcā, dcaē, dcī, dc̄m).

divisio; B has dso (dfo) with bar through the lower shaft of the *f*.

duo; A has for duae *d* with *e* suprascript.

ejus; the usual Irish symbol, a Greek ε reversed (Lindsay 11), A and B.

enim; the usual Irish H like symbol (Lindsay 11) AB; an erasure after the word *Pes* in Ps. XXV, 12 shews that once A either did not understand or misread his exemplar.

<sup>1</sup>) Traube, *Nomina sacra*, p. 253 is of opinion that this contraction was not current in minuscule script until the thirteenth century.

<sup>2</sup>) i. e. a horizontal stroke turned slightly up at its beginning and down at its end, i. e. a rectangular instead of a round ∞.

erga; \**g* with *a* suprascript.

ergo; *g* with *o* suprascript (AB).

est; a horizontal line with a comma above and a dot below, (the comma does *not* touch the line so as to make a figure

2 like 2) AB; this symbol occurs in A in such words as

es, gestum, honesto, manifestatio, pestem, vestiri. The

symbol of a horizontal line with dot both above and below it occurs once (f. 7<sup>v</sup>) for \*esse, but the usual contraction for esse; *ee* occurs in A and B; cf. *eent* (essent) A, *deēent* (deessent) B and *necēē* (necesse) AB; B once represents *esset* by \**ee* followed by the above *est* symbol.

et; the Irish symbol resembling the Arabic numeral 7 (Rosslyn, p. XXXIII) AB. It also occurs when *et* forms part of a word, e. g. *haberet* and *videtur* (A), *veniet* (B). On f. 35<sup>v</sup> *valeant* is represented by *val*7 with a suprascript stroke for *an*.

etenim; is represented on f. 28<sup>v</sup> by the symbols for *et* and *enim*.

etiam; *etī* with stroke over the *i* (AB); on f. 9<sup>r</sup> A uses the *et* 7 symbol with a stroke over it (Rosslyn, p. XXXIII).

facio &c.; A employs *fac̄* for *facit*, and *fc̄s*, *fc̄ā*, *fc̄ō*, *fc̄orem*, *fc̄orum* for *factus* &c., *fc̄ret* for *faceret*; B has *fc̄re* for *facere*.

filius; *fīl*s (AB); A has also *flūs*, *filōs* (*filios*), once \**fūm* for *filium* and *f.* for *fili*.

frater &c.; *fr̄*, *fr̄is*.

fuit; either *f* with suprascript *t* or \**ft*; the latter also occurs in *proft*.

genera; *gnā* (A); *gr̄is* (*generis*) B; cf. *regr̄atus* (*regeneratus*) A.

gloria; A only; *glā* or *glōā*; *gloriam* is *glōm* or *glorām*.

habeo &c.; A has *h̄t* and \**hat* for *habet*, *h̄ms* (*habemus*), *h̄re* (*habere*), *huīt* (*habuit*), *h̄ns*, *h̄nda* (*habens*, *habenda*); B has *h̄nt* (*habent*), *h̄ntia* (*habentia*).

hic &c.; A and B have *h* with *i* suprascript over its shoulder for *hic*, and *h* with a horizontal stroke cutting its shaft for *haec*; A has *h̄c* for *hunc*; A and B agree in representing *hujus* by *h̄s* and *hoc* by *h* with dot over its shoulder but B also uses (f. 199<sup>v</sup> col. 2, penultimate line) \* a wavy line instead of a dot. The stroke in B over *h̄c* for *hinc* is the ordinary abbreviation sign.

homo &c.; *ho*, *hōium* (*hominum*) B.

ibi; *ib* with dot towards the shoulder of the *b*.

idcirco; \*ic with and without stroke (B, see f. 99r, col. 1, l. 14).  
ideo; \*iō.

idest; .i. with dot before and after it in A but only after it in B. B also uses \*id with abbreviation stroke to the right of the shaft; cf. *de* above.

igitur; \*g with suprascript *i* (AB).

illud; \*illd with stroke through shaft of *d*.

in; *i* with suprascript stroke, waved in A, straight in B.

inde; in. with and without stroke, but followed by a punctum (AB).

inter; both A and B use a capital I or *i longa* with cross-stroke through it, a symbol which somewhat resembles F or, more nearly, the present continental form of the numeral 7 with cross stroke; on f. 198, col. 1, l. 21 for inter B uses the same symbol but preceded by the letters *in*, evidently taking the symbol to represent *ter*; he also so far misunderstands the symbol as, for the first three syllables of *interimatur*, to use it \* twice in succession, the second time surmounted by the usual abbreviation stroke for *m*.  
7<sup>r</sup>atur.

ipse &c.; ipē, ipīus; the *s* being represented by a horizontal stroke placed above the letter which follows *p*, the *u* is omitted in *ipsum*.

juxta; \*inā; once the *t* is represented by a slight stroke to the right of the tail of the *x*.

legitur; legr.

littera; \*lṛā.

loquitur; loqr.

manifestatio; m̄festatio; B has m̄fm for manifestum.

mater &c.; m̄ris for matris; similarly m̄ria for materia.

maxime; \*mxē.

meus &c.; m̄s; mea and meae are m with *a* or *ae* suprascript; m̄m (meum, meam).

mihi; m with *i* suprascript (AB).

modo; m with *o* suprascript (AB); for modis A has *mis* with *o* over the *m*.

multum; mltm̄.

mundus; \*mds with stroke through the shaft of the *d*.

natura; n with *a* suprascript but naturam is either nrām or nm with *a* suprascript.

nec; \*n with *c* suprascript; similarly in necnon, donec.

necessaria; necia.

nihil; nl with stroke traversing the shaft of the *l* (AB); A has also nlō, nlm̄ (nihilo, nihilum) with stroke over the final letter.

nisi; n with *i* suprascript (A), nī (B).

nomen; nō (AB); A has also nom̄ (cf. nōa, nōe, nōi, nōium, nōando).

non; n̄ (AB); A occasionally uses a wavy instead of a straight stroke.

noster &c.; nr̄, nrā, nrī A; nrīs (nostris) B.

numerus; nūs, nuō (numero); enūat (enumerat).

nunc; nē (AB).

omnis &c.; om̄s; omnes is represented by both om̄s and oes; oīa (omnia) AB; oīum (omnium) A.

omnino; \*oīo.

pater &c.; p̄r (AB); A has prīs, prēm, prīm.

per; both A and B use *p* with cross bar traversing the lower shaft, but A has also a form somewhat resembling that of the *pro* symbol, but the tail to the left of the shaft starts -p from below the level of the base of the *venter* of the *p* and takes a wavy course. B uses twice in the words reperiretur and desperatio the peculiarly insular form of a *p* with a small *c* figure on its shoulder. (Lindsay 18.)

persona; the continental symbol for per (*p* with cross bar through its lower shaft) with *a* suprascript.

populus &c.; pli, plē, plm̄, plō, plōs with stroke traversing the *l*. post; *p* with *t* suprascript (AB); B represents posterius by adding *terius* to this symbol; A also employs (e.g. f. 6r) *p* with *o* suprascript (cf. postea, postuletur) and once \*pot with no stroke over it.

potest; pt̄ (AB), similarly potestas; B has also \*p with a stroke p̄ above it followed by the *est* symbol.<sup>1)</sup>

prae; *p* with stroke above it, either horizontal or wavy.

praeter; p̄t̄ with strokes above each letter (A).

pro; either the usual sign (Lindsay 40) with the tail carried back some distance through the shaft and then slightly curving back or with the tail, written with a separate

<sup>1)</sup> W. M. Lindsay, *Early Irish minuscule script*, Oxford 1910, p. 7.

-p stroke of the pen, starting from the middle of the shaft; both figures occur in B as well as in A.

proprius &c.; *proprie* is represented (AB) by the above *pro* symbol followed by an *e* with an *i* above it, either directly above it or slightly to the right; cf. in A ff. 34r, 96v. B -pe<sup>i</sup> once commences *proprietas* with \* the *pro* symbol and an *i* suprascript between it and the *e*.<sup>1)</sup>

propter; pp, with a horizontal (AB) or wavy (A) stroke over the second p.

quando; \*qn̄ (AB).<sup>2)</sup>

quanto; \*qnō.

quare; qre and qre with suprascript *a*. B has q̄r.

quasi; qsi, either with stroke over the *q* or *a* suprascript; once f. 28v \*q̄l.

-que; q; but with the dot and comma united to each other and closely attached to the *q* (Lindsay 21), A and B. Similarly in *aque*, *linque*.

qui &c.;

1. with suprascript vowel and without any stroke:

qui, quis, quid (AB. B has qqd and qcqd, each with two *i* suprascript); A has quo, qua (with the suprascript *a* either open or closed), qualibet, quam; B has aliqua, quibus.

2. with abbreviation mark of different shapes:

quae; q̄ (AB) [cf. liq̄scens A], A uses the *oriscus* form; B has for *quaecumque* qcq; with two semicircular abbreviation marks.

quem; (in A only) q with straight or wavy stroke.

quam; (*vide supra*) is also represented in A and B by q with an oblique stroke traversing the shaft.

- a quod; like the *quam* symbol (above) but with the higher part of the cross line (to the right of the shaft) slightly recurved (Lindsay 22) (A and B); A has also q̄d, with crossbarred d, 'more English than Irish' (Lindsay, *Early Irish* &c., p. 11).

quia; either written qia with *i* suprascript or q with a cross bar like *quam* or *quod* (see above) but with a slight recurve q̄ or hook at its lower end.

<sup>1)</sup> W. M. Lindsay, *Early Irish minuscule script*, p. 14.

<sup>2)</sup> The *u* is almost invariably omitted in abbreviations of *qu*.

quippe; \*qp with *i* suprascript.

quocirca; \*qc̄ (B).

quomodo; qmō.

quoniam; qm̄ (AB).

quoque; q̄q̄ (AB).

quot; q with *t* suprascript (AB).

rerum; rr̄ (AB); a case of syllabic suspension.

saeculum; sclm.

scilicet; s.

secundum; a long *f* with its shaft barred (Lindsay 25) (AB).

A also uses this symbol for *secundus* and *secundae*; for *secundus* he once (f. 16<sup>v</sup> line 2) writes an ordinary long *f* followed by the apostrophe (comma) symbol for *us*. Other cases of the adjective 'secundus' are represented by the addition to this barred *f*, in A of the letters *o*, *o* suprascript, *ae* suprascript, and *dum* or *cdum*, and in B of *i*, but A also uses *sed*s (*e* suprascript) for *secundus*, *sedō*, *scō*, *sedo* (f. 30<sup>r</sup>) for *secundo*, and *sedm*, with stroke through the *d*, for *secundum*.

*sed*; s̄, with a stroke (AB) or followed by a semicolon: s; (B).

*semper*; \*smr̄ (AB); \*sm̄ (A).

*sequitur*; \*sr with either stroke or another *r* over the second letter.

*servi*; sui, with long *f* barred, f. 35<sup>r</sup>.

*sic*; \*s with *c* suprascript.

*sicut*; A uses three abbreviations: 1. *s* with *i* suprascript; 2. *s* with *t* suprascript (f. 7<sup>v</sup>); 3. *sic* either without any stroke or with stroke over *i* or *c* (the last form occurs in B).

*significat*; sit̄ and sigcat (AB); sigicamus (B).

*sine*; sīe (A); sñ (AB).

*species*; spēs and spē (B).

*sub* and derivatives; \*s with *b* suprascript.

*sum*; s with either horizontal stroke or oriscus over it.

*sunt*; s with *t* suprascript (A); st̄ (AB).

*super*; sr̄ (AB); A also uses the *per* symbol for the second syllable; B has sr̄ior for *superior*.

*supra*; srā (AB); A also has sr with *a* suprascript.

*suns* &c.; the letter *u* is usually omitted and the second vowel is suprascript; A once has \*sē with *u* or open *a* suprascript; B has for *suis* ss with a semicircle above.

tamen; tn (AB); A once represents et tamen by the *et* symbol followed by m̄.

tantum; tm̄ (AB); A has also tnā, tnō.

tempus &c.; \*A has tpā, tpīs, tpē; he also employs for *tempore*, tpe with oriscus over the *t* and with the lower shaft of the *p* cross-barred; once he omits this bar but places one above the final *e*; he also writes tpla for temporalia.

ter; t̄ (AB).

tibi; t with *i* suprascript slightly to the right.

tunc; tc (AB).

tuus; A has \*t with *a* suprascript for tua.

ubi; u.

unde; un̄ (AB).

usque; us̄ (AB).

ut; u with *t* suprascript (AB).

vel; l with cross stroke traversing the shaft or starting from its right side (AB); A occasionally has the other usual symbol for vel, viz. ul with stroke through *l*.

vere; ue (AB).

vero; u and uō (A); u with *o* suprascript (B).

## 2a. Abbreviations of a syllable.

A stroke, horizontal unless otherwise stated, denotes the omission of a letter or letters; as a rule it is placed above the letter which precedes the omission; should this letter have an upper shaft, the stroke traverses it or is placed above the following letter.

-ab-; sill[ab]is.

-an-; m̄datum.

-ar-; *a* suprascript, ps (pars).

-at-; sabb[at]I, pecc[at]a, &c.

-e-; clo.

[*e* is most frequently omitted before *n*, e. g. participles, gerunds &c. of verbs of the second and third conjugations.]  
em at the end of a line is represented by a segment of a circle open below, attached to the shoulder of the final letter; e. g. f. 38<sup>v</sup> oration<sup>r</sup>.

en at the end of a word: car̄m, sem̄ and before *d* or *t*, agdum, sum̄dum, advtus, m̄tio.



er after *b*, lib̄, prohibet; after *c*, c̄ti; after *d*, mod̄nus; after *f*, trans̄ft, inf̄nus; after *m*, m̄tis, m̄ito (f. 29<sup>v</sup>, oriscus shaped), humis; after *t*, t̄ (ter, see above), int, alta, ceta, et̄num, veti, tra, mistiis, B has matia; after *u*, ūba (AB), ūtice, adūsus (AB), clamaūo (AB), pūo (AB), fūo, fūit (B).<sup>1)</sup>

et; lic, prophātum.

i; fide, d̄xi.

iec and iect; B has sub̄ta, sub̄o for subjecta (-to).

ir; 1. an oriscus, ccum; 2. *i* suprascript, c̄[ir]cuitus, ūtus, f̄mabitur. is (after *t*); mal, ill.

it (ending of the third person singular) very common, e. g. ag, allud, cantav̄. A employs agi (*i* suprascript) for agitur, but ag for agit.

m (medial as well as final); an oriscus or, more rarely, a straight stroke (AB); ania, comoda, hoo, huana, niia omnē, sū, tior. mo; dō with waved stroke for domo.

n (medial); A and B use a straight stroke, sāa, sīe, sīt, and occasionally the upper segment of a circle, mağa, persōa, but never the oriscus figure; Notice tabernaculum, tab̄aculum.

-na; mağ (A), uā (B).

-ne; unctiōs.

-or; forma, f̄ma (A), f̄ma (AB); fe (fore) AB; A has f̄te and once ftis without any stroke.

par, per and por; the usual *per* symbol; corpa, opa, paup, sepati. pre; the usual symbol, p̄; e. g. p̄sens, plium.

r; veitas, m̄itis; B uses two joined commas g"avi. Any vowel after *r* is usually suprascript, e. g.

ra 1. a suprascript *a* either open or closed, cont, fare<sup>a</sup>t, tdat, trs̄ierunt.

2. the oriscus, pvitatem.

3. two joined commas, t"here (AB), monst"rum (B).

re (medial) 1. contraction stroke, bvis, h̄eticos; very common after *g*, ḡgem, reḡssi, n̄ḡdinem; ḡci (B).

2. *e* suprascript, reationis (f. 38<sup>r</sup>).

re (final) very common in infinitives of verbs; a straight stroke (AB).

<sup>1)</sup> Dr. Loew reminds me that the omission of *er* after *b* and *u* is very old, after *c* it is less so; after the other letters it is very recent.

-ri after *c, f, g, p, t*<sup>1)</sup> either

1. *i* suprascript either in its usual form or, more frequently, like a *z* or *z* (AB); sc[ri]pto (A), insc[ri]bitur (B), lac[ri]mis (A), p[ri]mum (B).
2. oriscus (A only), p[ri]mo, t[ri]bulatio, conf[ri]gens.
3. horizontal stroke, once in A, eg̃tudo.

ro; *o* suprascript, cast[ro]rum, gloria appears as glā and gloā; once for introibo A, or possibly a later hand, uses the suprascript comma, int'ibo.

ru; *u* suprascript (A only); its shape varies; it either takes the form of an oriscus or of *u* with no bend at its conclusion: conge, desti, t̃das [c̃fixi is a capricious suspension].

-rum; *a* straight stroke, gratiā; once f. 47v a letter somewhat resembling S, quoS.

run-; insurrexēt.

s; Imael with stroke over I.

se; once a stroke through the lower shaft of the *f*, perf̃quatur.

ta; carItem.

te; principalir.

ti; incarnāo, revelāo in A, orāo, rogāo in B. See below -tio.

-tur; the usual apostrophe for -ur; legi' with no *t*.

u before or after *l*; illd̃, mlti, osclo, osclos, ocli (AB). A has titlm for titulum.

um, as distinct from rum; A uses the oriscus; e (eum) retrors, arc, eor.

un; for the third person singular of a verb, after all consonants (AB), e. g. agt, alludt, ert, dict, stabt, volt; also jodcus, mdo (several times written mdō). A once has posst with *t* suprascript. B has ncupatur.

unt; jung (B).

ur (medial and final); six suprascript abbreviation marks are used:

- 1. horizontal stroke; cām, futūm, plibus.
- ~ 2. wavy stroke: contbaverunt, convertant~.
3. oriscus: pressas, p̃gantur.

<sup>1)</sup> Dr. E. A. Loew notes that these are not all on the same line of importance; *c, p, t* are ancient, but *f, g* are recent forms made by analogy of the others.

- ' 4. comma (usually the *us* symbol); fut<sup>o</sup>; frequently used for the verb termination -*l*.
- ∞ 5. a figure like a recumbent 8: fig<sup>∞</sup>, immolat<sup>∞</sup>, natā<sup>∞</sup> (B).
- " 6. a figure like two joined commas or a reversed *u*, e. g. over the last syllable of the words fig<sup>n</sup>a (figura) and quieti<sup>n</sup> (quieturi), and after the last syllable of dicent<sup>a</sup> (dicentur) and inscribit<sup>a</sup> (inscribitur) B. It also occurs in mat[ur]ari, murm[ur]ant, part[ur]iens.
- us; 1. comma above the line: consci<sup>ˆ</sup>.
2. a semicolon with its two parts joined, the 3 symbol descending below the line (Rosslyn, p. XXXIII); adūs<sub>3</sub>, sol<sub>3</sub>.

## 2b. Abbreviations of two or more syllables.

ati, atio; rō, orō; (B has rāo, orāo).

ecti; resurrō.

ectu; intell<sup>-</sup>s.

enti; conscia, sapia.

ere; misre.

eri; mistorum.

eru; alt<sup>-</sup>m, it<sup>-</sup>m.

esti; congo.

Two *i* separated by a letter or letters, l. n. t.<sup>1)</sup>

ilis; desirabl<sup>-</sup>.

ilite; simlr.

ini; the word iniquus is curiously abbreviated; the two *i* disappear and the *n* has a stroke over it: n̄qui, n̄quo, n̄quitas, yet inique appears as in̄q. Similarly n̄acob (in iacob), ab̄atio (ab initio). Sometimes only the first *i* is omitted: n̄idipsum, n̄iustus.

-itu (of the verb termination) very common: ag<sup>r</sup>, pon<sup>r</sup>.

-sition: dispōē (A), oppōē (B).

stanti; subā; B has subta.

u-entum; argm̄.

usi; conclo.

<sup>1)</sup> Similarly vind<sup>-</sup>cam (vindictam), sci<sup>i</sup> (scripsi).

## 2c. Unusual suspensions.

The practice of representing repeated or well known words by their initial letter or syllable is carried out very extensively; six or seven words, a quotation from the psalter, have only their first letters; *ca* and *f.* represent *calida* and *frigida* when the context is obvious: *l. latine, s. sanctus &c. &c.* No useful result would be gained by giving all these forms; a few instances however of simple and frequently used words may be useful: *dein[de]*, *interpr[etatur]*, *it[em]*, *li[ttera]*, *n[os]*, *ru[r]us*, *sig[nificavit]*.

## 3. Nomina sacra.

A has:

*angelus*: *angls, agli.*

*apostolorum*: *aplorum.*

*Christus*: *X* with *c, m* or *o* suprascript. *Xtus, Xt̄m, Xpi, Xp̄m.*

*David*: *DD* with cross stroke.

*deus*: *dī, dō, d̄m.*

*dominus*: *dn̄m, dnē.*

*ecclesia*: *ecclia, eccias.*

*Hierusalem*: *Hīrlm̄, Ierlm̄.*

*Jesus*: *ihs.*

*Israel*: *isrl.*

*martyrum*: *mr̄m.*

*misericordia*: *mīa* (once f. 13<sup>v</sup> used for *miseria*), *misdia.*

*propheta*: *profā* with *pro* symbol.

*psalmus*: *p̄s* (*ps̄m, psmō*).

*sanctus*: *scs* (*sci, scm̄ &c.*).

*spiritus*: *sp̄m, spalibus.*

## 4. Suprascript letters.

[See above: *erga, ergo, fuit, hic, igitur, meus, mihi, modo, natura, nec, nisi, post, quare, quasi, qui, quia, quippe, quot, secundum, sic, sicut, sub, sunt, supra, suus, tibi, vero, ut, and ar, ir, ra, ri.*]

The suprascript *a* is always an open one.

*a, i* and *o* over *q* are frequently employed for *qua-, qui-, quo-*, e. g. *aqua, quarto, inquisitur; equalis* and *liquor* (B).

*a* suprascript appears for *ar* in the word *pars*.

*e* suprascript appears in the word *me*.

- m* is occasionally suprascript at the end of a line to save space.  
*s*, in its continental form, appears suprascript in the words cassia, eis, and psalmus and occasionally at the end of a line.  
*u* suprascript is occasionally written like the sign for a short syllable in prosody; it occurs in the words *auditus*, *captivos*, *huic*, *laudes*, *lingua* (AB), *octavus*, *saul*, *sanguinem*, *sue* and in *longus* and compounds (*longue*, *longitudinem*, *elonguavi*).  
*h* is frequently suprascript; it occurs in such words as *catedra* (over the *a*), *betel* (over the *b*), *triumpi* (over the *m*). It is never written as the rectangular *δασία* accent but takes the shape of a Z, a 2 or a sort of y.  
 The only subscript letter is *i* after a long *f*.

### 5. Orthography.

Closely connected with abbreviations and equally valuable as a clue to the provenance of a manuscript are the orthographical peculiarities. — Omitting what are evidently faults of the scribe, the following may be useful as indications of local pronunciation or of the text of the exemplar.

- a* for *o*: *hastias*, *synagaga*.  
*b* for *p*: *bibertitus*, *tribartitus*, *scobebam*.  
*d* for *t*: *plandis*.  
*e* for *i*: *dimedio* (A), *vigelare* (B).  
*i* for *e*: very common: *decim*, *elimentorum*, *impitus*, *intigra* (B. and the corrector of A, also the later title of the ms.), *spiciosa*, *subictorum* (*subjectorum*), *tinpore* (*tempore*), *vinia*.  
*o* for *a*: *Jacob*, *loborem*.  
*o* for *u*: *figoratum*, *rebos*, *repolisti*. B has *copolemus*, *motabile*, *neotra*. *Spelonca* and *spelunca* appear in the same page of A (once the *u* is altered into *a*), and so do *iracondia* and *iracundia*.  
*p* for *b*: *vipravit*.  
*t* for *d*: *eistem*, *jucuntum*, *pentens*.  
*u* for *o*: *mursu*, *murtuo*.

Rome.

H. M. BANNISTER.

## EINE VERBESSERUNG ZU DEM GEDICHTE *AED OLL.*

In der *Revue Celtique* XXXI, S. 397 will Vendryes, wie schon Stokes und Strachan vor ihm, statt des offenbar fehlerhaften *centhain* in dem bekannten altirischen Gedicht auf König Aed (*Thes. Pal.* II, S. 295, 10) *cech thain* lesen. Stokes hat im Supplement, S. 78, diese Konjekture zurückgezogen und zwar wohl deshalb, weil er einsah, daß das Metrum hier ein zweisilbiges Wort erheischt; sie giebt ja auch keinen guten Sinn. Sein Vorschlag *cenntain* zu lesen will mir aber nicht gefallen. Mich hat der Druckfehler *conthain*, den ich in den Corrigenda zum Supplement anzumerken versäumt habe, wie ich glaube, auf die richtige Fährte gebracht. Es ist nämlich *contain* zu lesen, wodurch wir erstens Reim mit *orddain* und zweitens einen guten Sinn erhalten, 'Enkel Muiredachs des streitbaren'. Denn *contain* ist der Genitiv von *contan* 'Streit, Kampf', von dem der Acc. *contan* und der Dat. *conton* in meinen Contributions s. v. belegt sind. Dasselbe Wort wird auch in dem Ortsnamen *Cúil Contuinn* (*Macgním. Finn* § 1) stecken, den Hogan im Onomasticon nicht aufgeführt hat.

Ich möchte *contan* aus älterem \**conten* für Entlehnung eines kymrischen \**conten*, später *cynhen* halten, das seinerseits aus lat. *contentio* herübergenommen ist.

KUNO MEYER.

## THE SONGS OF BUCHET'S HOUSE.

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The following poem, here edited and translated for the first time from Rawlinson B. 502, p. 87a-88a, the only copy in which it has come down to us, is a rhymed version of the prose account published and translated by the late Whitley Stokes in *Revue Celtique* XXV, p. 18 ff. In the last stanza it is ascribed to Eochaid Eolach, who according to O'Curry (*Lectures* II, p. 113) is identical with Eochaid Eolach hua Cérin mentioned in LU 39a 15 together with Flann Mainistrech († 1056) as one of the authors of *Senchas na Relec*. The language of the poem may well be that of the first half of the eleventh century. The following vowel-rhymes point to a period not earlier than this: gen. sg. *Banba* : nom. sg. *rochalma* (1); *té* : *d' aichne* (6); '*mole* : acc. pl. *meincee* (9); dat. sg. *aidche* : nom. sg. *furfoirbthe* (14); gen. sg. *baile* : nom. sg. *deg-aire* (20); gen. sg. f. *luimmi* : dat. sg. *ardmuimme* (36); *i lligc* : gen. f. *máethgile* (37); *de* : gen. sg. *aite* (44). *Ua* 'grandson' is used as a monosyllable (1. 27). Other Middle-Irish forms are: *cia scél*, *cia écóir* (22) for O. Ir. *cíd scél*, *cíd écóir*; *trí héigme* (24. 26) for O. Ir. *teora éigme*; *arís* (25. 52. 53); *gébat-sa* (31); *co facca sé* (33); *in t-ainm* (51); *trín* (57) for O. Ir. *tríin*; *in tech* (60).

Dublin.

MARY HAYDEN.

- 1 Cathāir cenn cōicid Banba,   ōtā in rigrad rochalma,  
hūa Ceinselaig na cet fled   ocus slūag lāngarg Lagen.
- 2 Dā mac ar thrichait ro thecht   in rī donārb āil anrecht,  
ocus ōeningen aca,   Eithne thūachail t[h]ōebfata.
- 3 Tucad Eithnī, ard a blad,   ar fer n-aurdaire dia haltram,  
ar Buichet na slūag sētach,   ar in m̄bringaid mbōchetach.
- 4 Nī mūchtha tene 'na thaich,   i ndūn Buchet 'con briugaid,  
'na rē 'con fīr fīal fassad.   acht a bith for bithlassad.
- 5 Secht n-airge 'cond ōenfiur fīal   nā tuc d'ōegedaib anfiad;  
secht fīchit bō, ba būan blad,   in cach airge, nīrb ingnad.
- 6 Secht ndoirsi for a thich the   ind lāich nār hannsa d'aichne,  
in cach dorus no bīd ben   hic frithālini na n-ōged.
- 7 Secht teinte 'na thig thecrach   hicon lāech cen luathēcnach;  
ōegid imda im cach tenid   hic fiur fīal ind ardenich.
- 8 Meicc imda hī[c] Cathāir na crech   hic aithigid 'na ōentech,  
slūag adbal cach ōenfīr dīb   do dōenīb as cach degthīr.
- 9 No thictis dar cach trethan   d'acallaim a n-ardsethar,  
no chuingtis na lāech 'mole   ascada mōra meincee.
- 10 In fer nā fagbad aiscid   do chlaind rīg in rogaiscid  
donid ordd iar tocht astig   nār bo maith risī[n] muintir.
- 11 Na fuaitged albīn dia būaib,   nō na heochu fri ōenhūair,  
nō in seisrig iar lō din leirg,   dar andeoin Buchit brattdeirg.
- 12 Dothēged Buichet buird Breg,   no accāined a imned  
hī fiadnaisse Chathāir chōir   ocus eside<sup>1)</sup> senōir.

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<sup>1)</sup> na is inserted above the line in a late hand.



**The Songs of Buchet's House.**

- 1 Cathair, head of a province of Banba, from whom is the very valiant royal race; grandson of Ceinselach of the hundred feasts and of the full-fierce hosts of Leinster.
- 2 Two-and-thirty sons had the king, to whom injustice was not pleasing, and he had one daughter, wily Ethne Long-Side.
- 3 Ethne was brought — great her fame — to an illustrious man for fosterage, to Buchet of the wealthy hosts, to the landholder of a hundred cows.
- 4 In his house fire was not extinguished, in the fort of Buchet, the land-owner, while the generous steadfast man was alive, but used to be blazing constantly.
- 5 Seven herds had the one generous man, who did not give an ill welcome to guests. Seven score cows — enduring was the fame — were in each herd, it was no wonder.
- 6 Seven doors to the warm house of the warrior who was not difficult to know; at each door there would be a woman waiting on the guests.
- 7 Seven fires in his sheltered house had the warrior, without swift reviling. Many guests around each fire had the generous man of noble hospitality.
- 8 Many sons of Cathair of the spoils were visiting his one house, a great host with each man of them of people out of every fair land.
- 9 They would come over each sea to converse with their noble sister. All the warriors would ask for large frequent gifts.
- 10 The one of the children of the king of very great valour who did not get a present would after coming out use behaviour which was not pleasing to the household.
- 11 He would take away a small herd of his cows, or the horses at one time, or the plough-team after the day from the plain, against the will of Buchet of the red cloak.
- 12 Buchet of the border of Bregia would come; he would lament his misfortune in the presence of just Cathair, who was an old man.

- 13 'Ní chungim-se do chobair', ar Cathair in chrechdolaid,  
'acht a cheist immum chride mannurtha do mórthige'.
- 14 Elaid huadib i n-aidche in fer firen furfoirbthe,  
cia riacht Leth Cuind máin<sup>1)</sup> ar teched clainne Cathair. C.
- 15 Hisse leth ruc sum a reim, co Cenannas tria choemcheil,  
co rigdun Cormaic Cnuicc Brain meic Airt meic Cuind  
[C[h]etchathaig.
- 16 Ro bae i mboith bic isin dun Buchet 's a ben cen bæthrun,  
is ingen Chathair ro chlecht cen tathair coa timthirecht.
- 17 Ní lamad techt hi Temraig, annsin hua Cuind c[h]assherlaich  
la Meidb Leithdeirg Laigen lir fri athmnai in rig Airtt  
[Öenfir.
- 18 Siist ár marbad Airtt na n-ech, ro po beoda in banLaignech,  
ro gab fein co talchar tenn rige [n]-aurmóir na hErenn.
- 19 Iarsin [ro] gaib Cormac crúaid rige for Banbai bratruid,  
ocus claidid, caem a dath, ráith romóir na rig-Themrach.
- 20 Tic fer bunaid in baile, diar bu dual a deg-aire,  
trath ro chlaided in ráth rúad ro<sup>2)</sup> Cormac is ra cháemsluag.
- 21 Atnaig a thrí eigme as, in t-aithech mór meramnas,  
co clos fo thir Breg na mbenn cach eigim triana hardchemn.
- 22 'Cid eige, ⁊ aithig engaig?' ar Cormac a clóenTemraich;  
'Innis duin cia scel scaile, nó cia ecóir ecáine'.
- 23 'Dochraite híc a imbirt forn', ar in t-aithech abratgorm,  
'port ríg dom baile co brath, nimmun-aices in t-ardrath'.
- 24 Hic sadud in tige tricc dom in t-athech narb ainglicc,  
trí heigme fon cóir cétua, co rodiscir, rodetla.

<sup>1)</sup> *An imperfect line. Read perhaps cid do riacht acht Leth Cuind máin?*

<sup>2)</sup> *sic; ro = re, ra (fri) also in Fé<sup>2</sup> p. 222, 43.*

- 13 'I cannot help you', said Cathair of the spoil; 'but there is sorrow around my heart for the destruction of your great house'.
- 14 In the night the upright very perfect man escapes from them; fleeing from the children of Cathair he reached Leth Cuinn of the treasures.
- 15 Thither he shaped his course, to Kells, through his fair intelligence, to the royal fort of Cormac of the Raven's Hill, son of Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles.
- 16 They were in a little hut in the fort, Buchet and his wife without foolish counsel, and the daughter of Cathair was wont to serve them without reproach.
- 17 The grandson of Conn of the curly locks did not dare to go to Tara then, on account of Medb Red-Side of Leinster of the Sea, because of the former wife of king Art the Solitary.
- 18 A while after the slaying of Art of the steeds — the Leinster woman was bold — she herself obstinately and strongly took the kingship of the greater part of Ireland.
- 19 After that hardy Cormac took the kingship over red-cloaked Banba, and he digs — fair its colour — the huge rath of royal Tara.
- 20 The man owning the place, whose duty it was to guard the place well, comes whilst the red rath was being dug by Cormac and by his fair host.
- 21 He utters his three cries, the great wild fierce churl, so that throughout the land of Bregia of the peaks each cry was heard at the top of his voice.
- 22 'Why do you cry, o clamorous churl?' said Cormac from sloping Tara. 'Tell us what story you are unfolding, or what injustice you are lamenting'.
- 23 'Oppression is being inflicted on us', said the dark-browed churl. 'My home-stead is being made a king's place till Doom, we were not seen mutually (?), the high rath'.
- 24 At the foundation of the house the churl, who was not foolish, quickly gave three cries in the same way, very fiercely, very boldly.

- 25 Trath dochtaid Cormac na cor isin sárthech ro<sup>1)</sup> solad,  
tic aris cen recht, cen raind in tres fecht fer ind feraind.
- 26 Donī tri heigme co hard, co rochrúaid is co rogarg  
i ndorus in tige té, do sirfúacra ʔ sáraigthe.
- 27 ‘Cid heigi, ʔ aithich, co prap?’ atbert fris hūa Cuind Cormac,  
is a druim fri comloid cóir in tigi rīgdai romóir.
- 28 ‘Mo sárgud duit-siu co derb, co fúachda *ocus* co firserb;  
ní flaithius duit, ní recht rīg, brith m’[f]eraind uaim i  
[n-anfir.]
- 29 ‘Bera uaim-se’, ʔr in rī rot, ‘do chomthrom d’ór is d’argot,  
cuit nōnbuir, is nī do rath, cach n-aidchi ʔ tich na Temrach.
- 30 Na dā ráith-se rind aness hit chomfocus co comdess,  
Odra Temrach arna taill, beir hūaim inn-inad t’[f]eraind’.
- 31 ‘Gebat-sa sain, ar nī suail, inn-inad m’[f]eraind innuair,  
ro<sup>1)</sup> tōeb do chátað cen chrad’, atbert in t-aithech Odran.
- 32 ‘Odrān a mMaig Breg in būair eter Odru Temra thuaid’,  
he sein in fogur dia fail in t-Odor eter Odraib.
- 33 Íar sain doriacht Cormac cas ōn Chláenraith co Cenannas,  
co facca sē in n-i[n]gin ann, dalta Buichet na mbúaball.
- 34 Hic techt ar cenn uisci nair a aithli bleogain a būair,  
dā lestar hi nāmaib lé, ní linad hīat ar ōengne.
- 35 In dara lestar, ba leir, a himleib srotha soreid,  
lestar aile tria fotha. a medōn in mōrsrotha.
- 36 Teit do būain luachra luimmi di[a] haite is dia hardmuimme,  
his ros-rann co derb ar dō ind ingen, nī himmargō.

<sup>1)</sup> sic.

- 25 At the time when at the auspicious moment Cormac of the covenants went into the great house, the owner of the land comes again for the third time, without law, without right.
- 26 As a continued proclamation of his wrong he gave three cries aloud, very deeply and very fiercely in front of the warm house.
- 27 'Why do you cry suddenly, churl?' Cormac, grandson of Conn said to him, with his back against the straight door-valve of the great royal house.
- 28 'My being outraged by you certainly, perversely and roughly. It is not princesship for you nor right of kings to take my land unjustly from me'.
- 29 'You will get from me' said the . . . king, 'your own weight of gold and of silver, the ration of nine men each night at the house of Tara, it is a matter of favour'.
- 30 'These two raths south of us, close to you, convenient, the Odra of Tara after they have been snatched take from me in place of your land.'
- 31 'I will take that, for it is not small, in place of my cool land, in addition to your favour, without wrong', said the churl Odran.
- 32 'Odran of the Plain of Bregia of the Kine, between the Odra of Tara in the north', that is the saying on account of which is 'Odor between Odra'.
- 33 After that Cormac the Curly-haired arrived from Claenrath at Kells, when he saw a maiden there, the foster-child of Buchet of the drinking-horns.
- 34 Coming for cold water after milking her kine, two buckets she had in her hands; she was not filling them in the same way.
- 35 One bucket, it was evident (she filled) from the edges of the gentle stream; the other bucket, for its supply (she filled) from the middle of the great stream.
- 36 She goes to cut bare rushes for her foster-father and for her noble foster-mother, and the girl divided them exactly into two parts, it is not a falsehood.

- 37 Imbel na lúachra for leith inna hairbir chaem cen chleith,  
medōn na lúachra hì llige ar a muint na maethgile.
- 38 Ros-airich rì Temra thair, iar n-éirge moch 'san matain;  
cach a nderna ō dub co dub, ro búi in rì coa ráthugud.
- 39 Ro iarfaig Cormac cen chrád: 'A hingen alaind imslan,  
cia dia rainni, ráid rind sain, in t-usce, in lacht, in luachair?'
- 40 'Fer ro búi hì rromaithius riam', ar inn i[n]gen feta fial,  
'is dō trialltair sunn co se roga cach na rainnim-se'.
- 41 'Inn e Buichet Lagen lan sain?' ar Cormac na comdal.  
'Is he', ar hEithne, 'luatir lat'. 'Nacūalammar', ar Cormacc.
- 42 'Ocus tusu fein co fir, in tú ingen ind arddrig,  
ingen Chathair chrichi Breg, Eithne thōebfata thuachel?'
- 43 'Meid ro thoimsis fein rofes m'ainm is m'atharda údiles,  
a rì Gaedel is Gall ŋot, nī getam th'airdmess horot.'
- 44 'Nī rabai-siu cen maith mōr, cen churnu ocus cen chomol',  
ar Cormac cen a chor de, 'hì llúag honōra th'aite'.
- 45 Tuc a aire 'sin n-ingin rii Gaidel in glasinbir,  
grád na hingine cen ail tucad co mōr dia menmain.
- 46 Ro chuinged ind ingen hūaid cosin n-aite ros-imluaid.  
'Noc[h]o dīm-sa dlegair sain', ar a haitte, 'acht dia hathair'.
- 47 Nī thuc Buchet in flaith fir do rig Herenn in n-ingin,  
no co rosfuc ar ecin, arāe ciarb ordd anhetig.
- 48 Acht leth na haidche hūaire nī rabae in ben bratthuaine  
hicond rīg sin co rath mōr co ndechaid hūaid ar elōd.

- 37 The edge of the rushes apart in her fair bundle, without concealment, the middle of the rushes laid on the back of the gentle fair maiden.
- 38 The king of Tara in the east noticed her, after rising early in the morning. Everything that she did from dawn till dusk, the king was watching it.
- 39 Cormac asked without offence: 'O beautiful, perfect maiden, for whom do you divide the water, the milk, the rushes? say that to us'.
- 40 'A man who was in great prosperity formerly', said the beautiful modest girl, 'it is for him that is intended here up to now the choice of all that I am dividing'.
- 41 'Is that Buchet of the perfect men of Leinster?' said Cormac of the meetings. 'It is he', said Eithne, 'you mention him'. 'We have heard of him', said Cormac.
- 42 'And you yourself truly, are you the daughter of the high-king, the daughter of Cathair of the territory of Bregia, wily Eithne Long-Side?'
- 43 'So far as you have supposed yourself, my name and my fatherland are known. O king of the Gaels and of the stammering foreigners, we shall not deprive you of your calculation.'
- 44 'May you not be without great prosperity, without drinking-horns and without revelry', said Cormac without moving, 'as a reward for honouring your foster-father'.
- 45 The king of the Gaels of the green estuary gave his attention to the maiden; love of the maiden without reproach entered strongly into his mind.
- 46 The maiden was asked for (in marriage) by him of the foster-father whom she had mentioned. 'This does not belong to me', said her foster-father, 'but to her father'.
- 47 Buchet the princely man did not give the girl to the king of Ireland, until he took her by force, although it was an unjust proceeding.
- 48 Only half of the cold night the green-cloaked woman stayed with that king with great favour. when she departed from him and escaped.

- 49 Hin n-aidchi sin, nī holc lenn, nī fitir cach co coitchenn,<sup>1)</sup>  
dorigned ri na n-ech n-ard Cairpre Liphichair langarg.
- 50 Hi lLiphichair na lerg rúad tūargabad flaith na findsliug  
eter a máthre mine is a aithre i n-ardrige.
- 51 Is de sin ro len in læch in t-ainm aurdaire nāch ingaeth,  
dar cach<sup>2)</sup> mbānchlād co mbechaib Cairpre lamchar Liphichair.
- 52 Cuingid aris in rigain Cormac, cenn ōs chāemrigaib;  
doniat a curu 'moale do deoin athar is aite.
- 53 Nīrb ail d'Eithni t[h]ōebgil trell techt aris co rig n'Érenn,  
co tuctha ā hellam huile do Buichet bān barrbuidē.
- 54 Tucad ellom anbfoil ann d'ingin Chathair, nī chelam,  
nī thucad ellom amlaid do mnai i n'Érind hechadbail.
- 55 Cach a faicced fein, ferr de, do druimm Chenannsa cāeme,  
co cenn sechtmaine, nī sūail, ar fut Maige Breg barrhūair.
- 56 Eter or is argat sain, eter threoto ocus tanaid,  
eter dam is duine is ech, a car huile for ōenleth.
- 57 Forfemid Buchet na mbō immain trīn na tucad dō,  
co tard Cormac lasin crod cethirn ūad dia idnaccol.
- 58 [I]s ed tuc Buchet a būar, co cōiced Lagen lindhūar,  
co rigdūn m'Buichet mībledach in ro chlecht a chētenech.
- 59 Ō thuc leis a thāinte ātūaid Buchet co mbīd sorthan sluaig,  
nī thānic ōenfer bad ferr do reir ōeged na h'Érenn.
- 60 'Mochen duib, is duib bas maith', atbeired fein in firflaith;  
'ferrde duin imma sech sain. oibniti i n-tech for tīchtain'.

<sup>1)</sup> coithchenn MS.<sup>2)</sup> chach MS.



- 49 That night — it is not displeasing to us, everyone does not know it commonly, — the king of the noble steeds, full fierce Cairpre Liphechair was begotten.
- 50 In Liphechair of the red slopes the prince of the fair hosts was brought up, between his gentle maternal kin and his paternal kin, in high kingship.
- 51 It is from this that the famous name clave to the hero, which is not foolish, across each fair dyke with bees, Cairpre Liphechair, lover of combats.
- 52 He asks again for the queen, Cormac, chief over fair kings. They make their covenants together, according to the will of her father and foster-father.
- 53 Fair-sided Eithne did not wish for a while to go back to the king of Ireland, till her bride-price were given altogether to fair yellow-haired Buchet.
- 54 Then a huge bride-price was given — we do not hide it — for the daughter of Cathair; there was not given a bride-price like it for any woman in steed-abounding Ireland.
- 55 Whatever she might see herself — it was the better for her — from the ridge of fair Kells, till the end of a week, — it was not small — throughout the cold-topped plain of Bregia.
- 56 Both gold and precious silver, both herds and droves, both oxen and men and horses were all put on one side.
- 57 Buchet of the kine was not able to take away a third of what was given to him, till Cormac gave himself with the property a troop of kerns to deliver it.
- 58 It is thither that Buchet took his kine, to the province of Leinster of the cold lakes, to Buchet's kingly dun of the drinking-cups, where he had practised his first hospitality.
- 59 Since Buchet took his herds with him from the north so that he was the prosperity of the host, there did not come any man that was better to the mind of the guests of Ireland.
- 60 'My welcome to you! it will be well with you', the truly princely man himself used to say; 'it is in its turn the better for us; more pleasant is the house through your coming'.

- 61 Trī gaire thall 'na thig oil    ò thōebail a chorn comōil,  
co faicced cāch thīar is tair    in grīan immuich iar matain.
- 62 Gair in chōicat lāech ar leith,    ba lōr d'ōebnius ar ōensreith,  
i mbrattaib corcra co cert    hic cluichi 's a[c] clīaraigecht.
- 63 Gair in chōicat ingen ann    im brattaib hūaine atmam;  
cui ri na ngrianān co ngrād,    sianān acco īs andorddān.
- 64 Gair chōicat chruittire cōir    hic airfitiud inn ardslōig  
isin tich iarna thomus    co ticed lāe lānsholus.
- 65 In lāech dia ro lensat sain,    pudar a thecht fo thalmain!  
mōr d'eniuch dorigine ōs rāen    'sin chrich ro chosain Cathāer.  
Cathāir.
- 66 Eochaid Eōlach, fuair in fer    ardsenchas inse Gāedel,  
augtar inn éolais co n-āeb    sluindfes cert clainne Cathāer.  
Cathāir.

- 61 Three shouts there were in his drinking-house yonder, from the raising of his horns of revelry till in the west and in the east <sup>1)</sup> all used to see the sun outside after morning.
- 62 The shout of the fifty warriors on one side, it was enough pleasure, in one row; properly (clad) in crimson cloaks, playing and singing in chorus.
- 63 The shout of the fifty maidens there, in green cloaks, we declare; the company of the *grianáns* with dignity, music amongst them and singing.
- 64 The shout of fifty fine harpers making music to the noble hosts in the house according to measure till the full light of day would come.
- 65 The warrior whom those things accompanied, pity that he should have gone under earth! much of hospitality did he exercise above the ground in the territory which Cathair had striven for.
- 66 Eochaid Eolach, the man discovered the noble ancient lore of the island of the Gaels, author of the fair knowledge, he it is who will make known the right of the race of Cathair.

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<sup>1)</sup> i. e. behind and in front.

## OIDED<sup>1)</sup> CHUIND CETCHATHAICH ANNSO.

[Book of Lecan 350a.]

Eochaid Belbuidi mac Feidlimid Rechtmair bráthair Cuind. Luidside i crích nUlad ar comairci do theiched Chuind a bráthar, úair fa dobesach díchoisc Eochaid, 7 romillead rígi 7 smacht a bráthar. Is andsin immorro cartais<sup>2)</sup> Cond *cūicer* fear grāda dō co rīgaib Ulad conā beith Eochaid Belbuidi aco, *no* co mbetis fo sobes. Ba hīad so in *cūicer* techtairead luidsead fr[i]sin .i. Foitin Forbair mac Feigi Echteag, 7 Enda mac Dega Laigen, 7 Ailill mac Fingein meic Luchta, 7 Tibraidi Túaithebrach mac Cleitig, 7 Asal mac Forandáin a Formail. 7 luidsed fothúaid rompo a Temraig. Is andsin do hindised dóib Eochaid Belbuidi do beith ac seile a Sleib Breg, 7 do marbsad in tEochaid andsin, úair nī frith neach mailli fris acht a chū, ut poeta dixit:

Eochaid Belbuidi robith  
i cath Chomair, úada a [f]ich.  
úair nī roibi neach 'na dū,  
frith hē i mbāegal is a chū.

Rob olc *didin* la rīgaib Ulad in gnīm sin 7 adubradar nach gebdais coma ina sārugud acht a marbad, úair nīr gobad rompo. Ar ai dorondad síd eturru 7 Cond. Ba hīad rīga Ulad in tan sin .i. Cairpri Gnathchorad mac Māil meic Rochraidi 7 Bresal mac Briūin. Adbathadur iar sin drem díb. Adbert Breasal no Tibraidi mac Māil nā gebad síd, úair nīr lam beith i nUlaib deisiden ar ecla Chuind 7 la hecla rīg Ulad tre foireicin Chuind forro side.

<sup>1)</sup> oiged MS.

<sup>2)</sup> carrthais MS.

### Translation.

## THE DEATH OF CONN OF THE HUNDRED BATTLES.

Eochaid Bélbuide, son of Feidlimid Rechtmar, was Conn's brother. He went into Ulster under safeguard, to escape from his brother Conn, for Eochaid was ill-bred and unruly, and was destroying his brother's rule and authority. Then, however, Conn sent five of his confidential servants to the kings of Ulster, so that Eochaid Bélbuide might not stay with them, or so that they might be <sup>1)</sup> well-behaved. These were the five envoys who went for that purpose: Foitin Forbair son of Féige Échtach, Énda son of Daig Laigen, Ailill son of Fingein mac Luchta, Tíbraide Tuaithebrach son of Cleitech, and Asal son of Forannán from Formael. They went on northwards from Tara. Then they were told that Eochaid Bélbuide was hunting on Sliab Breg, and they slew Eochaid there, for none was found with him save his hound *ut poeta dixit* —

Eochaid Bélbuide was slain  
in the battle of Comar, hence the fury caused by it,  
as there was no one in his place,  
he and his hound were taken unprotected.

This deed was displeasing to the kings of Ulster, and they said that for the outrage done to them they would accept no terms (from Conn) but his death, for that before their time such only had been accepted. Howbeit peace was made between them and Conn. The kings of Ulster at that time were Cairbre Gnáthchorad son of Mál son of Rochraide, and Bresal son of Bríón. Thereafter some of them died. Bresal, or Tíbraide, son of Mál said that he would not accept peace, because he durst not stay henceforth in Ulster for fear of Conn and for fear of the kings of Ulster through Conn's oppression of them.

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<sup>1)</sup> Read *no co mbeth* 'until he should be' (?)

Is ed doroinde Tíbraidi dul i nAlbain co rig Alban .i. co Failbe Findloga 7 bái trí bliadhna aici side. Is andsin tuc rig Alban comairli dō .i. tíachtain i nErind 7 síd do denam re Cond. Doni[th] uili amlaid sin. Raidid Ulaid fris beith sídach<sup>1)</sup> re Cond. Adbert som<sup>2)</sup> do denam 7 nír lam tíachtain ar comairci no a aenur co Cond, conid hī comairli doroinde tíachtain i rechtaib ban cope[h]aillech d'indsaigid<sup>3)</sup> Chuind. Is and bái Cond in tan sin i tūaithemair<sup>4)</sup> ic urgnum Feisi na Temrach 7 baidsi tūaith Themrach, 7 ba fūathad do Chond in tan sin. Is and doroinde Tíbraidi andsidi Cond do marbad, ūair ba ūathad dō 7 ba līnmar do Thíbraidi, conad amlaid sin tarum do marbad Cond. Finit. Amen.

<sup>1)</sup> sídaich MS.

<sup>2)</sup> Something seems omitted here.

<sup>3)</sup> dinsaidig MS.

<sup>4)</sup> tūaith themair MS.

What Tíbraide did was to go to Scotland, to the king of Scotland, Failbe Findloga, and he was three years with him. Then the king of Scotland advised him to come to Ireland and make peace with Conn. It was all done thus. The Ulstermen bid him be at peace with Conn. He said . . . to make [peace?], but he did not venture to come to Conn under safeguard or by himself, so he determined to come to Conn, (himself and his men) disguised as veiled women. At that time Conn was on an eminence<sup>1)</sup> preparing the Feast of Tara and . . . the district of Tara, and Conn was alone at that time. Then Tíbraide slew Conn, for he was alone and Tíbraide had many followers. So that is how Conn was slain. Finit. Amen.

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<sup>1)</sup> For *túaithe-mair* see CZ. VII, 523, note 3.

O. J. BERGIN.

## ON CHARIOT-BURIAL IN ANCIENT IRELAND.

The object of this paper is to point out and prove, if possible, that the old-Irish story 'Orgain Dind Rig',<sup>1)</sup> contains an allusion to one of the most interesting discoveries of Celtic archaeology; I mean the custom of chariot-burial as practised in certain localities and at a certain period. I shall begin by explaining, as far as the evidence I have collected will permit, what the custom was and how its existence has been proved.

For the last forty years or more French archaeologists have been exploring countless graves and tumuli in all parts of France. They have discovered graves of every age and of very varied civilizations. In many cases the graves contained objects which by their style or material or ornamentation have enabled archaeologists to fix their date. About 1872 a remarkable set of discoveries was made in the tract of country lying between Paris and Switzerland, more particularly in the department of Seine-et-Marne. According to the late M. Bertrand more than 6000 tombs were explored in this department alone.<sup>2)</sup> Among these were over 30 chariot-burials, that is, a burial where a man was buried lying in his chariot, with his weapons around him. An excellent summary of the result of these discoveries is to be found in the 'Guide to early iron-age antiquities in the British Museum'. I quote as follows:<sup>3)</sup> 'In the Celtic area of the Continent a number of burials have been discovered in which the warrior was buried with his chariot: these form an important

<sup>1)</sup> Edited and translated by Whitley Stokes in *Zeitschr.* III, pp. 1-14.

<sup>2)</sup> See '*Archéologie Celtique et Gauloise*', pp. 359 and 365.

<sup>3)</sup> *l. c.* p. 49.



class, for the most part richly furnished, and may be approximately dated by the style of ornamentation and still more precisely by vessels of Greek manufacture sometimes found in association. It is clear that the Celts were using two-horse chariots in central Europe in the fifth century B.C. The richest burial is that of La Gorge Meillet. It was strikingly rich in ornaments set with coral, and corresponds closely to that of Somme Bionne ... the sword, lances, spear-head, pottery and general arrangement enable us to refer both graves to the same period and people. At la Gorge Meillet ... two warriors had been interred, one exactly above the other ... The Somme-Bionne tomb contained only one body, laid between the two wheels of a chariot, the latter standing in two trenches cut below the general level of the grave. Another trench containing bridle-bits and trappings of two horses had been cut across the foot of the grave and was connected to the main tomb by a narrow trench 30 ms. long, in which the pole of the chariot had been placed. The whole was surrounded by a circular fosse ... Graves distinguished in this manner were no doubt those of important personages ... The distance between the chariot wheels was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. and it is clear that the lower part of the body rested on the axle and pole of the chariot which were level with the floor of the grave. This implies that the chariot was open in front.' There is an excellent plate, taken from M. Morel's Album on burials in Champagne, which shows at a glance how everything was arranged.<sup>1)</sup> The body was laid flat on its back and the long sword was laid by the right hand, three lances by the left hand, and a dagger was laid across the left thigh close to the hand. The sword belonged to the earliest type of La Tène, that is to say to the period including the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. when La Tène civilization began to reign in central Europe. Greek vases of the 5th century B.C. were also found in this burial; so there can be little doubt of its approximate date. We have evidence, however, that the custom lasted later than this. A chariot-burial at Nanterre, near Paris, is dated as belonging to Middle La Tène<sup>2)</sup> (323—250 B.C.) and a well-known case at Waldalgesheim, near the Rhine, is also dated later than Somme-

<sup>1)</sup> l. c. p. 48.

<sup>2)</sup> See 'Anthropologie' vol. XIII, p. 272.

Bionne.<sup>1)</sup> The custom did not, however, last much later than 250 B.C. approximately. After this 'the inclusion of chariot and war-harness in the grave becomes exceptional, Waldalgesheim being an isolated case. We know from history that the fighting-car was still retained by the Celts and its presence in the Yorkshire graves seems to show that it persisted in Britain longer than elsewhere.'<sup>2)</sup>

We may then say that it seems established that a custom of chariot-burial prevailed among the people of East Gaul from about 500 B.C. to 250 B.C. approximately. As long ago as 1889, Bertrand feels himself justified in saying 'We have the right to say, though our researches are still far from complete, that this rite was relatively frequent in East Gaul. For, as all these tombs are incontestably the tombs of chiefs, the total of thirty-six already found is relatively considerable.'<sup>3)</sup> More cases have been discovered since he wrote, bringing up the number to fifty or more; but it is sufficient for our contention to note first, that he is certain chariot-burial was for those of high rank, and secondly that in his notes on the burial at Berru he gives, among the weapons found there, the dagger as well as the sword. He does not mention in what position they were found, but in the case of a grave at Montfercant<sup>4)</sup> we find the same order as at Somme Bionne, viz., the sword at the right hand and the knife or dagger lying across the left thigh close to the left hand. So far, this is evidence for the custom in Gaul. Chariot-burials have been found in one part of Great Britain only, viz., Yorkshire. In none of them was the chariot buried entire. No case has so far been found in Ireland.

To turn now to the story itself, the 'Orgain Dind Ríg'. The principal event of the story is considered as history by Irish historians.<sup>5)</sup> What date is assigned to it by them? The poet Orthanach puts it in the fifth century before Christ,<sup>6)</sup> or if we follow the reading in Zeitschr. III, p. 8, in the third century.

<sup>1)</sup> See 'Guide to Iron-age' p. 53.

<sup>2)</sup> I. c. p. 54.

<sup>3)</sup> See 'Archéologie Celtique et Gauloise' p. 396.

<sup>4)</sup> See 'Guide to Iron-age' p. 58.

<sup>5)</sup> Stokes says (I. c. p. 1): 'There seems no ground for doubting the final incident of our tale'.

<sup>6)</sup> See Zeitschr. III, p. 14, where for *coic bliadna* read *coic cét bliadna*.

The Four Masters put it down as 542 B.C. — The tract 'do Flathiusaib Érenn'<sup>1)</sup> puts it down as 307 B.C. Tigernach puts it down first as in the 8th century B.C.<sup>2)</sup> and then, subsequently, states that Eochu Búadach (grand-father of the two brothers Lóegaire and Cobthach in the story) was a co-temporary of Ptolemy Lagos about 306 B.C.<sup>3)</sup> This would bring the date of the 'Orgain' down to some time in the second century B.C.<sup>4)</sup> Admitting that there is much uncertainty, one may still say that two or three authorities agree approximately, and that the date that seems most certain is in, or about, the 3rd century B.C.

The next point to notice is, that in this story we have a connection with Gaul asserted. The tract 'Cóir Anmann', § 92, says that Ceasair Chruthach, mother of Loegaire and Cobthach, was a Gaulish Princess. When Labraid is exiled by Cobthach he goes, according to one version,<sup>5)</sup> to somewhere 'as far as the Ictian Sea', (the English Channel) 'dia tuc na Gaullu imda leis' — 'when he brought the many foreigners with him' (to Ireland). According to another story he went 'eastward till he reached the island of the Britons and the *breac-macraid thiri Armenia*<sup>6)</sup> 'the speckled youths of the land of Armenia', and takes service with the 'ri Fer menia'. D'Arbois de Jubainville<sup>7)</sup> suggests that, as Armenia was familiar to Irish Christian Scholars from the Bible, they confused it with 'Fir menia' which he identifies with 'Menapia', a district of Gaul, now Cassel in the département du Nord. He points out further that when Ptolemy wrote about Ireland in the 2nd century A.D. he mentions a Manapia in the present county of Wexford, and argues that the similarity of name implies a connexion between Gaul and Wexford.

From another account<sup>8)</sup> we learn that it was the Gaileoin that nourished Labraid during his exile in the lands of the Gauls (*hi tirib Gall*). Labraid is invariably described as bringing back with him foreigners called 'Gaileoin', or 'Gaill'. All the stories

<sup>1)</sup> Book of Leinster p. 22a, 49. 50.

<sup>2)</sup> See Rev. Celt. XVI, p. 378.

<sup>3)</sup> Ibid. p. 394.

<sup>4)</sup> See the arguments of D'Arbois in Rev. Celt. XXVIII, p. 37.

<sup>5)</sup> See Zeitschrift III, p. 8.

<sup>6)</sup> See Rev. Celt. XX, p. 430.

<sup>7)</sup> Rev. Celt. XXVIII, p. 33.

<sup>8)</sup> See 'Dindsenchas', Rev. Celt. XV, p. 299.

connected with them bear out this idea. The introduction of a new kind of lance is associated with them.<sup>1)</sup> They were disliked by the older inhabitants, for in the Táin their superior drill and smartness so arouses Medb's jealousy that she proposes their extermination,<sup>2)</sup> which was eventually carried out in the 2nd century A. D. by Tuathal Techtmar.<sup>3)</sup> They never seem to have amalgamated with the rest of Ireland and are mentioned by Keating as one of three tribes 'not of the Gael'.<sup>4)</sup> There is nothing improbable in a Gaulish colony or Gaulish soldiers coming to Ireland so early as the 3rd century B. C.

Kuno Meyer has pointed out unmistakeable Gaulish names in the genealogies of certain Irish tribes professing to descend from Gauls in the 3rd century A. D.<sup>5)</sup> Zimmer, in his researches on the trade of West Gaul to Ireland in early ages, considers it proved back to the days of Caesar. 'Gaulish traders' he says 'were for ages the only foreigners on Irish soil. Their name (*Gall*, plur. *Gaill*) was the usual expression for 'foreigner' in Gaelic speech.'<sup>6)</sup> We know from Caesar himself that the Gauls of his day had large fleets of excellent vessels. These were not built in one day. The Gauls must have been sailors for years before attaining to such shipbuilding as Caesar describes in 55 B. C.

To sum up briefly: in three places Irish tradition assigns the approximate date of the 3rd century B. C. to the 'Orgain Dind Ríg'. It also asserts that at that period there was intercourse between Gaul and South-East Ireland. I now come to the point about chariot-burial.

The story begins with Cobthach, King of Bregia, in Leinster, plotting his brother's death. He had been ill through jealousy and envy and sent for his brother to come to his funeral. "'Well then,' said Cobthach to his Queen and his Steward, 'say ye that I am dead, but let none other know it, and let me be put into my chariot with a razor-knife in my hand. My brother will come to me to bewail me and will throw himself upon me.

<sup>1)</sup> See Rev. Celt. XV, p. 300.

<sup>2)</sup> See Windisch's edition pp. 50—53.

<sup>3)</sup> See Rev. Celt. XV, p. 300.

<sup>4)</sup> See Keating vol. I (I. T. S. edit.) p. 187.

<sup>5)</sup> See Ériu IV, p. 208.

<sup>6)</sup> See Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akad. XV, p. 471.

Maybe he will get somewhat from me.' This was done. The chariot is brought out. His brother comes to bewail him. He comes and flings himself down upon Cobthach who plunges the knife into him at the small of his back, so that the point appeared at the top of his heart. Thus Loegaire died."

When we put this passage side-by-side with the plate illustrating the Somme-Bionne burial and the details already given on chariot-burials in East France, we surely are justified in looking for some connection between them. To begin with: as Cobthach was plotting to kill his brother, he would certainly do nothing unusual that would excite suspicion. And Loegaire takes it quite as the ordinary procedure that his brother should be laid in his chariot with his knife at his hand. Cobthach reckons on Loegaire following a recognised etiquette of mourning, which duly happens. They were not inventing anything. They act on a familiar custom. We have been told chariot-burial was for chiefs, and both brothers were kings. If Cobthach was lying on his back with his weapons round him it was easy for him to strike Loegaire as described. In fact what seems an out-of-the-way and unnecessary plot becomes both probable and possible if based on such a custom as chariot-burial. It was not an Irish custom, as far as I know, to use the chariot in funerals at all. I have not found any other passage like this. Also, the custom on the continent lasted as we have seen only for two or three centuries and was extinct by 250 B.C. Now the 'Orgain' is never dated later than that by anyone. It contains distinct allusions to Gauls coming to Ireland, and also this remarkable parallel to a Gaulish custom of a distinct character and of a particular period. Taking all this into consideration, I cannot believe that it is all pure literary invention. If it was merely a literary device we should have it adopted into other stories. The only story that I know at all like 'Orgain Dind Rig' is that of Raghallach and his nephew, told in Eg. 1782, p. 57,<sup>1)</sup> and there is no approach to the incident with the chariot. Much as the heroes of the Táin used chariots they never were buried in them. The set phrase used for their funeral rites makes no allusion to anything like chariot-burial. This is in accordance with the facts of archaeology, which prove that the custom was

<sup>1)</sup> See O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* I, p. 391.

given up long before the time of the Táin, viz. first century B.C. and also that it was not a universal Celtic custom. Furthermore, the scene of the story is laid in South-East Ireland. This would be naturally the place where Gaulish ships would first come to land and where a Gaulish colony would naturally settle. Wexford was the Gaileoin territory. The similarity of names in Wexford and Gaul in Ptolemy's time, 2nd century A.D., can hardly be a chance resemblance. It seems to me there is little doubt that in this passage of 'Orgain Dind Rig' we have an additional argument for Gaulish influence in Ireland from a very early age and also a proof of the accuracy of a very old tradition. Whether chariot-burial was ever actually carried out in Ireland, or not, it is impossible to say. No case has ever yet been found to my knowledge, but in archaeology fresh discoveries may turn up at any moment. It would be more likely from what we know of the Gaileoin through tradition that, if chariot-burial was practised at all in South Leinster, it was very rare. They were a small colony and their separate kingdom was not of long duration. It would be more hopeful to look for a connection between spear-heads in Wexford and in Marne and see if any resemblance can be traced to bear out the tradition of the broad spears brought over by Labraid's 'Gaill'. Should any resemblance be proved it would fit in with the evidence here collected for the story of Loegaire's death deriving from the chariot-burials of East Gaul in the third century B.C.

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MARGARET DOBBS.

Since writing the above my attention has been drawn to Mr. G. Coffey's article on 'Intercourse of Gaul with Ireland before the first century' *Proc. R. I. A.* vol. 28, Sec. C, no. 4. This valuable paper supplies important evidence on the question of Gaulish spears found in Ireland and, we may say, completes the chain of evidence in a very remarkable manner.

M. D.

## EIN ALTIRISCHES GEBET ZU ST. COLUMBA.

Beifolgendes Gedicht ist dem bekannten Codex Rawl. B. 502<sup>1)</sup> (Facs. p. 107 a 19) und LU (Facs. p. 15 a 11) entnommen. R bietet, wie zu erwarten war, einen weitaus besseren Text, nur hier und da hat LU besser die alte Orthographie bewahrt.

Das Gedicht gehört zweifellos der spät-altirischen Zeit an und ist gewifs älter als das Jahr 900, denn die erste Zeile der 5. Strophe wird von Cormac mac Cuilennáin († 908) in seinem Glossar (s. v. *fogamur*) citiert. *Triar* ist dort ein leicht verständlicher Schreibfehler für *tair*.

Zur Beurteilung des Sprachcharakters dürfen wir auch das in R gleich nachfolgende Gedicht (abgedruckt im Archiv III, S. 217) heranziehen, da Versmafs und Sprache sowie Behandlung des Gegenstandes dieselben sind und es daher fast sicher von demselben Dichter herrührt. Ich citiere es als A. Altirische Formen sind in unserem Gedicht: *indāa* (3 silb.) Str. 1, *snāidsiunn* Str. 3, in A: *dēsercda* (3 silb.), *īarmhūa* (3 silb.), *dēserce* (3 silb.), *lāa*, *Eōin*; ferner war, wie *reilēscāe* in A Str. 5 zeigt, zur Zeit der Niederschrift auslautendes *e* nach nicht-palataler Konsonanz noch in der Schrift erhalten. Die Sprache erinnert sehr an Colmans Hymnus und ist sicher nicht älter als die der Mailänder Glossen; ich möchte sie wegen des einsilbigen *sūi* Str. 3 und *hūa* (A Str. 1) eher in die 2. Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts setzen; eine jüngere Form ist auch *irse* (Str. 2), das zuerst in den Turiner Glossen erscheint. Im Ganzen sind die alten Formen ziemlich gut bewahrt; die wenigen späteren Merkmale in der Orthographie fallen zweifellos den Abschreibern zur Last. Das Gedicht erscheint auch im Kommentar zum Amra Choluim Chille (R. C.

<sup>1)</sup> Hier trägt es den Titel: *Cuinnech dorigni inn-orthain se.*

XX, p. 146) und ist in den Mittelirischen Verslehren S. 56 als Beispiel des Metrums *Reicne dechubaid* angeführt. (In der Einleitung zum Faksimile von R steht irrtümlich *Ochtfoclach*.) In der zweiten Hälfte der 5. Strophe ist das Metrum  $3 \times 6^2 + 4^1$ .

Die Angabe, daß das Gedicht von Cainnech mocu Dálon, [dem von Adamnan erwähnten Freunde Columbas] († 598) verfaßt worden sei, hat natürlich keinerlei Wert.

Da die Texte unseres Gedichtes im Faksimile leicht zugänglich sind, habe ich versucht, im Folgenden einen kritischen Text zu geben, ohne jedoch die Orthographie zu normalisieren, da die Ansichten über die Berechtigung eines solchen Vorgehens schwanken. Ich habe mich auf die Angabe der nötigsten Varianten beschränkt.

1. Colum(b)<sup>1)</sup> cáid cumachtach  
a cléthib clithnime!  
tairi dom imsnádud  
archaíngel Éil:<sup>2)</sup>  
ar biastaib hilardaib  
imdubaib imthennaib  
tairi dom imdegail  
indúae<sup>3)</sup> Neill.
2. Nert n-irse firinne,  
fin cruiche<sup>4)</sup> cruthaige!  
Coimdiu cloth<sup>5)</sup> coibdelach  
cluined mo gairm:  
ar phlagaib hilardaib,  
ar intiuch anaichnid  
admuiniur móritge:  
maicc Eithne ainm.

<sup>1)</sup> Ob das *b* noch im Original stand, läßt sich nicht feststellen, da Sg 70 a 16 (*Fiadcholum*) vereinzelt dasteht; gesprochen wurde es sicher nicht mehr. In Strophe 5 hat jedoch R die Form *columb*.

<sup>2)</sup> Gelehrtes Lehnwort aus dem hebräischen *El* Gott.

<sup>3)</sup> Da A in Str. 5 *reilescae* hat, habe ich mich für berechtigt gehalten, das auslautende *e* entsprechend zu restituieren.

<sup>4)</sup> Auch das *croiche* der Mss. wäre möglich, doch habe ich wegen des folgenden *cruthaige* die reguläre Form *cruiche* eingesetzt.

<sup>5)</sup> Gen. plur.



3. Ar coimdiu cumachtach,  
ar cond slúag sochaide,  
ar súi, ar slánicid  
    snáidsiunn ar chel:  
ar cenn cáid comairle.  
ar combar<sup>1)</sup> móradbúl,  
ar n-árad firinne  
    Fiadat for nem!
4. Nert som sund sírsáegul  
sírchóemnae m'anma-sa  
    céin bethir and:  
ar athchaib teintidib  
tairi dom chommairgi  
Colum(b) ar thrōcairi  
    donnes(c)mart<sup>2)</sup> tall.
5. Tair dag, tair sacarbaic  
mo béolu bānchoibsen  
    sēt nad bī rom:  
ré i tē ind anim  
rop i-llamaib Coluimb  
dia cōi a[sa] colainn  
    cen chlōen cen chol.  
Colum(b) cáid.

1. Heiliger, mächtiger Columba, von den Höhen des beschirmenden Himmels! Möge ein Erzengel Gottes herabkommen, um mich zu beschützen: O dafs doch Nialls<sup>3)</sup> Nachkomme selbst käme, um mich vor den zahlreichen Ungeheuern, den pech-schwarzen, riesenstarken zu schirmen.

2. Kraft des Glaubens an die Gerechtigkeit, Wein des schöngestalteten Kreuzes! Möge der Herr des Ruhmes, mein

<sup>1)</sup> Mss. *commor*. \**kom-bero*- 'Zusammenfluß, Zusammentreffen, das was man treffen wird'. Lies so in Meyers Contributions p. 448 s. v. *commor*? und füge hinzu: *commur fatha firinni* Rawl. B. 502, p. 56 a 1.

<sup>2)</sup> *fommesgairm* LU, *dontesmairt* R. Die Form zeigt, dafs Zimmer und Meyer *donnesmart* (Thes. II, p. 322, l. 9) mit Recht als reguläres *t*-Perfekt zu *to-ess-arc* ansehen, dafs also Sarauws Vorschlag (K. Z. 38, p. 192 -*arr*, nicht -*airr*, wie im Supplement zum Thes. p. 79) zu verwerfen ist.

<sup>3)</sup> Niall Nöigíallach, Ur-Urgroßvater Columbas.

Verwandter,<sup>1)</sup> mein Flehen erhören (und mich schützen) vor den vielen Qualen, vor einem unbekannten Wege; ein machtvollcs Gebet bete ich: den Namen des Sohnes der Eithne.<sup>2)</sup>

3. Unser mächtiger Herr, unser Führer zahlreicher Scharen, unser Weiser, unser Erlöser, möge er uns vor dem Untergang bewahren: Unser heiliger, größter Berater, der Gewaltige und Mächtige, den wir (im Jenseits) antreffen werden, unsere Leiter der Gerechtigkeit, die zum Himmel emporführt!

4. Er ist unsere Kraft in dieser Welt, er unser ewiges Leben, der ewigdauernde Schutz unserer Seele solange wir hier leben: Möge er kommen, Columba, um mein Schutz gegen feurige Sturmwinde zu sein, denn seine Gnade hat uns im Jenseits errettet.

5. Komm Weizenmehl,<sup>3)</sup> komm Opfer in meinen durch die Beichte geheiligten Mund, — ein Weg, der nie zu früh beschritten wird —: Wenn<sup>4)</sup> die Seele fortgeht, möge sie in den Händen Columbas sein, wenn sie ihren Körper fleckenlos, sündenlos verläßt.

<sup>1)</sup> Cainnech war nicht mit Columba verwandt, doch mag man dies zur Zeit der Abfassung unseres Gedichtes angenommen haben.

<sup>2)</sup> Columbas Mutter.

<sup>3)</sup> Die hl. Hostie.

<sup>4)</sup> *re* i 'wenn'; cf. *airn* i 'wo'.

Wien.

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## THE 3 SG. IMPERATIVE IN O. IRISH.

For this part of the verb *exx.* are: *bered*, *benad*, *gaibed*, *marbad*, *léiced*, Strachan, *Old Irish Paradigms*, p. 28, *mórad*, *berad*, *fridoirced*, *comalnad*, *suidiged*, *cluined*, Thurneysen, *Handbuch*, pp. 349—351, all with dark, *a-* (ǝ-) timbred, final consonant. How to explain the timbre of the final consonant is the main difficulty in connection with these forms.

One solution of the problem offers itself at once if we observe that the imperative forms are in every respect identical with the corresponding forms of the imperfect: *bered* : *no'bered*, *benad* : *no'benad*, *gaibed* : *no'gaibed*, *marbad* : *no'marbad*, *léiced* : *no'léiced*, etc. These imperfect forms cannot be anything but the ordinary 3 sg. middle forms with secondary endings: *no'bered* < \*(e)bhereto, Gk. ἐγείρετο, Skt. ábharata; *no'gaibed* < \*(e)ghabhītō,<sup>1)</sup> cf. Thurneysen, *o. c.* p. 54; and the imperative forms will then be Injunctives, \*bhereto etc. and formally to be compared with the Gk. and Lat. imperative forms ἔπειτο, ἔπειτο, *sequere* < \*sequeso.

This is perhaps the simplest, and the best, explanation, but there are others that seem at anyrate tenable. The Oscan-Umbrian imperative ending *-tuta -tutu* is explained by von Planta, *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, II, p. 307, following Brugmann, as possibly containing the suffix *ū* identical with the Germanic *-ō* which Kluge, Paul's *Grdr. d. germ. Phil.* sees in the Goth. *baíraima*, *baíraina*.

In view of this the O. Ir. *bered* might go back to \*bheretā and be a parallel formation to Lat. *regito*, Gk. γειγίτω,<sup>2)</sup> and here again we should have to recognise the Injunctive \*bheret.<sup>3)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> For *no'léiced* we must assume for this form *i*, \*(e)lenk(h)ito, and an interchange of *i* : *ǝ* as in Latin, unless *-léiced* is due to the analogy of *-gaibed*.

<sup>2)</sup> I have elsewhere suggested that in *regito*, γειγίτω the suffix may be not \*tōd, Skt. -tād, but \*ōd, Skt. -ād, added to the Injunctive form, \*bheret-ōd.

<sup>3)</sup> Thurneysen, *o. c.* p. 351 suspects that the vocalism of those imperative forms points to their being subjunctives. Undoubtedly they might originally have been 'short vowel' subjunctives, but the vocalism of the 'short vowel' Subjunctive is the same as that of the Injunctive.

A third possibility, it seems to me, is that *bered* goes back to a form *\*bhereteu*, *\*bheretou* with strong vocalisation of the suffix seen in Skt. *bharatu*, and identical with the suffix in Goth. *bairaidau*, *bairaindan*, cf. Thurneysen, *KZ.* XXVII, 175, Bezzenberger, *BB.* XXVI, 153. It may be objected that the form *\*bheretou* would in Irish show *u*-timbre of the final consonant, but this does not appear to be at all certain, and it would be rash to suppose that, because in other than final syllables *ou* became *ō*, final *ou* must have been treated as final *ō*. The fact that we have *u*-timbre in the D. sg. of *u*-stems cannot be used as evidence for the treatment of final-*ou*, for whether this form was the Loc., in which case the diphthong would be long, cf. Skt. *-āu*, or the Dat., (and then the ending would be *(e)u + ai*), the final vowel or diphthong could not be *ōu*, and need not have been treated as such. The fate of *-ou* in the G. sg. of *u*-stems, *-ous*, though of course the cases are not precisely similar, shows at any rate that unaccented *-ōu* in final syllables became *-o -a*. This is also apparently indicated by the N. pl. of *u*-stems *-(a)e* *-(a)i*, *-ca* < *\*-eues*, *\*-oues*.

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## THE LAUD GENEALOGIES AND TRIBAL HISTORIES.

*From Laud 610, fo. 75 a 1.*

Cf. Rawlinson B 512, p. 136 b and Book of Ballymote p. 67 a.

Hibernia insola inter duos filios principales Militis, id est, Herimon 7 Eber, in duas partes diuisa est. Eber autem australem partem Hibernia[e] accepit, Herimon quidem septimtrionalem partem cum monarcia accepit. Herimon autem primus de Scottis omnem Hiberniam regnauit et de semine ipsius Hiberniam quinquaginti septem reges dominauerunt antequam Patricius Hibernensibus passionem 7 catolicam regulam Christi narraret. Et sciendum est quia non alicuius seminis nisi ex semine eiusdem post Patricium Hiberniam quis tenuit exceptis duobus, id est, Bætan et Brian. Sed aillii Boetan apud magnos reges non 10 numerant.

Hērīmōn *immorro*, sē maic leis. Nī fārcaib mac dīb claind act ðen- (fo. 75 a 2) mac .i. Hirél fáith .i. Hetherél mac Hirél. Dā mac lais .i. Follaig 7 Foliaich, dībaid<sup>1)</sup>. Enbot[h]a mac Tigernmais maic Follaig. Dā mac airegda leis .i. Smirgoll 7 15 Smritho. Smritho *immorro*, dībaid. Dén 7 Demáil dā mac Rot[h]echta maic Mōen maic Ōengusa Ōlmucced maic Fiachrach Labraind<sup>2)</sup> maic Smirguill maic Inboith.

Āidān<sup>3)</sup> Glas 7 Eoin Dub 7 Cū Ois trí maic airegda Nūadat Findsaíl maic Giallachada maic Ailella Ōlchlóin maic Sírnaí 20 S[ā]eglaig maic Deín. Eoin Dub *immorro*, dībaid. Muredach Bolcrac[h] maic Símōin Brice maic Āidāin Glais, dā mac leis .i. Fiachaig Tolcrach et Duach Temra .i. athair Conigg, dībaid.

<sup>1)</sup> dībaig MS., with *d* above *g*.

<sup>2)</sup> Aedan MS., with *i* above *æ*.

<sup>3)</sup> laib MS., with stroke over *ib*.

Ugaine Mór 7 Badbchad dā mac Echach Būadaig maic Duach Ladchri maic Fiachach Tolcraig. Badbchad 7 Muredach, dībaid. Ugaine Mór, dā mac leis ar fichit. Nírfarcaib nech dīb claind acht dā mac .i. Lōegaire Lorc, sen Laigen 7 Osraigi (i. 5 Os-éirge), 7 Cobht[h]ach Cōel Breg, sen Ōengusa Turbig.

Eochaid Altlethan mac Ailella Cassfiacclaig<sup>1)</sup> maic Conlaid maic Irero maic Melgi maic Cobthaig Cōil Breg, trí maic leis .i. Ōengus Turbech 7 Lōebchor 7 Eterscél Temra .i. athair Conaill Chollomrach.

10 Ōengus Turbech, dā mac airegda lais .i. Fiacha Fer mara, sen síl Conaire la Mumain 7 Fer nAlban 7 Dál Riattai 7 Dál Fiatach la hUlltu, 7 Enna Aigneche, sen Echach Feidlig.

Rogen mac Essamna Emna maic Bláith maic Labrada maic Enna Aignig<sup>2)</sup>. Dā mac leis .i. Findaigne 7 Finnлага.

15 Eocho Feidlech 7 Eoch[o] Airem dā mac Finn maic Findloga. Eocho Fedlech, trí maic leis .i. Brés 7 Nár 7 Lothar. (fo. 75 b 1) Bres 7 Nár 7 Lothár, ōenmac léo .i. Lugaid Ríab nderg.

Tuathal Techtmar<sup>3)</sup> maic Fiachach maic Feradaig<sup>4)</sup> maic Craumthainn maic Lugdach Ríab nderg. Dā mac airegda leis .i. 20 Fiachu Már 7 Feidilmid Rechtaid<sup>5)</sup>. Feidilmid Rechtaid immorru, secht maic leis .i. Cond Cetc[h]at[h]ach, a quo Leth Cuinn, 7 Cōil 7 Crinna 7 Crosse<sup>6)</sup>; Eocho Finn Fuathnairt, iss uad Fotharta, de quibus Brigit; Fiachra Soguide, a quo na Dēsse; Fiachra Rōeda, a quo Corco Roédæ.

25 Cond, trí maic laiss .i. Condla Coém, Crinna, Art Ōenfer. Ōenmac Airt .i. Cormac. Cethri maic Cormaic .i. Carpri, Muredach, Cellach, Dāre. Trí maic Corpri .i. Fiacho Sroptine, Eochaid, Eocho Domlén, a quo Airgialla. Dā mac Fiachach Sroptine .i. Muredach Tírech, Domnall, sen Ō Maine. Ōenmac Muredaig

30 Eocho Mugmedón.

Cūic maic Echach .i. Níall, a quo Hū[i] Neill, Brión<sup>7)</sup>, a quo Hūi Briúin 7 Síil Muredaig, Fiachra Foltsnat[h]ech, a quo Hūi Fiachrach, Ailill, Fergus Cæchān, a quo Hūi Chæchān.

<sup>1)</sup> cisiaclaoid MS.

<sup>2)</sup> aigneg MS. with *no i* above *e*.

<sup>3)</sup> tecthmar MS.

<sup>4)</sup> feragaig MS.

<sup>5)</sup> Feidlimid Cris Airgit a quo Dail Fiatach Ele 7 Feidlimid Rechtmar, BB. 68a53.

<sup>6)</sup> Crosine BB. 68b2.

<sup>7)</sup> brian MS.

Níall mac Echach, cethri maic déc leis .i. Conall err Breg, Conall Gulpain Guirt, Eogan, Carpre, Lōegaire, Fiachra, Mane, Enna, Ōengus hUillderg <sup>1)</sup>, Fergus Antem, Fergus Mátlorg, Trian, Hūathgen, Cōildub.

Conall Breg, a quo Cland Colmán 7 Sil Āeda Sláne; Conall 5 Gulban Guirt, a quo Cenel Conaill; Lōegaire, a quo [Cenel] Lōegaire; Mane, a quo Fir Tethba; Carpre, a quo [Cenel] Carpre; Enna, a quo Cenel nĒnnæ; Ōengus, a quo Cenel nŌengusa.

Eogan mac Néill, deich maic leis .i. Muredach, a quo Cenel Muredaig; Bindech, a quo Cenel mBinnig <sup>2)</sup>; Fergus, a quo Cenel 10 Fergusa; Ōengus, a quo Cenel (fo. 75 b 2) nŌengusa; Dallān, a quo Cinel Dallāin <sup>3)</sup>; Cormac, a quo Cenel Cormaic; Fedilmid, a quo Cenel Fedilmid; Ailill, a quo Cenel nAililla; Echen, a quo Cenel nEchin; Illann, a quo Cenel nEllainn, et Eochaid, a quo Cenel nEchdach. 15

Muredach, cūic maic leis .i. Murchertach; Feradach, a quo Cenel Feradaig; Tignārach, a quo Cenel Tigernaig <sup>4)</sup>; Maīan, a quo Cenel Maīan; Rūnach, id est sanctus.

Cūic maic Muregda <sup>5)</sup> (sic) maic Ercca .i. Forgas <sup>6)</sup>, Bætán, Nellēn a quo Cenel Nellēn; Scan[d]al immorru. Bætán athair 20 Mælhuma; Fergus a quo Cenel Fergusa. Domnoll.

Trī mic Domnaill .i. Eocho, Colco, Āed Uaridnach. Dā mac Āeda Uaridnaig: Dāre, Mælfithrig.

Mælfithrig immorru, dā mac leis: Mældúin 7 nī hētur cia hainm in maic aile <sup>7)</sup>, ōn ainmnigther Sil Maileft[h]rig. 25

Mældúin, ōe[n]mac lais .i. Fergal. Cethri maic Fergaile maic Mailedúin: Níall Frossach, ōtá ind rig[r]ad; Āed Alláin, ōtā Muinter Beirn 7 Muinter Erduilb; 7 Conchobor cona dib maccaib déc; 7 Colcu, diatā Clann Cholcan <sup>8)</sup>.

Cūic maic Neill Frossaig <sup>9)</sup> mic Fergaile: Āed Ordnide 7 30 Colmán, diatā Clann Colmāin for Feraib Lí; 7 Ferchar, diatā

<sup>1)</sup> ulderg, Rl. 502, 139 b 52.

<sup>2)</sup> mbinnid MS.

<sup>3)</sup> cinel dallain added above by a later hand.

<sup>4)</sup> tigernaid MS.

<sup>5)</sup> Muirchertaich Rl. 502, 140 a 9.

<sup>6)</sup> Fergus Rl. 502, 140 a 9.

<sup>7)</sup> His name was Mæltuille, Rl. 140 a 13.

<sup>8)</sup> colchan MS.

<sup>9)</sup> frossaid MS.

Muinter Dúinbó; 7 Muirchertach<sup>1)</sup> diatā Clann Muirchertaig Locha Enaig.

Cóic maic Áeda Ordnide: Níall Kaille rī Ereinn 7 Mældúin, ótāt Sil Máiledúin for Huib Echdach 7 Fogartach, ótā Cinæd 5 mac Máilograi hi Finninne<sup>2)</sup> 7 Blaithmac, ótāt Húi Duibh [Enaich]<sup>3)</sup> 7 Mæfallann<sup>4)</sup>, dianid ferann Dúin Druing inn-Inis Eogain.

Sē maic Neill Kalle: Áed Finnliath rī Herenn 7 Dubindrect 7 Ōengus, diatā Cenél nŌengusa .i. Carrbæthan 7 Muirc[h]ertach, diatā Cenél Murc[h]ertaig .i. Maic Muredaig; 7 Flaithbertach 10 (fo. 76 a 1) ótā Congalach húa Huallgairg, 7 Bráen, diatā Cenél Broén imMaig Ítha.

Dā mac Áeda Finnléith .i. Níall Glündubh 7 Domnall rīg Ailig. Trī maic Neill Glünduibh .i. Muirc[h]ertach 7 Conaing 7 15 Mælcíarán. Cethri maic Murc[h]ertaig mic Neill Glünduibh .i. Domnall rī Herend<sup>5)</sup> 7 Flaithbertach rī Ailig 7 Murchad 7 Flann. Cethri maic Domnaill: dā hÁed 7 Muiredach. Sē maic Domnaill .i. Fergal mac Domnaill rī Ailig 7 Dondc[h]adh, ótā Dubgall mac Dondchada, 7 Flann, diatā Níall mac Máilsechnaill 20 7 Flaithbertach, diatā Murchad húa Flaithbertaig<sup>6)</sup>, 7 Mælmithig, 7 Conc[h]obor, dia rabatar Mic Conc[h]ubair. Finit.

Cóic maic Bétáin maic Muirc[h]ertaig .i. Forgus<sup>7)</sup>, ótāt Cenél Forgusa<sup>8)</sup>; Forannán, a quo Húi Forannáin<sup>9)</sup>; Ailill .i. athair Cindfælad; Mælhúmai .i. in rigféid<sup>10)</sup>; Colman Rímid athair Fina 25 máthar<sup>11)</sup> Flainn.

Eochaid mac Domnaill, trī maic leis .i. Cellach, a quo Tellach Conaing 7 Cellacháin 7 Mochatáin; Fogartach, a quo Munter Reocáin 7 Banbáin; Ailill, a quo Muinter Eochadáin.

Áed Ollán mac Fergaile, dā mac lais: Cathal, a quo Clann 30 Chathail; Máeldúin, trī maic lais .i. Tigernach, a quo Húi Thigernaig, Murchad 7 Fland, a quo Húi C[h]ellaig 7 Húi Huidir. Murchad immorru, trī maic lais .i. Rúadri; Muredach, a quo Húi Flathbertaig; Erulb, a quo Muinter Eruilb.

<sup>1)</sup> muircerthach MS.

<sup>2)</sup> Fininne Rl. 140 a 22.

<sup>3)</sup> sic Rl.

<sup>4)</sup> Mælkailne Rl.

<sup>5)</sup> herind MS.

<sup>6)</sup> flaithbertaid MS.

<sup>7)</sup> Fergus Rl.

<sup>8)</sup> Fergusa Rl.

<sup>9)</sup> fornannain MS.

<sup>10)</sup> rigféidh Ms.

<sup>11)</sup> mathair MS.



Riúadri dano, dá mac lais .i. Mælcíaráin, diarbo Hōa Domnall, a quo Húi Domnallain; Bern, a quo (fo. 76 a 2) Muintir Birn. Bern *immorru*, trī maic leis .i. Anbed, a quo Tellach nAnbed; Cern Guthmar, a quo Tellach .i. Húi Fergail; Donnacán, a quo Tellach Donnacáin .i. Mic Riúadri 7 Mic Dondchuáin.

5

### Incipit minlugud senchasa Centúil Echdach.

Eochaid mac Eogain, a quo Cenél nEchdach in chotaig, sé maic leis .i. Doe, Ciarán, Feidilmid, Mælfairn, Assán, Méinne.

I.<sup>1)</sup> Doe chetus, is hé ropo rí Húa Fiachrach uile 7 chen-iúil Echdach, condorchair la Húib Mic Carthind ic Áth Guirt in 10 c[h]atha. Is uad atát Húi Lonán.

II. Ciarán *immorro*, a quo Sil Ciaráin<sup>2)</sup> huile .i. Sil Húa Fiachrach huile 7 Sil Ciarán Duine dá Én i nDál Araide 7 Sil Ciarán Húa nEchdach i nAirt[h]eraib.

III. Fedlimid, a quo Húi C[h]ellaig 7 Húi C[h]aradáin 7 15 Húi Thigernaig 7 Húi Drucáin 7 multi alii 7 Húi Ruissi secundum quosdam<sup>3)</sup>.

IV. Máelfeirnd, a quo Muintir Rois mic hErcca .i. Mic Muredaig<sup>4)</sup> 7 Mic Congail 7 Húi Serraig 7 Húi Dondgaile 7 Húi Fothern.

20

V. Assán, a quo sunt Húi Rethithe 7 Húi Drennáin 7 Húi Gingnig.

VI. Méinne, a quo sunt Húi Chanán (.i. na gobaind) 7 Húi Choirne.<sup>5)</sup>

### Incipit crōeb choibnusa Fer Maige Ítha.

25

Trī mic Fergaile na n-arg: Niall Frossach, Áed Ollán ard, Conc[h]obor co mmōrc[h]et cland, tōisech óthigern Érenn.

Conc[h]obor mac Fergaile dano, dá mac déc lais .i. Cinæd, Diarmait, Flaithbertach, Longsech Mór, Longsech Bec, Brōgān, Máel-tinne, Dubindrecht, Furudrān (fo. 76 b 1), Drucán, Cummascach, 30 Dondchād.

<sup>1)</sup> These numbers are added in the margin.

<sup>2)</sup> a quo sil ciarān immorro a quo sil ciarāin MS.

<sup>3)</sup> quosdom MS.

<sup>4)</sup> muregaid MS.

<sup>5)</sup> Here a later hand has inserted *felere doscrúdas*, which seems a quotation from Féilire Óenguso, Epil. 109.

- I. Cinæth, a quo Hói Mamáin 7 Hói Mothlacháin 7 Húi Mugrón 7 Hói Gartnén 7 Húi Uittitén.
- II. Diarmait, a quo Muinte C[h]ennétig, Hói Chairelláin 7 Húi Muredaig; 7 Corrán, a quo Muinte Chorrán.
- 5 III. Flaithbertach, a quo Húi Dubdai 7 Húi Báigill 7 Hóe Merleich 7 Hói Dubláich.
- III. Longsech, a quo Hói Chathalán 7 Húi Mailbresail 7 Hói Mure[h]ertaig.
- V. Dubindrecht, a quo Húi Doblechan 7 Hói Thanaide 7  
10 Hói Lathrai.
- VI. Brogán, a quo Húi Bresláin.
- VII. Mælfínne, a quo Húi Mælfínne.
- VIII. Drucán, a quo Húi Eochathán 7 Hói Longsig.
- IX. Furudrán, a quo Hói Gottáin 7 Hói Muredaig 7 Hói  
15 Branacán 7 Cumascach, a quo Húi Chuind 7 Hú[i] Mueregaid.
- X. Longsech, a quo Húi Mælán. Cumascach, a quo cland Focartaig .i. Hói Lainn 7 Hói Chínáith 7 Hói Máilmaill 7 Húi Dubucáin. Dondchad, ní fil húa.

### Cróeb Chentúil Binnig inso.

- 20 Eochó Binnech mac Eogain, secht maic les .i. Láréin, Crimthand, Eochó, Dáre, Mane, Gocán.
- Cland Domnaill mic Láréin .i. cenel Binnig Glindi 7 cenel Binnig Locha Drochait 7 cenel Binnig Túaithe Rois. Cland Áedáin mic Láréin .i. Fir Maige Locha .i. muinte Fail díb 7  
25 alii multi<sup>1)</sup>. Clann Diarmada (fo. 76 b 2) mic Láréin .i. cland Osséne 7 Húi Thomrair 7 muinte Thaige na Commairche .i. Hói Brain 7 Hói Bocán 7 dia síl Fothud na canóne 7 Flannabra fíal.
- Cland C[h]remthaind .i. cland Forballaig 7 cland Odrán .i. muinte C[h]úaich 7 cland Tírecháin.
- 30 Cland Eochach .i. Húi Lachnán 7 Húi C[h]ormaic 7 Hú[i] Thúathgaile.
- Cland Dáre .i. Húi Caichdamán 7 Húi Magán.
- Cland Mane .i. Húi Cúanán 7 ingen dó Brigit ingen<sup>2)</sup> Mane.
- Cland Gocán díbaid acht bec. Is dia c[h]laind Odor húa  
35 Duibdúanaig i nÓentrub. Dathgel 7 Drucán, Tnúthgal 7 Fabaide .iiii. maic Congaland in sin i Loch Drochait. Mælfóthbil 7 Uittitén hi nGlind 7 Dubdúin hi Túaith<sup>3)</sup> Rois. Tellach húa Rerge 7

<sup>1)</sup> multii MS.<sup>2)</sup> ingen MS.<sup>3)</sup> thuaith MS.

Tellach Mælœnaig ò Dathgel 7 Tellach Drucān ò Drucān 7  
Tellach Fabaide ò Fabaide 7 Tellach Admaill ò T[h]nūthgal  
Admall.

Dīangus mac Mailedūin mic Failbe, trī maic leis .i. Nōgus,  
diarbo mac Cernach, ò fuilet Cenēl Cernaig 7 diarbo mac Fælcú, 5  
ōtāt Hū[i] Thenān 7 Hūi ChonCathaise 7 diarbo mac Dubchú,  
ōtāt Hūi Chatanaig 7 Hūi Lagéin.

Muirgius mac Dīangusa, ōtāt Hūi Draignén.

Nārchú mac Dīangusa, ōtāt Hū[i] Furudrán.

Cathgus mac Cobraid, is dia c[h]laind mac Murir hói Chonaill. 10  
(fo. 77 a1) Cuac mac Mælchon mic Odrán mic Failgussa  
mic Failgniaith mic Airmedaig mic Cathbath mic Erblaind mic  
Gūare mic Colmān, ò fuilit muintir Chuaic.

Fiachān mac Cronmacān mic Odrán, ò fuilet Tellach Fiachán.

Trī tellaige tra cenele Binnig Glinni .i. tellach Branán 7 15  
tellach Cathalān 7 tellach DuibRoilbe. Trī mic Uititen in sein.

### Crōeb c[h]oibniusa Cenēl Tigernaig in so.

Muredach mac Eogain, .iiii. maic leis. Ōenmāthair leo, amal  
isbert in file:

Cethri maic la Muredach fri hErcā sóer sóen: 20

Murchertach is Tigernach, Feradach is Mæn.

Tigernach *immorru*, .iiii. maic leis .i. Tairchelta, a quo Hūi Al-  
lutha; Gnía, a quo Hūi Béccāin 7 Hūi Odrán; Sárán, dā mac  
lais .i. Damongōc Toraige 7 DubDaire; Tnūdach, a quo Hūi  
Muirgusa 7 Hūi C[h]onnicāin. In cethramad mac *immorru* 25  
Tigernaig .i. Dathge, dā mac leis, Corrán Draigneach 7 Rūadán.  
Ferchar dano mac Duach mic Corrāin, a quo Hūi Chuacān 7  
cland Erdalaig .i. Fer dālach mac Carthaig mic Eodussa mic  
Ferchair.

Trī maic la Ferchar .i. Forréid, a quo Hū[i] [F̃]orréid; Eudus, 30  
a quo Hūi Eodussa; Gabudán, a quo Hūi Muiredaig.

Clūmān mac Rūadān *immorru*, trī maic leis .i. Sluagadach,  
Meraige, Rūarcān, a quo Hūi C[h]onnicāin.

Sluagadach, dā mac leis .i. Dondgalach, a quo Hūi Dessatán,  
7 Cossalach, a quo (fo. 77 a2) Hūi Brēnāin 7 Hūi Chordercān 35  
Hūi Ūachlāin.

Meraige dano, dā mac leis .i. Ōcān, a quo Hūi Ōcāin, 7  
Mac Etig, diarbo mac Mælfothartaig, a quo Hūi Mælfathardaig.

Deich maic Eogain hūas cach claind, feib rosbennach mac Al-  
Muredach, Fergus rogart, Eocho, Fedilmid, Cormac, [praínd:  
Illand, Dallán, derbda raind, Oengus, Echen is Ailill.

Fergus mac Eogain, dā mac leis .i. Āed, a quo Cenel nĀeda  
5 Fergusa, 7 Cōelbad. Dā mac lei[s]side .i. Cairell 7 Carpre.

Ōenmac la Carpre .i. Fedilmid. Dā mac la Fedilmid .i. dā  
Diarmait .i. Diarmait rī Carce Brāthsuide 7 Diarmait Mongach.  
Ō Diarmait rīg Carce Brāthsuide atāt cland Chuanach attuaid 7  
anes 7 atāt cland Bāithalaig 7 Ūi Chanai 7 Hui Luit 7 Hui  
10 Cerrāin 7 Ūi Duib 7 Hui Duibtachāin 7 Hui Gallēin 7 Hui  
Emin, dibad acht bec.

Tri maic *immorru* la Cairell .i. Locān 7 Trempān 7 Annind.  
Ō Locān atāt Hui Crebrir 7 Hui Aingtig .i. Maic Congail Gamain  
7 Hui Loscaid 7 Hui Lochāin 7 Ūi Beraig 7 Hui Frāecherāin.  
15 Trempān *immorru*, ōenmac acai .i. Fæl[h]ū. Is hūad Hui  
Máilmocherge 7 Ói Duibli 7 Ōe Dubgillai 7 Ōi Dīnertaig 7  
Ōe Murnechán 7 Hói Dobráin 7 Ōi Dubáin. Is e in Foelcú<sup>1)</sup>  
(fo. 77 b 1) sein dorigine in curach do C[h]olum Cille .i. in Liath-  
mbaile 7 dorat Colum Cille bendachtain fair. Is dia chiniud  
20 Conall Clocach in rīgönmit. Inund māthair dano dosside 7 do  
Domnull mac Āeda .i. Lann ingen Āeda Guaire a māthair. Is  
dia chiniud fuit<sup>2)</sup> DubhDúin comarba Colu[i]m Cille.

Annind *immorru*, is hūad attāt Áes Ercachāin 7 Ōe Conallān  
7 Ōe Emréin do cheniul Cōelbad, Ōe Angaile 7 Ōe Udmallān 7  
25 Ōe Beochraide, dibad.

Cūanach mac Conamail, .iiii. maic leis .i. Robortach, ōtāt Cenel  
Robortaig .i. Hui C[h]ellaig 7 DubLoingse, ōtāt clann Du[i]bLoingsi  
.i. muintir Corcāin 7 Cú Chathrach, ō fuilit clann Con Cathrach.

Donnghal *immorru*, in .iiii. mac ō foilit na tōisig attuaid 7  
30 anes for cenel Fergusa, dā mac leis .i. Brūator, ō fuilet cland  
Brūatoir, 7 Cumascach.

Cumascach dano, dā mac lais .i. Loingsech, diarbo mac  
Mālfabaill, ō faillet Ō[i] Mail[f]abuill a tōisigeacht<sup>3)</sup> attuaid, 7 Ailill.

Ailill, dā mac leis .i. Conne, a quo muintir Chonne, 7 Mæl-  
35 garb .i. athair Cinæda, diarbo mac Ōccān, ō fuilit Ōe Ōcān hi  
tōisigeacht tes.

<sup>1)</sup> On the lower margin of fo. 77 a: amen misi Sighraidh.

<sup>2)</sup> f. with fl- written above, perperam. Dub Dúin, abbot of f + 959 (AU.)

<sup>3)</sup> tōisigeath MS.

**Cenēl Cōelbad corice so. Cenēl immorru Āeda asso sis.**

Āed mac Fergusa, secht maic lais .i. Lōegaire, Taután,  
 Uanaind, Comán, Breccán, Lannán, Ubbán. Ó Lōegaire tellach  
 Cináda .i. Óe Branacáin, Óe Gan, Óe Máilmaige, Óe Cathalan 7  
 tellach Muredaig .i. Óe Loingsecháin, Óe Enaise (fo. 77 b 2), Óe 5  
 Berecdai, Óe Scurri, Óe Máilfinn, Hóe Lannacáin, Óe Firaiste.  
 Óe Thuatain .i. Óe Brúatair, Óe Murchadha, Óe Beóailb. Ó[e]  
 Uanainn .i. munter Melláin. Ó[e] Commāin .i. Óe Díduaid. Ó  
 Brecán .i. Ó Airisnig. Ó Hubbán .i. cland Dubán hi Connachtaibh.  
 Ó Loegaire .i. Oé Chollai. 10

**Crōeb c[h]oibniusa na Bretcha.**

Secht maic Eogain 'sin Brettaig: Fedlimid, Ailill etaid,  
 Cormac, Elann ergna hi fos, Dallán, Echen is Óengus.

Att ē in so tellaige na Brett[h]a. Ó Fedlimid chetus munter  
 Rūarcáin 7 munter Trebláin 7 munter Slebin 7 cland Muir- 15  
 delaigh 7 cland Cumsadaigh 7 cland Ārc[h]on 7 cland Tuat[h]ail  
 7 cland Fortc[h]eirn. Ó C[h]ormac immorru munter Cēle 7 cland  
 Māngaile 7 cland Cerdáin 7 cland Fergusa 7 Óe Umail 7 Óe  
 Ultain 7 Óe Rūadne.

Ó Dallán, Óe Erchen 7 Óe Chuliūin 7 Óe Reócáin 7 Óe 20  
 C[h]ellaig 7 Óe Meráin 7 cland C[h]uán.

Ó Elill .i. munter Forcellaig 7 munter Mailraide 7 Óe  
 Rossaid 7 Óe Gillucáin 7 Óe Domnán 7 Óe Chormaic 7 sil  
 Maic Lūase.

Ó Elann<sup>1)</sup> .i. Óe Finiáin 7 Óe Mianāin 7 Óe Huidir 7 Óe 25  
 Erchomais 7 Óe Goláin 7 Óe Branacáin 7 Óe C[h]ellaig 7 Óe  
 Suibne 7 clann Ilgaile.

Ó Óengus .i. Óe Máilpōil 7 Óe Brolaig 7 Óe Guthartaig<sup>2)</sup>  
 7 Óe Dubaltáin 7 Óe Chollai 7 Óe C[h]ellaig.

Ó Echen Óe Ógáin 7 Óe Rūnaig 7 Óe Raten. 30

Is hé in so anūas miniugud crōibe coibniusa na Bretc[h]a.

**Crōebh choibniusa<sup>3)</sup> centūāil Feradaig in so.**

(fo. 78 a 1) Eogan mac Neill, art mōr monaid, Muridach, ba muir  
 ar crūa[i]s,  
 mēraid co brath, būan in gleōgal, ait[h]ech cāch co hEogan hūais. 35

<sup>1)</sup> An i written above the e.

<sup>2)</sup> gūthartaigh MS.

<sup>3)</sup> conusa MS.

Feradach mac Muredaig, dā mac lais .i. Fergna athair Cummain, ō filet cland Chummain, ocus Fiachna.

Fiachna immorru, trī maic lais .i. Fiachra, ō faillet cenel Feradaig thes, ocus Ernāin, ō fulet cenel Feradaig athuaith, 7  
5 Suibne Mend, ō faillet Hui Brolchāin.

Dūnechaid mac Etalaig mic Fiachrai, dā mac leis .i. Cū gamna 7 Mælfabuill.

Mælfabuill dano, dā mac laiss .i. Mælcainnig athair Loingsechāin, ō fuilet muintir Longsechāin 7 Anfeid athair Mæl-  
10 ruanaid<sup>1)</sup>, ō fail tellach Mailruanaid.

Cū gamna immorru, sē maic leis .i. Canand 7 Canaing 7 Catluān, ō fail tellach Catluāin, 7 Mælbrigte 7 Dubucān. Hūa do C[h]onaing Catluān mac Flannacān mic Conaing. Hūa do Mælbrigte Catluān mac Taidg mic Mælbrigte. Hūa do Dubucān  
15 Cinād mac Conaing mic Dubucān.

Dūnechaid mac Canand, .liiii. maic leis .i. Catluān, ō fuil tellach Catluāin; Cathmæl, ō fuil tellach Cathmail; Mælfabuill, ō fuil tellach Mailfabuill; Mailbresail, ō fuil tellach Mailbressail. Finit.

20 Brolchān mac Elgīne mic Dīchon, ō fuilet muintir Brolchāin. Is é in Dīchū sin robennach Mælrubai comorba Comgaill. (fo. 78 a 2) Dā tellach ag muintir Brolchāin .i. tellach Mailgemrid<sup>2)</sup>, ō fuil Gilla Ciarān 7 a mac .i. Suibne; teallach Mailpātraic immorru, brāthair in Mælpātraic don Mælgemrid<sup>3)</sup>.

25 Trī maic Duib inse mic Mailpātraic: Rīghlachān 7 Dūnchad 7 Mælbrigte. Mōr immorru, ingen<sup>3)</sup> Duib inse, māthair Mælmuire comarba Pātraic. Rīghlachān dano athair Gillacrist 7 Mic Étig 7 Cināda. Dūnchad immorru athair Māiltuille. Mælbrigte tra athair Āeda 7 Diarmata 7 Muricāin 7 Māilissu in c[h]lerich.

30 Secht maic Conaill Gulpain .i. Ōengus Gunnat, ōtaat Cenel nŌengusa; Enna Bōguine, ōtat Cenel mBōgaine; Dōi, ōtat Cenel Doach; Fergus Cennfota, Eocho, Nathí, Ruman.

Cōic maic Duach mic C[h]onaill: Ninnid, Fachtna, Nathí, Cormac, Fergus.

35 Secht maic Bōgaine .i. Āedh Cesdubh, Feidilmid, Brandub Cæch Cluassach, Anmere, Crimthan Lethan, Fergus, Eichin, Melge.

Secht maic Fergusa: Fedilmid, Sétna, Brannid, Loarn, Liathninnid, Cormac, Fiachra mac Carthinn.

<sup>1)</sup> ruanaig MS.

<sup>2)</sup> gemriġh MS.

<sup>3)</sup> ingin MS.

Se maic Cárthinn *immorru* .i. Húanu, Tarb, Cairell, Crimthann,  
Mac Laisri, Fínán.

Trí maic Loairn .i. Crónán, Áed, Sárán.

Dā mac Fedilmid .i. Colum Cille 7 Eogan.

Sect maic Setna mic Fergusa .i. Anmere, Lugaid, Cuingi, 5  
Corpre Liath, Colum Doi, Dāre, Carpre Bec.

Secht maic Lugach Gunn .i. Crónán, Tigernach, Carthach,  
Mælor, Beccán, Brandub, Gungne, (fo. 78 b 1) Fiachna.

Dā mac *dec*<sup>1)</sup> Anmerek mic Setnai .i. Crundmæl, Cum-  
mascach, Mælcoba, Domnall, Conall Cū no-ethad<sup>2)</sup> dā chích a 10  
máthar amal coin.

Cóic maic Domnall mic Áeda .i. Conall, Colgu, Fergus,  
Ailill, Oengus. Oenmac Oengusa .i. Loingsech. Mac side Flaith-  
bertach. Dā mac dano ic Flaithbertach .i. Áed Muinderg diarbo  
iarmúa Canannán, ótát muintir Chanannán. Murchad mac Flaith- 15  
bertaig *immurro* diárbo iarmúa Mældoraid ó fuilet muintir  
Máildoraid.

### De peritia Fothart so sīs.

Eochaid Find Fuathnairt .i. fuath dea ar a c[h]ōeme, a  
quo Fotharta (.i. fuatharta) nominatur. Mac side Fedilmthe 20  
Rechtada mic Tuathail Tec[h]tmair derbráthar do Chund Chet-  
chadach. Dā mac didu<sup>3)</sup> leis .i. Oengus 7 Cian Cúldub, conid  
uadaib-side attát na Fotharta .i. Fotharta Fer Cúl 7 Fotharta  
Airthir Liffi 7 Fotharta Airbrech fri Bri Héle anair 7 Fotharta  
Bile 7 Fotharta File 7 Fotharta Fea 7 Fotharta Maige Ítha 25  
Aess 7 Fotharta Tuile 7 Fotharta Imc[h]lair, ótát clann Corpre  
i nArd Macha, seu bene seu male.

### Do genelach Brigitte.

Brigit ingen Dubthaig<sup>4)</sup>. Fintan<sup>5)</sup> Cluana Eidnech mac  
Gabríni mic Corcáin (fo. 78 b 2) mic Echdach mic Bressail mic 30  
Dein. Is and condric 7 Brigit.

Fergus mac Fothaid mic Echach Lámdeirg mic Messincorp,  
a quo Cœmgein Glinde dā Locha 7 epscop Eogain Aird Sratha  
7 Lochán 7 Énna hi Cill Manach 7 Mosenóc, Mognai 7 Mochóeme

<sup>1)</sup> h. MS.

<sup>2)</sup> nūethad MS.

<sup>3)</sup> sic MS.

<sup>4)</sup> ingen dubthaid MS.

<sup>5)</sup> finthan MS.

Tíre dá Glas 7 Coimán Enaig Thruim 7 Petrán ó Chill Lainne  
 7 epscop Etchén mac Mane ecis hi Cluain Fotta Baitán Aba 7  
 epscop Nathi mac Fergusa hi Cuil Fothirbi 7 Moacru mac Senáin  
 7 Hui Chaile, Hui Laigthehtain mic Cuimmine 7 Hui Fithrechain  
 5 7 Hui Chatháin 7 Hui Gaimdechair 7 Hui Dobráin 7 Sil Cruachén  
 .i. for Gabrán.

### De genealogia sīl Āeda Slāne.

Secht maic Āeda Slāne .i. Diarmait, Rúanaid, a quo Fogar-  
 tach mac Neill; Blaithmac, Conall, a quo Hui Aitechdai mic  
 10 Conaill; Congal, a quo Conaing, ōta Congalach mac Máilmithig;  
 Ailill, a quo Fir Chúl; Dunchad, a quo Finnechta Fledach;  
 Cerball. Dicunt *autem* ailii octauum fuisse .i. Tigernán, a quo  
 Hui T[h]igernáin Mide, *tamen stude.*

Secht maic Āeda Slāne sláin: Diarmait, Conall, Blaithmac cóem,  
 15 Congal, Ailill, Dunchad dian, Mælodor miad sulc[h]ar sóer.

Donnchad mac Donnchada mic Domnaill, ut poeta dixit.<sup>1)</sup>

### Do miniugud senchais Fer Muman.

Cf. Rawlinson B 502, p. 147 a, LL. p. 319 a, BB. p. 171 a.

(fo. 93 a 1) Éber mac Miled Espāne, cóic maic leis .i. Er,  
 Orba, Ferón, Fergua, Conmæl. Nirfagaib nech diib claind acht  
 20 Conmōel. Mac don Chonmōel sin Eochaid Fæburglas lastorchair  
 Cermna inna dūn. Dā mac Eochach Fæbairglais .i. Nūadu  
 Declām 7 Mafemis. Doside ropo mac Eocho Momo ō rāter Mumu  
 7 Muimnig .i. athair Ennai Airgdig. Is esside romarb Óengus  
 Ólmucaid<sup>2)</sup> 7 ingen do Mugæth mōrtallach mac Mafemis mathair  
 25 Óengusa Ólmucada (.i. ōl-Mugætha) tucastar .i. int ōl no-ibed  
 Mugæth. Nī hinister clann Mafemis secha so.

Clann Nūadat Declā[i]m fodecsā .i. in sechtmad fer huadside  
 .i. Munemōn. Is 'na ré-side ór fo braigtib i nÉre. Mac doside  
 Allerg<sup>3)</sup> Doat cetaranic failgi im dóiti. Mac doside Cas Cét-

<sup>1)</sup> dss. MS. End of fo. 78 b 2. On fo. 79 a 1 begins the fragment of Cormac's Glossary which has been printed and translated by Stokes in the Transactions of the Philological Society, Dec. 4. 1891.

<sup>2)</sup> olmaib MS.

<sup>3)</sup> Ailderg Rawl. LL.



gomnig lasrachëtgabtha comgni. Doside robo mac Failbe Ercho-  
rach. La side rochëtecbad corthe. Doside dano robo mac Roän  
Rigarlach. Leis dorönad carpat ar tūs.

In cūiced fer hūadside iar ngenelach .i. Setna Indaraid. Is  
hē doratt tūarustal ar tūs. Iarmōa doside Eocho hUarches. Is 5  
hē robōi for longais fri ré cīana ria Sirlām mac Argatmāir.

In dechmad fer hūad-side iar ngenelach Amadair Flidais  
Foltchāin cosa mbligtis na helti amal būar.

In cuad<sup>1)</sup> (sic) fer hūad-side .i. Duach dalta Dedaid dorochair  
la Fachtna Fathach mac Cais maic Rudraigi. Is hē robōi ria 10  
nEochaid Feidlech. Ó dorochair<sup>2)</sup> Duach la hUltu rofuirmiset for  
Eochaid Ferfuirmid .i. mac Duach .i. fer forrofuirmed. Rogab  
Ernai nert for sil nEbir iar sin co ragaib iar mac Dedad rige  
7 atraracht nert claindi Dedad .i. Dāire 7 Binne Ros 7 Forai  
Glas 7 Con[g]anchnes 7 rl. 15

Roindarbtha tra sil nEbir (fo. 93 a 2) i n-imlib Muman.  
In sechtmad fer ō Eochaig Ferfuirmi .i. Eogan Taidlech diarbo  
ainm Mug Nūadat, ō rāter Leth Moga Nūadat .i. dalta Nūadat  
maic Bairr maic Dārine. Dia mbas oc denam rátha Nūadat, is  
ann rogaired de-seom Mug Nūadat. 20

Mog Nūadat dano, dā mac lais .i. Lugaid Lāga 7 Ailill  
Ölom. Is eside rogab Áne ingin Fir<sup>3)</sup> hÍ maic Eogabail co  
ndecheid chuici fo chëtōir, co roben si a chlūais de in tan bás  
oc tīachtain, conid do sin rodngueuin Ailill Ölom.

Ailill Ölom, nōi maic dēc lais .i. Eogan a quo Eoganachta 25  
huili; Cormac Cass a quo Dāl Cais; Cīan a quo Cīandachta 7  
Gailenga 7 Luigne<sup>4)</sup>. Ni fogabar clann oc maccaib Ailella acht  
an triar so.

Eogan mac Ailella mac do Fiachaig Mullet[h]an risinn-abar  
Fer da liach .i. dā liach dō marbad a athar a n-inbaid a geine 30  
7 éc a māthar dia breith. Ceithri maic Ailella Fla[i]nn Bicc  
maic Fiachach .i. Lugaid (Lāre) Fidach .i. athair Crimthaind 7  
Mongfinne. Mane Munchāin, is hūad Ūi Fidginte. Dāre Cerba,  
is hūad Ūi Liathāin. Tri maic Fiachach Fidgennid .i. Briōn,  
Setna, Lægairi. Secht maic Briō[i]n maic Fiachach .i. Cairpre 35  
Goll, Lugaid, Dāre, Fergus, Rus, Cormac, Costaire.

<sup>1)</sup> nō in .ix. dēg in margin.

<sup>2)</sup> rorochair MS.

<sup>3)</sup> ingen fir MS.

<sup>4)</sup> luidhne MS.

Cōic maic Carpri maic Briūin: Ere, Echīn, Setna, Cormac, Eirberthi. Eichīn *immurgu* a quo Fir Thamnach 7 rl.

Secht maic Echach Liathāin meic Dāre Cerbāe .i. Carpre Cael, Corc, Corp, Mac Brocc, Ailill Tasach. Secht maic Ailella  
5 Tassaig .i. Lægaire, Breasal, Mac Draigneāin, Mac Carthaind, Āed, Feidlimid, Ōengus Brecc, Nóis ēces.

Lugaid mac Ailella *tres* filios habuit .i. Lugaid, a quo hŪi Luigdech Éle; Cathdub<sup>1)</sup>, a quo hŪi Chathbad Chuille. Corc mac Luigdech *septem* filios habuit .i. Carpre Cruithnechan, a quo  
10 Eoghanacht Locha Lein; Mac Caiss, a quo hŪi Echach Raithlind; (fo. 93 b 1) Mac Broc nō Trena, a quo hŪi Trena; Mac Iair, a quo Ūi Maic Iair; Daig, a quo hŪi Muiredaig, Mac Lāre, a quo Ūi Maic Lāre; Natfraich, a quo Eoganacht Āne 7 Chaisil 7 Glennamnach 7 Airthir Chliach. Natfraich duos filios habuit .i.  
15 Ōengus 7 Ailill, a quo Eoganacht Āne.

Ōengus *immorru*, .xxiii. [maic] leis 7 .xxiii. filias habuit. Iar tichtain adropairt dā mac déc 7 dā ingin dec do DĪa, qui omnes<sup>2)</sup> sancti 7 sancte sunt. It e annso anmann in dā mac dec: Domonnai .i. Feidlimid Dubgilcach, a quo Eoganacht Caisil  
20 7 Fingein 7 Failbe; ii. Eochaid, a quo Cathal mac Finguine; iii. Bresal; ii. Senach, de quo *dicitur* ōengrēs in gabair lasin rig, cuius hereditatem Enna possidet; u. Āed Cōech. Trī maic Ethne hUathche ingene, a quo Cenel nEthne.

Mac Carthind, a quo Gubi 7 Dub Conaind 7 Dub Derir 7  
25 Aed Colpdai; uii. Nafaitreg, a quo hŪi Gruibne; ui. Āed; ix. Fedlimid; x. Loscan; xi. Nadgeid quorum trium *generum*<sup>3)</sup> hi tīrib hŪa nDuach sunt 7 alia pars de *genere* Nadgein in regionibus na nDési .i. Lugaid mac Nadgeid; xii. Nathi.

Colmān mac Dārine nō Dārāne, cuius reliquiæ sunt i nDaire  
30 Mōr, 7 Lugaid, cuius reliquiæ sunt hi nDruim Indasclaind 7 rl.

Eocho Mugmedōn rī hĒrenn. Roīarfaig Āed dó cía bad rī dia maccaib. ‘Ní fētar-sa’ ar sesem ‘noco roloscther cerdcha forru.’ Loisccther iarum in cerdcha. Gabais Briōn<sup>4)</sup> .i. sennser na macc in carpat cona huilib essib. Gabais Fiachra in tulchoba  
35 fina. Gabais Ailill inna harmu huile. Gaba[i]s Fergus Cæchan in cūail crīnaig. Gabais Niall airnisi in gobann huili etir bulgu 7 urdu 7 indeōin cona cip. Atbert Eocho: ‘Is fir’, ar sé, ‘Niall bus rī doib 7 is dō foigenat a brāthri.’

<sup>1)</sup> leg. Cathub.<sup>2)</sup> onnes MS.<sup>3)</sup> leg. genera.<sup>4)</sup> brián MS.

Timna Neill *maic* Echach *immurgu* in so sís dia maccaib  
 i. 'Mo (fo. 93 b2) *flaith* do Chonall; m'ordan do Chrimthan; mo  
*gascad* do Eogan Armderg; mo *chrícha* do Charpriu; mo *amainsi*  
 do Énna; mo *dathi* 7 mo *elgnas* do *Fiachaig*; mo *chruth*, mo  
*chocad* do Lægaire; mo *heich*, mo *charpait*, mo *báide* do Mane; 5  
 mo *búasche* do Briün; mo *dÍgal* do Fergus Antem.' Conid and  
*dorigni* na runda so:

'Mo *flaith* do Chonall *chet celg*, mo *gaisced* d'Eogan armderg,  
 mo *chrícha* do Chairpri chain, m'amainsi d'Énna inmain.  
 Mo *charpait*, mo *eich uile n-ög* *nosathnim* do Mane mör, 10  
 mo *chruth*, mo *chocad crúadach* do Lægaire *londbúadach*.  
*Athnim m'elgnatus uile* d'*Fiachaig* an *fuilt findbuide*,  
 mo *búar* do Chonall *andes* mar *doraidus* mo *flaithes*.'  
 Mo *flaith*.

De causis quibus exules Aquilonensium<sup>1)</sup> ad Muminenses<sup>2)</sup> 15  
 adducti sunt.

Issed cétamus fochond toirgi Cíarraigi 7 na cethri nArad  
 7 Dál Medruath co Mumain 7 Húi Neill ar thosach 7 Condachta  
 ecráite a senathar rogabsat hUlaid indib di ág Fergusa *maic*  
 Rosa Róig ó rochinset. Ar fecca[i]s Fergus for Ulta di ag mná i. 20  
 di ág Medba Crúachan, ar imgeogain ar imtoin(?) mná fria chenel  
 fadessin. It ē teora clanda roc[h]inset hūad for longus: Clann  
 Moga Thōech óa rochin Cíarraigi 7 Cland Fir Deodai óa rochin  
 Dál Medruad 7 Dál Fir Tlachtgai óa rochinset na cethri Araid.  
 Gabsat ar tosaig hic Temuir. Attrebsat ann co amsir Neill *maic* 25  
 Echach. Hué *Maic Dornæ* 7 Én mac Mauguirn cetegabsat Ir-  
 luachair la Corc mac Luigthig. Luid Corp mac Ainirmæ. Coinniu  
 mac Seghu oc Dūn Choinnenn 7 oc Comarthu.

Tri *maic* Coel hUirc ic Curchu ocus drecht diib i nAidniu,  
 araill diib oc Dubcechair. La Fergus goíta Cethernd mac Fintain 30  
 ótát Corco Selgind. Fer Deodæ nod- (fo. 94 a 1) geoguin mac  
 Fergusa. Crádis<sup>3)</sup> Ultu fri Cethirnd guin Fécc, ar nicon dlid<sup>4)</sup>  
 side dia hathair. Trethid Cárthind. Gōeta Cethirnd oc tecoscaib  
 druad 7 oc tairchetul a hingine. Solchenn mac Cethirnd geognai  
 Fécc mac Fergusa. Ba gleorderc in Solchenn, unde rectius 35  
 Corco Solgind dicti sunt a poetis, nunc autem ab imperitis Corco

<sup>1)</sup> aquilonensiam MS.

<sup>2)</sup> muminensis MS.

<sup>3)</sup> leg. crádis. Cf. p. 307, l. 8.

<sup>4)</sup> leg. dlíg.

hAlchind dicuntur. Is di hūasait in sceōil sea Lucrith mocu<sup>1)</sup>  
ChIara in t-ēces cecinit<sup>2)</sup>:

- 5                   ‘Conailla medb mīchura m̄c doroich  
ruadchuru cuirsir forfergus forcomol.  
coi innaichthairm<sup>3)</sup> dumenair timgart  
cuici cardini cuaird indithrib droch  
moddi drog aceille cundomne *condiacht*  
solam sochraitte. Sælti ailill hirroi  
dde hirthend iarir asede. Aifaith<sup>4)</sup> mo  
10               ais mairlatha lúthag luin la auromun  
auruath niath nertride nadbo fri  
nith fand fulomoin. fogert guss gaile  
fergusa firu iath nerenn mordehe sithbe  
sluagid allmure nulath necnech nulai  
15               cnithe. nibochiuin caór catha crobuiln  
ig cloi centim timme tethiguth tethrig  
abud badarr fodde bó<sup>5)</sup> frihulath noll  
chosnam ingab medb moethiguth. michor  
dingeni gnim nadchum cachecomul naisc  
20               nuall fuatachtæ forracaib foraclaind  
croaitlich torgi fiann lafergus fuac  
arta foocrad crib laconchobur acom  
and erred ecnach nulath chura hiath  
nistornebad torund ceort cumachtæ  
25               Condailset am̄c marthire octemair truim  
tetorig dollecset ulaith nollmrugi. ol  
scarsat friffaith fledolig. Fiaac mac fe  
ochair fergusa fillis catha telathar cechaing  
ceim cimbetho consoer selb soerathar  
30 (fo. 94 a 2) segde doficc achondalbe confargaib  
achlaind soerchoraich siaicht selb senath  
air arhircus bronnbuar ocbánfethig.  
Batuicit baiss fergusa fi frihecrait noen  
odir aarmisu cethirnd cairthin croid

<sup>1)</sup> mac hu MS.

<sup>2)</sup> .l. in margin.

<sup>3)</sup> There seems to be a punctum delens below the last a.

<sup>4)</sup> Perhaps asfaith or affaith.

<sup>5)</sup> Perhaps bú.

tréchroeb[í]odail Canfer miscuis ferghusa  
 fii diandebelt ararathu arbreith fola  
 ferglainne foralectlained iarlatharnu  
 Lathris solchend sodigail soisilgeneth  
 cinith robagi ruanaid guss diangeog 5  
 uir fescé huíróich rodáni Roboi dih  
 en tolgde toirge diclained cethirnd cath  
 buadach. cradis ultu fiacc dohorguin.  
 orgnith nitha nathbuadach Nassad ain  
 eoil airm niansat diascarsat fribri nai 10  
 rige adfaitar dothir tethba tarlind ne  
 thni cossinmumain menide. mote arroet  
 huili oengus huaconail cuirc clothamri an  
 dithorgib tuath trom ditholib othemuir  
 aird adbuil sochaide. Suain friarsene 15  
 olas eol dún dianscanrith hulaith iarsir  
 gubu iarnaraib ág dedalib detharbe con  
 ailla medb michuru.

### De quabsis<sup>1)</sup> torchi Corco Chē.

Cf. Book of Lecan, fo. 134a.

20

Acuis torge Corco Chē. Ó Loch Echach a mbunadh. To-  
 maidm Lin[n]mune tar Liathmuine. Linnmuine i mbu thipra, Loch  
 nEchach indorso, dílegath síl Dubthig Dóelt[h]engath and ac[h]t  
 cethra conchuiriu. In chethramad conchuire frissa tuile anair  
 tan ecomnechair, it é Corco Chē. Cruithne in tres conchaire aile 25  
 cacha leth. Óenne hi tír Hūe Crumthir hi Fernmaig. Alaile i  
 Mondornd 7 hi Cula Breg, diatát Corco Chē Fernmaige 7 Corco  
 Chē Slebe Mondoird. In saithe aile do Chassiul co hAilill Flann  
 Becc co ríg Muman. Dobert side doib Cluain Baird maic Augaine.

Ba daltæ doib Corc mac Láre. Láir derg (fo. 94 b 1) do 30  
 C[h]orco Chē rodnalt, unde uocatur Eoganacht Hūa<sup>2)</sup> maic Láre.  
 Midend drúth Eochath maic Muireda 7 Conbroc a chú 7 hUiriú  
 a hingen, iss é triar adlói aLiathmuiniu. Atát a trī cairnd for  
 brú locha anair. Midend profetauit diluuium, hoc Utlu Creth  
 profetauit.<sup>3)</sup> 35

<sup>1)</sup> i. e. causis.

<sup>2)</sup> hui MS.

<sup>3)</sup> Below *Midend* and above *profetauit* .cc. is added.

- ‘Ba mol Midend midlaige, memais Linnmuine dar Liathmuine,  
lia háirim slúag aabad a Linnmag Mis i murbrath,  
inriuth Lindmuine as dú milt a crúas for comaithchu.  
Cáin tír dolécced dō i mbi Eochu Mār mac Mairedo,  
5 marid carnn senchind chon ind rí, ní bu hen<sup>1)</sup> cét cetharlíth.  
Sella fri Loch nEchach dia brú ba scith la hUlad n-anrotha<sup>2)</sup>,  
ar dílegad sil Dubthaig dáil ilLinnmunu nadarrchiúir.  
Acht claind Moathaire maa clith, cenel ind áir orta Feidlimith<sup>3)</sup>,  
fuaím ind locha dar cach dú foaiaib cethri conchairiu.  
10 Cuire dib dochum Derco chēn, ansu dodí dochuaíd etircēn,  
in cuire aile síar tar mag co húa Crimthain hi Fernmaig.  
Forúer inneth fota maidm tiprait máir maic Mairetha,  
do Dáil Ocha, húaithmar ndeilm, Loch Echach do thomaídm.  
Memaid saithe scarthach ndonn húađ siardes do Mondornd,  
15 mrogaís Clíathaire cia bu hen<sup>4)</sup> co rríg Muman hi Femen.  
Fri hAilill Fland Becc dommelt a ríi, dobert síde dó Mag Taline,  
talleicc a síl iar cath Cennibrá, dosfuid co rríg nÍrluachraí.  
Doaisbenad doib tír co líi Clúain Baird maic Augaine<sup>5)</sup>,  
ō sen co sencath ináit amal betis murchorthaig hi báirc.  
20 Cach<sup>6)</sup> saithe díib rogab crúib sethnu hÉrend, ní dāl fochraib,  
forraig friu Lindmaine co mbair nad cumaic nech dib a  
dígail fair.  
Is forniach<sup>7)</sup> baith fas díb in tan is loch cechonrualat augre  
nitha inge fohut fris doris ocus amhiris. [n-aitherach<sup>8)</sup>,  
25 Ní fil tanguí manid hē huiscan rohoécc for Liathmuine,  
ní fil nad báda acht inid Eochu rí robadí.  
Ba moo dícrídu Eochu ríi maith suídiu,  
ní bu badud domet dō, ba gábud nach mar cathu.’

Ríi Caisil tra doratt fond 7 grían doib hi tóib Aurchuind  
30 fria mbráithriu fri Ciarraige Lóchræ ara coicill la Corc mac  
Luigthig. Ónmíđ bandalta doib. (fo. 94 b 2) Ar it hē geogaind  
Aurmumu ima láma iar cath Drochet Meinde for Osairge hesam-  
badar riasin ríđ hisin cath sin 7 búí a hécraite foráib sech  
cách, ar it hesom ba móam arerāncatar and, condetubert Corc  
35 illáim Choirpre a maic fodesin do chomaírgi friu 7 corarchosced

<sup>1)</sup> leg. šen.<sup>2)</sup> leg. ánothu.<sup>3)</sup> feidlimthi MS.<sup>4)</sup> leg. mocu Augaini.<sup>5)</sup> Kach MS.<sup>6)</sup> Perhaps formach.<sup>7)</sup> naitheclrach MS.

doib a cricha for cech leth cona n-im[í]ochith im chāch immemēath  
 anfir foraib. Condegegoina clann Maine Munchāin ar ulc fri  
 claind Chuirec ōnmith. Robratad flaith Muman seccu contubraid  
 mucca cona muccaidib forru. Is de conbaetarsam a muiccithi  
 conamtrētaib. Is dind anglund sain fec[h]ta cath Cūla Meinde 5  
 ri Corco Chē for firu hĒirenn tri fortacht nĪta Cluana 7 rl.<sup>1)</sup>

(fo. 96 a 1) *Scēla Eogain in so 7 Cormaic.*<sup>2)</sup>

Luid Eugan Mōr do chath Mucruime. Fōi hi tig Treth  
 moccu Creccai. Ingen alaind lassaide, Moncha a hainm. Timgart  
 ind ingen<sup>3)</sup> chuCCI illigi 7 dobreth dō, ar nī buí cland dō co 10  
 sein. Is de (fo. 96 a 2) birt Monchæ mac n-amræ iar toitim  
 Eogain Mōir isin c[h]ath fri Mac Con. Fiacho Muillethan, is  
 hē mac ruccad and din chomruc sin. Is de ba muillethan, fobith  
 isbert in druī fri Monchi i mbuī oc lāmnath: 'Mad mattin  
 noberthe in mac, forbiath do mac maccu cāich 7 bit rig a maic 15  
 7 a hūi co bráth.' Is iar sin doluid Moncha co mbūi inna  
 suidiu forsind licc oc Raphaind i n-imīc[h]tur Suiri. Is de lethas  
 mullach in maic forsín cloich, co mbu Fi[a]cho Muillethan mac  
 Eogain Mōir a hainm. Asbert fria ar thūs ropad rigdrúth  
 hĒirenn mad isin chētlā conbertha. Is ar sein anid si co arna- 20  
 bārach. Munlethan<sup>4)</sup> didiu .i. mullach-lethan, dia roleth a  
 mullach forsín c[h]loich. Is de sin is chol do cach fīr d'Eoganacht  
 goinfes fer do C[h]recrugu.

A chommut Art mac Cuind, nī breth mac doside co comarnic  
 ind adaig riasin chath fri hAchtān hingen hUile Aiche in druad. 25  
 Is hī máthair [Chormaic maic] Airt maic Cuind. Is hē in Cormac  
 sin rogab rīgi i ndiēd Maic Con maic Luigthech. Tricha blādna  
 a hāes Cormaic in tan sin.

In tan doluith Art ō Themuir dochum in chatha dodeochaid  
 trī cōicdaib ōclach riasna slūagaib aurāin co tānic co hAche. 30  
 Bui Achtān ingen hUile hAche oc indis etorrotha ar a chind.

<sup>1)</sup> Here, under the heading *Incipit do scēlaib Mosaulum 7 Maic Con 7 Luigdech*, follows the story edited and translated in 'Fiannaigeacht', p. 28 ff.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. The Battle of Mag Mucruime, ed. Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique* XIII, S. 450 § 39 ff. and Book of Lecan, p. 337 b, printed and translated Rev. celt. XI, p. 41 ff.

<sup>3)</sup> leg. in n-ingen.

<sup>4)</sup> This form, which recurs below p. 314, ll. 13 and 17, would seem to show that Ffachu's byname was really *muin-lethan* 'broad-necked'.

Banscál sōn is mōraldom robúi i nhÉre. Búi dano cōice indēs la hOlc nAiche immīn nAichi 7 trī cōicait 7 rl. 7 is hūaid-som rohainmniged a tīr 7 cach indēs dīb dia biathad-som iar mblegon cēt bō, bá sí a deog-som. Ba hecen a lestar hi tallath in sen 5 do bith ar a chind in cach baili dīb.

Tan dano donānic Art búi al-lestar lán (fo. 96 b 1) aicci-si. Daringart fer búi for lāim Airt dig cosind ingin. 'Cia condaig in dig?' ol sí. 'Art mac Cuind rí Heirenn', ar in fer. 'Tōet nech ūaib' ol sí 'dia brith'. Feimdit dias dīb. Berthis sí a 10 hōenur 7 fodāli doib. 'Ba maith in sein', ol in gilla, 'acht atbert[h]a fodein dond rīg'. 'Nīmda cuimcech-sa hī suidiu', ol ind ingen. Anith sí. 'Bid fodob mo athir-se'. Tic hOlc Aiche. 'Cade mo deog?' ol sē. Línaid a llestar dō do lemlacht. 'Is hē mo choimden atgēn, nī hed mo ass a cētnē. Cade mo deog?' ol 15 sē. 'Nī sí in so'. Atfēt ind ingen dō. 'Cid' ol sē 'asbert Art frit?' 'Asrubairt frim ba maith in sēn acht co tiasta lasind rīg'. 'Ba ferr' ol sē 'nothiasta'. 'Ba maith dano lim-sa', ol ind ingen, 'acht bith fó lat-so'. 'Biaid maith de', ol hOlc Aiche, 'act ambere-so. Nī fuiceba-som di chlāind 7 in chlann nombere, bit 20 rīg hÉirenn co bráth. Lātharthar lat fess dond rīg .i. cōica dam, cōica torc, cōica cēt mbargen, cōica tulchuba co fīn. Tabair-so cōicait n-echsrian 7 cōicait mbó airthiu, ar itā la cluicher ngaise insen dī lestri'. Bretha in so huili do Art arnabárach 7 luid ind ingen conu 7 cōica ingen lée 7 fodāiltea la hArt a 25 mbiath sin. 7 fōid ind ingen in lá sin lais 7 dogníth pupull umpu 7 atfēt bríathra a hathar dō .i. hUile hAiche 7 doimgair comartha dī 7 dobert Art a chlaideb 7 a ōrnasc óir dī 7 a thimthag ōenaig 7 celebrad cách co toirsi máir. 7 ba torrach for Cormac hūa Cuind in ingen.

30 Teit Art don chath. Intan robtar lán an-noi mis ingine hUile hAiche for Cormac, lámnith. Berith mac, Cormac a ainm. Is de rohainmniged do asrubairt: taurucēba mac gor eīm, gormac iarum. In tan rogenair Cormac, focēird in druígoba hUile hAiche cuic essa imdegla fair ar guin, ar bāduth, ar thein, ar 35 adgaire, ar chonaib, ar cach hōlc. Nīrbo cian iar sin búi sí inda cotlud isind [f]aithchi. Toluid sod maic thīre co mbert a mac hūaithi cen fīs dī 7 dombert for a sinebolg in tsod 7 nī fītir sí cia arluith. Robúi fer airchisse án isin tīr-sin .i. Luigne (fo. 96 b 2) Fer trí a ainm side. Doluid side do hairchis ar 40 fiadrad. Focaird forsin cūanlocht na mac tīre 7 argab an mac



ann, os hé conrethed laa cona. Dombert Luigne Fer tri lais 7  
 biata lais co cenn mbliadna. Rofinnathar a mǵathair-som inni  
 sein. Luith ide co Luigne Fer tri 7 dombert hūad 7 adfēt scela  
 dó in maic amal batar. 'Dō deit amin', ol Luigne Fer tri fria,  
 'folaich in mac bar bibdaith báis ind dia fessara Mac Con'. Luid 5  
 Achtán dadaig fochētoir cona mac hi tūaiscert nĒirenn do ascnam  
 co Fīachnæ Cassán, aitte Airt maic Cuind. In tan luide tar  
 sliab n-and medōn aidchi, dosnāncatar coin hĒirenn do brith a  
 maic hūadī ar écin. Focertat hūall impe. Dosnautat fiadgraig  
 robói isin tsleib. Gebit occæ 7 doberat comairgi dī. Is de atā 10  
 Conachla i n-aurthur Luigne. Rānic fothūaid co haitti nAirt.  
 Bōi side occon tiprai oc indlat, os hē trūag co cumaid Airt.  
 'Anmin amin', ol Achtán. 'Ciata inso?' ol Fīachnæ frie. Adfēt  
 a scela dó huili. Focairt dī laim ima bráigit 7 cíid for an mac  
 corbo [f]liuch. 7 dognither muidi ibair immi 7 tlacht corcra for 15  
 an muidi ar nāch rostis láma na ndóine oc failti fris, arnāco  
 mbáste in mac. Alte in sein co cenn trichat bliadna 7 luid tria  
 hecosc 7 druidecht a senathar do Themuir di láu sobais. 7 dobreith  
 claideb a athar dó 7 a fōrnosc<sup>1)</sup> n-óir 7 timthach a athar immi.  
 Foimsi dó imalle. Doluid do Themuir in gass mōr dīriuch hisen, 20  
 is<sup>2)</sup> hé a hōenur.

Conacæ inni Cormac, in fer i ndorus Temrach ar a chind  
 ic dīgdi na mnā, 7 in ben immurgu oc cú. Doluid som do dib  
 culadaib ind fīr dothūaslaice claideb dó. Asbert in fer fris:  
 'nia tire thūaslaice claideb dam, os mē rechtairi maic Con. 25  
 Nechtan mo ainm'. 'Mo indrosc dam!' ol Cormac. 'Doberthar',  
 ar in rechtairi. 'Biad dam mo nemaisneis millius dam'. 'Rot-  
 bīa', ol in rechtairi. 'Cid cīas in ben?' ar Cormac. 'Cīit[h]'  
 ar in rec[h]tairi 'breth ruc in rī diammaith lee .i. a cāirich  
 (fo. 97 a 1) do dīlsi hi lloimrad glassenguirt na rīgna'. 'Ba cōru' 30  
 ol Cormac 'in lomrad tar hēisi a chēli. Nī ruc góí riam' ol  
 Cormac 'fer rodhuc. Tiag-sa dō'. Foruisedar in rechtairi na  
 briathra sa do Mac Con isin Temair. 'Dō dūib', ol sé, 'is hé  
 bias im diaig-sa. Manodfil fer di chlaind Airt i nhĒre, is hē in  
 fer sin. Tōet for m'aineach-sa co fārgub-sa Temair lais, ar nī 35  
 lim ind aimser rucus in brith. Tānic mo ré. .xxx. bliadna  
 gusandiu ō rogabus rige'. Tic in t-ōclach. Feraid Mac Con  
 failte fris 7 attraig riam. 'Nīthō', ol sé, 'nīmda rī cēin hé and'.

<sup>1)</sup> leg. órnasc.<sup>2)</sup> leg. os.

Tócaib Mac Con a glún súas. 'Loc dam-sa ón immurgu co hūair chéin'. Congairthir a chéi 7 a hamais do Mac Con. Forcongraid forru. 'Taigam co Mumain diar finechas díles, is cáich a hūair a n-āros so'. Tocumli Mac Con 7 a mac .i. Lugid Macnia (.i. 5 ōenainm) 7 a cheithir maic side .i. Dau 7 Trian, Eochu 7 Lugith. 'Cinnas' ol Cormac 'forācbaid in fáithchi forsa raba? Beir brith dún'. 'Ní thō', ol Mac Con. 'Beir so, hūair isa tossach flatha dait acht rob tol dait-so', ol Cormac. 'Berat-sa slán lim', ol Mac Con. Is and berti Cormac: 'Tabair'.

### Do bunad imthechta Eoganachta in so

- 10 .i. doluid lonġes mór, do fēraib hÉirenn a mbunad, edón meic Eogain Taidlig. Trī anmand bātar fair .i. Eogan Taidlech 7 Mug Nūadat 7 Eogan Fithcecach. Gabsat a n-Inbiur Cholpthai, tri cōicit fer a llin, immusrala muir aimsera co tāncatar Éirind.
- 15 Tráth atchessa di thir doaurchomraicthea fir hÉirenn ar a cenn. Gabsat ald daiġgen, nā haithgēn nech bēlrai araili itagmar. Dorónsat essomon trī laa 7 trī n-oidchi etarru oc (fo. 97 a 2) coibche biid ar arget ō hās na luġge. Inn-accatar ba hamræ a n-indbas arfōitea hi tīr 7 fodālid sechnó hÉirenn 7 gabthu
- 20 mac a rrīg do haltrom ar seótu .i. Eogan Tuīdlech, co mbo tretell hÉirenn. Tobretha tri dúne dō .i. Fithcecc ainm cach æ. Ōen diib i nDolaib Glais oc Sléib Smōir, araili inn-Ucht Meic Cāchán hi crich Chīarraighi Lūachrai, araili hi tīr Delmnæ hŪa Néill. Búi gnim dō hi cach æ 7 bóí fáith cacha fithicce diib. Is de ba Fithicech som, amal atbert in fili:

- 25 Cethri anmand, mīad cen brón, robātar for Eogan mōr:  
Eogan Fithicech, mīad ngart, Eogan Taidlech, Mug Nūadat.

- Fecht and fiarfaidus<sup>1)</sup> Eogan fáith díb: 'Cid arunta?' Attubairt in fáith: 'Tic gorta mōr for firu hÉirenn'. 'Cia tairice?' 'Tairic
- 30 hi cind teora mblīadna, 7 ren ór 7 argat ar biad isin bliadain seo 7 biid cethrur for biud triir ocut'. Ocus iar sin imcomaircid na fáithe ele cechtarde a blīadna 7 asbertatar cadissin: 'Ticfa innd úne beus 7 ren t'uma 7 t'iarand ar biad 7 biid triar ar biuth deissi ocut', ar in fáith medōnach. Adubart in tress fáith:
- 35 'Ren t'étach ar biad 7 biid dias ar biud óenfīr ocut'. Dogēni huili Eogan anī sain.

<sup>1)</sup> leg. iarfaiges.

Tofuirmi trá ind aúne for firu hÉirenn connäch bui ní nochaithitis. Adfiadar dóib ind [f]áilte do fochaill inna dubthine. Toscumlat chuicci fir hÉirenn. 'Donfair ná tiagam d'éccaib gortæ, fobith rodotaltamar. Mani thobri, rosossam-ni do dún fort'. Ailthus Eogan imm esomon trisse (i. tredenus) i. comtis 5 lobuir 7 connächambeth nert. Dogniat som dano amlaid sein. Ba bec trá an-nert hi suidiu. Berthair <sup>1)</sup> ar sain (fo. 97 b 1) a fir mathi co hEogan inna dún 7 biathaiter an dōescur[s]lūag ar dúinib anechtair co cenn teora mblīadna i. blīadain cachā fithicce. Dogniat rī[g] do mac Eogain Taidlig andsain. Is de sin atā 10 Eoganacht, di thorath inna bendachtan doratsat fir hÉirenn fair ar gart friu 7 ar a tessorcain dind aúne irrabatar. Euganacht deside i. eo i. bona, acht i. icht i. icht maith dó fir hÉirenn do sērad ar gorta. Nō Euganacht i. eu i. bona, genes uero generatio. Euganacht didiu bona generatio a thaithmech 7 rl. 15

Co fessaid bunad Dāil Chuind 7 a n-imthechta. Trī maic Buain maic Loegairi Birnd ōtā Ossirge, i. Ailill, Ōengus, Fiacc, ciatarochlan[n]sat cletha hi Temuir. Is hi amser indatānic in Mil Espāne tanaise ind-hÉirind, trī coicit fer a llin. Gabais Tracht Delossath 7 doforbertatar hi tīr 7 adrartatar inreth mār 20 7 gabsit tīr and ar chlaideb. Is amlaid rogabsat flaith ar chiund 7 bid samlaid dogrés, tria hēcin gabait flaith. Is hi a chland Dal Cuind 7 Dal Fiachach. Asberat alaili bid di lucht na luinge foracabsat hi tīr Amazonum i. lasna cichloiscethi in tEugan Taidlech. In Mil Espāne dedenach immurgu, ba dóich lind bid 25 din lucht forācaibset som hi cathir Breogaint. Ocus is iarum dollotar dochum nÉirenn co nhúraib cathrach Themis leó. Itt e side húra doleicthe hi Temair iar tóchul hÉirenn, conid Temair a hainm ind aird sin i. theme i. úr dind húr a Themis alacheill in sín. Is hé in bith dédenach diand ebrath bith sil Chuind 7 30 Muman ind [f]laith co bráth. Cruithnig conasensat in flaith friu. Is de dogēni Fīnán mac Fiachrach di Dāl Aride:

Manud báig ar Thipraite báithum arber do suidiu, (fo. 97 b 2) secht cathæ ar chetharchait ar secht cetaib is huilliu.

Conarnic cenel Cuinn, mebdatar an-nói diib, ar ba la 35 Cruithniu ind [f]laith, conidtanic ind longes dedenach forsin lith

<sup>1)</sup> leg. bertair.

tuaiscertaig sin. Adrodat doib dano cach la flaith conidtanic Conn Cétchathach.

- Rofich trá Cond Cétchathach cét catha 7 cét n-imairec immon flaith sin fri Dál nAraide. Is de ba Cond Cétchathach, 5 din c[h]ét cath rofich. Cethri fichit catha do Art Óenfer. Mac sidhe Chuind. Gabais Cormac hūa Cuind flaith fer nhEirenn 7 damuir Fiacha mac Araide. Aslōeth Cormac hūa Cuinn co mbo aithri. Tocart Fiacha Araide Cormac a flaith Temra co mbói for longes hi tirib Muman la Fiachaig Mullethan mac Eogain 10 Máir hirRaphaind 7 giallais dō ar slōeth fer Muman. 7 atberat araili co rabi fo lethgabail in chore oc Fiachaig tar cenn a rígi do chosnam dó 7 Lagen do thabairt lais. Luid dano leth Eirenn la Fiachaig Munlethan for Fiachaig nAraide 7 memaith for Dál nAraide in cath sin oc Fochaird Muirthemne 7 gabais Cormac 15 a ríge doridhise. Dobert Cormac hūa Cuinn do Fiachaig Munlethan ar dul don chath a tír fortá Ciannachta. Is de foracaib Fiacha Munlethan Connla mac Taidg ina tír ō roenair glé.

- Asberat araili bid ar cath Chraindi doratad a tír so do mac Taidg. Is di thecosc in chatha sin focres rogu do Mug 20 Ruith do thÍrib Muman, ar ba hi Tarbri búi Mugh Ruith riasin chath sain. Is and asbert aurchuil cach mennatta. 'Ní fuimiu' ol se, 'chu lechtigh cumlin a chend fria leth meta comlin a hégma fria haurgata'. Unde elegit Tír Maige Feni. 'Fochenide húr', ol seseom, 'menid fáí meind fair'. Is de sein atáid Maighe 25 Feinne 7 rl.

(fo. 98a 1) **Di raínd etír maccu Ailella Fland Bicc.<sup>1)</sup>**

- Rorandsat a feranda hi cetheora ranna co Comor Tri nUisci. *Quattuor* filios habuit .i. Fidach, *cuius filius* Crimthan Mór mac Fidaig, 7 Luigtheg for ōenleth; Maine Muncháin 7 Dáre Cherbæ 30 for leith aili. Emmon nDáre 7 in Mane. Atchondairc a mmáthair .i. druim cechtarnāi fri araile ina cliab 7 dóel i medōn eturru .i. sil Moga Roith in druad, connā cumaic nechtar de cobair araile. It ē dano batir hoa 7 itt é fongiolatar cruiti a n-athar .i. Corco Che 7 ind indbaith .i. Corco Muchit. Alii dicunt betis secht 35 maic la Dáre .i. Fiacha, Eocha, Íth, Fidach, Dan, Ded, Dera.

Mafemis mac Eochach Gairb ipse est 7 Eocho Mumu, a quo tota plebs Muman. Mumu a munitione candoris liniti uel de

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Rawl. B 502, p. 149a 32; BB. 173c 35.

pulchritudine mulierum uel senectute uirorum uel a munitu, ar bene muniunt Muimne, Luigne 7 Laigne 7 rl.<sup>1)</sup>

Macc Ardæ mac Fidaig ba rī Ciarraigi Lúachrae co muir. Mac máthar som do ChIarān mac an tsáir. Imusacallat didiu Mac Ardæ 7 Ciarān 7 Brëndān<sup>2)</sup> mac hui Altæ. Dosnānic 5 Mochuta Rathin. Ba hēolach side and. Asbert Ciarān fri Brëndān 7 fri Mac Ardæ ara nderndais bráithirse fri Corco Chē 7 frisna huili Múscraigi<sup>3)</sup>. 'Arubta amser bas trom co n-artrig Lúachra 7 Locha Léin foraib'. Is farum dogēnsat bráithirse frisna tūatha imdataāt. Ocus bui Brëndān and 7 Finān Cam 7 Nessen 10 Corco Chē 7 Luigid mac Óche 7 LachtIne Achaith (fo. 103 b 1) Uir. Is and donānic Brēnaind Biror 7 Comgān comarbæ Ailbi 7 dogēnsat bithbráithirse frisna tūathaib sain chan. Dodeochaid tra aurtach Brēndain 7 Mochuta Rathin ar ChIarraigiū, aurtach Fināin Chaim 7 Monessóc ar Corco Duibne 7 aurtach Molūa ar 15 Corco Chē 7 aurt[h]ach Molachtóc 7 a chomarbæ ar Muscraigu 7 aurtach Brēnaind Biror arna huilib Cuirigib 7 aurtach Comgāin airchindich Imleochu Ibair dar cend forthuath.

Dodeochatar na nōib so huili i n-óg bráthirsi etir na cenela so co lathi mbrátha. Is and donānic Crimthan Odor ri Iarmuman 20 7 asbert friu: 'In fir a tesurguin na flatha orinde?' Friscart Brēndān Biror: 'Nicon bīa isin tēnod sa co bráth acht Rī nime. Nicon bīa dano forna tūathaib acht ri Caisil'. Asbertatar dano in dā Brēnaind fri Crimthan n[O]dor: 'Nicon bīa ri dit chlaind ōndiu co ti bráth'. Asbert dano Brēnaind mac hua (sic) Alti: 25 'Nicon bīa ri ó Iarmume for Ciarraigi ō laithib ind rig dima hainm Mældúin, acht bid suir<sup>4)</sup> Irmumu ō togai cipé ri bes hi Caisiul di chlaind Ōengusa maic Nadfraich 7 timarne Pátraic nat bé rī hi Caisiul acht di chlaind Nadfraich 7 armi hē suidigethar [rīg] for cach tūaeth hi Mumain 7 arni bé ri isin 30 tūescirt acht ri Temra 7 is hé suidigethar rī[g] for cach tūaith ilLeith Cuind.

<sup>1)</sup> Now follows, without a separate heading, the story of Conall Corc printed in *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, vol. III, p. 57 ff. Then, on fo. 99 b 2—102 a 2, under the title *De causis torche na nDéisi inn so*, the version of the Expulsion of the Désse printed in *Ériu*, vol. III, p. 135 ff.

<sup>2)</sup> a on erasure between d and n; originally *Brēndain*.

<sup>3)</sup> *muscraidi* MS.

<sup>4)</sup> As to this spelling which recurs on p. 316, l. 5, see *Ériu* V, p. 112.

Is andsain tra tuc Mac Ardæ 7 Furudrān a ūgiall for Crimthan mac nDercomanath maic Feidlimthe rig Caisil. Asbert dano Mochuta Rathin: 'Intī bes ri de Mume de Araib, is fris (fo. 103 b 2) beimmi, hūere attam bráthir dūnd'. Asbert Crimthan 5 mac Fedlimthi fri Ciarraigi: 'Bethib sūirsi lim-sa dano 7 nī gebthar ar uar cend acht amal dongegain fadessin'.

Mad<sup>1)</sup> togu tra la Ciarraigi a ndul co rig Locha Léin con aimsa folraith doib .i. rechtaire hūadaib la rig Locha Léin 7 .iiii. lānamna tre bith sir 7 ineth cethri mbó bith i n-uth dond rech- 10 taire a muintir hi crich Eoganachta Locha Léin di thalam con- mestar ri Ciarraige Lóchræ dia rechtairi 7 nach forbech dliges ri Locha Léin de Chorco Trí 7 Orbrigu 7 di for[s]lontib Irmumen huile. Is rand i ndē etir rig Eoganachta 7 ri[g] Ciarraige 7 nach forbech bīs la rig Ciarraige do righ Locha Léin fācabar la 15 Ciarraigi 7 la rig 7 is hoén inna foltaib ō rig Locha Léin. Ocus intan nōmber ri Ciarraigi a giall do ri[g] Locha Léin dober dano ri Locha Léin a giall do ri[g] Ciarraige fria folta tecti. Triar dano do giall rig Locha Léin la rig Ciarraige. Dis immurgu do giall ri[g] Ciarraigi la rig Locha Léin 7 ní 20 thabair ri Ciarraige a giall co nderna ri Locha Léin cáin for cach tūeth immidmbē etir Corco Bascind 7 Corcomruad 7 hUí Fidgenti 7 Corco Luigde, etir muir 7 tír, 7 hUí hEchach. Co tarta ri Locha Léin .iiii. sect cumel dō nādnaurthet rath nā cuí, act ní taurchren iar sein, fosdáli ri Ciarraigi trí secht cumal 25 díb laiss fessin. Ocus ní dlegar dūnath do Chiarraige conraib Irmumu uile ar a cind i ndūnath 7 ní dlegar doib acht cethri laa 7 cethri aidchi<sup>2)</sup> i ndūnath, manip toge doib 7 ní thīagat hi sluaigheth for cech tūaith de Mume (fo. 104 a 1) frisi ndernsat bráthirse fobith aurthig na nóeb dodeochaid etorro 7 rl.

30 Bói ri for hErnaib Condlæ mac Ferchéte maic Dedad. A hEspáin a mathair, ingen Fergus a maic Carpait maic Néit, diatá Carnd hUí Néit. Dorōnad Condlæ dichomacsíu. Luid Condlæ do haccaíne a dochraite. Dodeochatar fir Espáine lais dia sóchraiti la Condlæ. Dohuc Fergus cona lais a hEspáin, coin 35 soirdrigi a n-ainm, conid remib nomaiditis na catha. Is hé in Fergus so rosiacht giallu in choicid ar éicin tria chonu 7 a ócu. Ó thāncatar hEirind slúaig Fergus a maic Carpait, asbert: 'Cíd

<sup>1)</sup> *d* added above the line.

<sup>2)</sup> *aidchi* MS.

dogēnam hifechtsa?’ Friscart Condlæ: ‘Cuirther in slúag for comdaim!’ Is de sin atá *condām* .i. *comdám* .i. rí la righ, òcthi-gernd la hōcthi-gernd, tūisech la tūisech, airig la hairig 7 rl.

### Senchas Airgíall in so.<sup>1)</sup>

Na hAirgíallai *immurgu*, itt é ata nessom d’Uib Neill athli 5  
Condacht. Ic Coirpri Lifféchair condrecat Airgíalla fri hUa Neill  
7 fri Condachtai. Fiacho Sroiptine mac Coirpri Lifechair, is hé  
senathair Echdach Mugmedóin. Is uad *side* atat hUi Neill 7  
Condachtai. Eochaid Domlen *immurgu* mac Coirpri Lifechair  
hui Chuind Chétchatbaig. Batar trí maic occa .i. na trí Colla. 10  
Is huadib atat hUi Maicc Uais 7 hUi Chrimthaind 7 Mugdornai.  
Fiachu Sroiptine *didiu* 7 Eochaid Domlen dá mac Coirpri Lifechair.

Is for Fiachaig tra rofuirmiset trí maic a bráthar .i. na  
trí Collai in fíngail. Conid hí ind fíngal sain roscar rígi nÉirenn  
fri claind Echach Domlen .i. na trí Colla. Is amlaid so *immurgu* 15  
forcoēmnacair ind fíngal .i. ba rí hi Temair in Fiachu Sroiptine  
(fo. 104a2) *amal* adrubrumar. Bói mac amra aicci .i. Muiredach  
Tírech. Is hé ba tñairenid flatha la Fiachaig, uair ba hord  
isind aimsir sin ná téged in rí fein isin cath, acht a thuarcnid  
flatha dia ráith. Luid iarum Muiredach Tírech fecht and do 20  
ráith a hathar co slúagaib móraib immi. Mebaid remi 7 dobert  
giallu Muman. Bói Fiachu Sroiptine hi foss colléic i nDúb-  
combair fri Talitin andes. Slúag dano lassuide isinn inud i  
mbái. Slúag aile dano la trí maccu a bráthar, lasna trí Colla  
hi telaig, acht ba la Fiachaig tra batar huili. Intan iarum 25  
tanic fis scél .i. mebsain ria Muiredach, iss ed bói i mbélaib  
cáich: ‘Muiredach Tírech, is hé adbur rig nÉirenn hé’. Is andsain  
atbertatar na trí Colla: ‘Cid dogēnam? Rogab flaith rí Fiacha,  
acht asber cách dano bid hé a mac bass rí ina diaid. Is ed is  
maith dúind. Tabram cath’ ar siat ‘don tēnrig se 7 teichfid 30  
an slúag so immond 7 ticfat chucund rīasu thí Muiredach 7  
dobēram cath dosaide acht co tí’. Triaga[i]r hūadaib co Fiachaig,  
co bráthair a n-athar, isin<sup>2)</sup> telaig i n-alaille. Fūacarthar cath  
uadaib fair ō maccaib a bráthar.

Bói drúí la Fiachaig, Dub Comair a hainm. Asbert saide 35  
fri Fiachaig: ‘Conicim-se duit maidm remot, acht atá so de.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Rawl. B 502, p. 142a5; LL. 332c; BB. 109a.

<sup>2)</sup> assin LL.

Mad romut-sa maides, dogēna fingail for maccaib do bráthar. Biat ri fēin iarum 7 nī bla rī dot chlaind co bráth. Mad fort maides, dogēntar fingal fort 7 is húait bias flaith for hÉirinn co bráth 7 nī bīa ō na trī Collaib flaith co bráth. Toga dīb sin!’  
 5 ol in drúí. Asbert Fiachu maidm fair 7 rigi díá chlaind. ‘Do-fóethus-sa dano it arrad’, ol in drúí, ‘7 bíd hē m’ainm-se bias ar an cath dogres’. Cath Du[i]bchomair dano, is hē ainm in chatha sein.

Marbthair iarum Fiachu isin (fo. 104 b 1’) c[h]ath. Lotar  
 10 iarum na Collai trī chētaib for teiched i nAlbain ria Muiredach. Gabaid Muiredach ríge nÉirenn. Dobert rī Alban grádugud mōr dona Collaib ar a læchdacht. Batar trī bliadna ind-Albain. Im-raidit taidecht i nhÉirind co ndernad Muiredach fínga[i]l forro 7 co ructha dīb in t-aire trom bóí forro .i. ind fíngal. Dollotar a  
 15 triúr na trī Colla cen choin, cen gillai, co mbatar i Temair. Asbert in dorsid fri Muiredach: ‘Itáit na trī Colla forsin faith[ch]i. Cid dogēntar friu?’ ‘Oslaic in less’, ar Muiredach, ‘dús cid dogēnat’. Dollotar a triúr co mbatar ar lár ind ríghige hi Temair.

20 ‘In fílet scéla lib?’ ol Muiredach. Friscart fer díib: ‘Ní fílet ém scéla bad andsu duit-siu andas a ndernsam-ní .i. guin t’athar’. ‘Rofetamair-ne chena’ ol Muiredach ‘na scéla hisein’. ‘Ní do[t] díge?’ em tancamar-ní’, ar na Collai. ‘Is cumma díib’, ol Muiredach. ‘Ní dígeltar forai. Mas do bar [n]guin  
 25 dodeochabar, ní ricfa ní. In t-aire rogabsabair forai ní dingeb-sa dīb’. ‘Is airbere maith sein do drochlæch’, ar in Colla. Atbert Muiredach: ‘Na bíd garbad forai-si 7 fobarbía fáilti 7 cendsa’. 7 bátar iarsin ré mór i ndegbráithirsi 7 is iat ba<sup>3)</sup> tuarenide<sup>5)</sup> catha la Muiredach Tírech na trī Collai 7 ba mór  
 30 ind imserc bóí eturru 7 in rí.

Asbert Muiredach iarsain frisna Colla: ‘Atchiu rogabsat ar clanna ililtingud.’<sup>4)</sup> Bés ní bat cōrai diar n-é[i]s. Scuchud<sup>6)</sup> ō chéile 7 gebed<sup>7)</sup> imm aimsir-se óen na tíre’. Asbertatar in Chollai: ‘Cia tír ass asam lat do thabairt dúinne dit chumachta co ndernam-  
 35 ne tír claidib de?’ Ar ní bátar óic bad ferr andáit (fo. 104 b 2) na Collai. Atbert Muiredach: ‘Ergid for hUitu! Nídat gora

<sup>1)</sup> isin repeated.

<sup>2)</sup> Erasure between *do* and *díge* (sic).

<sup>3)</sup> batar LL.

<sup>4)</sup> leg. ilingud (Rl. 502, 142 b 14); ililtnigud LL.

<sup>5)</sup> tuarenige MS.

<sup>6)</sup> leg. scuchaid.

<sup>7)</sup> leg. gebid (LL. 333 a 41).



dún'. Fian læch mōra<sup>1)</sup> hi suidiu dona Collaib. Lotar iar sin na Colla co firu Ōlnēcmacht comtar daltai doib 7 condagabsat. Dollotar iarsain fir nŌlnēcmacht secht catha leo co mbātar la hUltu oc Carnd Achaid Lethdeirg hi Fernmaig. Ferait secht catha ōn charnd sin fri hUltu .i. cath cach láí co cenn secht-  
maine. Sé catha ō fēraib Ōlnēcmacht 7 in sechtmad cath lasna Colla. Nōmaided for hUltuib cath cach ōenlá, cath na Colla in lá dedhenach. Ní collad bāg hi suidiu. Gaibthe in cath samlá 7 samadaig<sup>2)</sup> co tānic fernu fuil. Attá i fail in chairnd Coll na nOthur. Maidid iar sain for hUltuib hi tosach indara laithe. 10 Teit an imguin co Glend Rige. Sechtmair doib iar sain ic slaide Ulad, co ndernad tír claidib don tír itátt Mugdornai 7 hÚ[i] Chremthaind 7 cosna hAirtheraib 7 hÚ[i] Maicc Uais. Is hé Leth Cuind 7 hÚi Néill in descirt 7 in tūaiscirt 7 teora Con-  
dachta 7 Airgialla 7 rl. 15

Colla Oss, ronalt oss séguine, ōtát hÚi Maicc Uais 7 hÚi T[h]urtre. Colla Mend ōtát Mugdornai, ronalt Mennet Cruithnech 7 Mugdorn Dub de hUltuib. Mennet didiu<sup>3)</sup> diata Dal Mennet la Mugdornu. Is díb-side Mælbresail mac Maileduin.

Secht maic Mugdorn Duib: [Dubruig] ōtát Dubraige ic Imliuch 20 Corco Duib, Pápa ōtát Pápraige la Cremthanu, Cáira ōtát Cáirraige hi Cuib, Sord ōtát Sordraige la Crimthainiu. Is hūaib-side epscop Ibair for Foibrech. Art ōtát Artraige, Inhomomon<sup>4)</sup> ōtát Corcu Inmendi<sup>5)</sup> la Laigniu<sup>6)</sup>. Is hūadaib-side in sui Lochlne Mend. Mesrophe<sup>7)</sup> ōtát Snobraige<sup>8)</sup> la Mugdornai. (fo. 105a1) 25 Is hūadaib-side epscop Ethernd i nDomnach Mōr Maige Laithbe.

Colla Fochrich nō Fochrí nō Ochraē mac Echach Doimlen 7 Élige .i. ben Chrindēn cherda. Torchis Eocho do chinn a cheili<sup>9)</sup> co mbreth Colla de 7 concelt si ar a cēili 7 bōi-som fo altrom co cend fíchet blíadna. Asrin Eochu Domlén .i. bō dí fo altrom sin fri Crindain arréir Cormaic h[u]i Chuind, ar is cach fuiche a mac mani chreder de<sup>10)</sup>, conid de is Chonnla Fochrich a ainm nō Colla Fochrí, daig dobeired a máthair craid fo chnāmai dia dimmalugud<sup>11)</sup> eter maccu na cerda. Nō Chondla Ochraē .i. Ochraē ainm na haitte<sup>12)</sup> ronalt. 35

<sup>1)</sup> mór LL.

<sup>2)</sup> samagaid MS.

<sup>3)</sup> dano LL.

<sup>4)</sup> Inomun RL.

<sup>5)</sup> Inomain RL. Inmend LL.

<sup>6)</sup> Luigniu LL.

<sup>7)</sup> Messnuibi RL. Mesrophe LL.

<sup>8)</sup> srobaige MS. with nō n over the first r.

<sup>9)</sup> céile LL.

<sup>10)</sup> See Laws III, p. 310.

<sup>11)</sup> leg. dísamlugud (diamlugud LL.).

<sup>12)</sup> ind aite LL.

- Is hön Cholla sin atáitt h[U]i Chrimthaind 7 in tAirthir 7 h[U]i Mé[i]th. Ar itt ē .iiii. maic Colla Fochrich .i. Find, díbad, 7 Fiachraí Cassán otátt ind Airthir; Rochath otátt hUí Chrimthaind; Brión<sup>1)</sup> otát h[U]i Briúin; Labraid otát h[U]i Labrada.
- 5 Sé maic la Crimthann .i. Eochaid 7 Áed 7 Fergus Cendfota otát h[U]i Chendfota, Lugaid otá Lethrend, Muiredach. Mac dosaide Eochaid Amainsen<sup>2)</sup> otátt hUí maic Brocc<sup>3)</sup>. Eochaid Andgaine otát Cland Slebéne hi Fernmaig 7 Clann Flandán. Óenmac la hEochaig mac Cremthaind .i. Cairpri Dam argait. A
- 10 secht la Cairpri Dam n-argait .i. Daimine, otáit Sil nDaimine; Cormac otátt Cland Chormaig .i. Cland Lugán; Nadsluaig otát Clann Nadsluaig .i. Fir Fernmaige; Feradach otát Cenél Fera-daigh; Fiacha otát Cinél Fiachach; Brión<sup>1)</sup> otát Léthrinnd, sil mBætán; Áed.
- 15 Is ed so sil Cairpri Da[i]m argait. Núi maic Daimine .i. Conall otá Lethrén Conaille for Doblu; Ailill otá Lethrinnd Ailella; Lóchan otáit Lethrinnd Lócháin; Tíathal otát hUí Thuathail; Damán láech, Damán cléirech, díbad; Bennán Becc, Bennán (fo. 105 a 2) Mór, Áed Uach diatá Dal nÖich in tslebe<sup>4)</sup> 7 rl.

## 20 Genelach cloindi Conchubair C[h]orraig.

- Cummascach 7 Búachaill dá mac Conchubair Chorraig. Sé maic Cumascaig maic Conchubair Chorraig .i. Fland Rói, is hé rogrëss na gagru assin carput co rolad a comarbus Pátraic, 7 Bec dia rabi Cinæd mac Muiredaig 7 Áed Laigen otát hUí
- 25 Erodáin 7 Mældúin ó rabi Cinæd mac Congalaig 7 Mælbresail otát h[U]i Longáin 7 dia raibi Mac Cellaig maic Domnaill 7 rl.

- Colla Úais trá, dá mac maithi lais .i. Erc fri slíab atúaid, a quo hUí meic Locha Febail 7 hUí Fiachrach Ardsratha.
- 30 Fiachra immurgu Tort ri slíab andes, a quo hUí Thurtri 7 Fir Li 7 h[U]i maicc Úais, is hesiden cētnaronas tortgabail Conaille Murthemne, *sicut* poeta dixit fo dail na mac:

Dá mac maithi Colla Úais cenmothá aní as holc:

Erc ó sleib bathúaid<sup>5)</sup> cen acht, ó sleib fodes Fiachra Tort.

<sup>1)</sup> brian MS.

<sup>2)</sup> amainseghn MS.

<sup>3)</sup> brócc LL.

<sup>4)</sup> tslebe MS.

<sup>5)</sup> bajdthuid MS.

Erc, tri maic lais, *sicut* poeta dixit:

Tri maic maithe la hErc dia do glúair do gamanraid:  
Cárthend is Fiachra co ngail is in t-anrād Amalgaid.

Fiachra Tort, secht maic leis, *sicut* poeta dixit:

Echen, Maine, Lægairi, Óengus, Nathí co llin olc, 5  
Cormac is Muiredach Brocc, att ē secht maic Fiachra Tort.

Nō tri maic Echach maic Collai hUais .i. Erc, Fiachra,  
Bríōn.<sup>1)</sup> Cormac mac Bríúin a quo hUí Chormaic; Dáre mac  
E[i]rc a quo hUí Dáre. Sirlām mac Fiachrach maic E[i]rc a quo  
Cenel Sirlāim. 10

Echen mac Fiachrai Thort, secht maic lais, *sicut* poeta  
cecinit:

Secht maic maithi ic Echen: Feidlimid, Bran fri fethem,  
dā Chárthend, Eochaid, Dallán secht maic forrānaig Echen.  
(fo. 105 b 1) Secht rig<sup>2)</sup> do chlaind Chūanaig chais rogabsat 15  
ōnd Ráith roglais

dond gargdine an<sup>3)</sup> tuile thiar airdrige huile Airgíall.  
Becc, Furudrán, Suibne sēr, Mældúin na cethernd comchóem,  
Fergus, Maelgarb, glan a graig, Muiredach mac Indrechtai.

Cethri maic Chūanach .i. Bécc ri Airgíall a quo Cinél 20  
mBécce; Bætán a quo Cinél mBætāin, de quibus Muinter Diucaire;  
Diarmait mac Cuánach i Cill Mælāin Maige na Selga; Lúrech  
mac Cūanach ō Ráith<sup>4)</sup>).

Trí maic Bécce maic Cūanach .i. Suibne, Rōnān, Furudrán,  
a quo Sil Cathasaig 7 Sil Duib hUaille 7 rigraid Fernmaige; 25  
Rōnān a quo Muinter Thamlachta Lóeg .i. h[U]i Gerán<sup>5)</sup> 7 hUí  
Duib Daire, de quibus hUí Bressail indiu; Suibne a quo Cenel  
mBécce maic Mailodrāin maic Bécce maic Cūanach maic Dáire  
maic Feidlimid maic Echin maic Collai hUais. Feidlimid mac  
Echin a quo Cinél mBécce 7 Cenel mBætān 7 Sil Cathasaig 7 30  
hÓ[i] Dacennan .i. Sil Áeda maic Bicc.

Echen mac Echen<sup>6)</sup> a quo hUí maic Cárthinn nō hUí Chon-  
aing 7 Cenel nEchen<sup>6)</sup>. Cárthend mac Echen<sup>6)</sup> a quo h[U]i maic  
Cárthind Locha Febail.

<sup>1)</sup> briuin MS.

<sup>2)</sup> *secht rig* repeated.

<sup>3)</sup> ōn LL.

<sup>4)</sup> Lurig add LL.

<sup>5)</sup> Goerain LL.

<sup>6)</sup> Echin LL.

**Genelach hŪa mBresail Airthir .i. hŪa Cēlechān.**

Lorcān m.<sup>1)</sup> Gillapātraicc m. Matudān m. Āeda m. Trénfir m. Elicān<sup>2)</sup> m. Gairbid m. Āeda m. Máildúin (fo. 105 b 2) m. Dondgail m. Buachalla m. Conchobuir Chorraig.

5

**Genelach hŪa mBressail Macha.**

Flathbertach m. Āeda m. Colcon m. Domnaill m. Cuind m. Erodáin m. Gairbid m. Laithechān m. Āeda Laigen m. Cummascaig m. Conchobuir C[h]orraig m. Máildúin m. Finghin m. Rónáin m. Thúathail m. Ailella m. Conaill m. Féicc m. Bressail m. Feid-  
10 limthe m. Fiachach m. Colla Foc[h]rīch.

Garbid m. Dom[n]aill m. hErodáin m. Gairbid m. Bressail m. hEchodén m. Canannáin m. Laithecháin m. Āeda Laigen.

Gillacrist m. Echach m. Echodén m. Maic Etig m. Longáin m. Fíachnai (fo. 105 b 3) m. Mailbresail m. Cummascaig m. Con-  
15 c[h]ubair C[h]orraig.

Dub Emna m. Ciaridir m. Mailgiriú m. Cumascaig m. Āeda Laigen m. Conchobuir .i. m. Inderg, m. Diarmata m. Cernaig m. Āeda Laigen.

Cináed mac Congalaig m. Cinacáin m. Scanláin m. Máiledúin  
20 m. Cumascaig m. Conchobuir C[h]orraig.

**De genelach hŪa Níalláin.**

Flaithbertach m. Diarmata m. Āeda m. Flathbertaig<sup>3)</sup> m. Anluain m. Diarmata m. Coscraig m. Suibni m. Rónáin m. Bétáin m. Muiredaig m. Eogain m. Níalláin m. Feicc m. Feidlimthe m.  
25 Fiachrach Cassán m. Colla Fochrich.

**De genelach Cloinne Cernaig in so.**

(fo. 106 a 1) Cumascach m. Cernaig m. Máilchiaráin m. Eochach m. Cernaig m. Echach m. Cumascaig m. Ailella (ocus Lorcān m. Ailella dā mac Ailella<sup>4)</sup>) m. Cumascaig m. Cernaig  
30 m. Suibne m. Éicnig m. Colcan m. Suibne m. Rónáin (ocus Fer dā crích) m. Suibne m. Cruindmáil m. Rónáin m. Bétáin.

<sup>1)</sup> Célechair RL. Oclicain LL.<sup>2)</sup> mē MS.<sup>3)</sup> Flaínd LL.<sup>4)</sup> Iorcain nō ailella MS.

**De genelach hŪa nEchdach.**

Echaid <sup>1)</sup> m. Áedha m. Máilhsu m. Amalgada m. Máilmaire m. Echada m. Cellaigh m. Landacáin m. Chöemáin m. Airechtaig m. Duibdalethi m. Sinaig m. Feradaig Chúlduib m. Amalgada m. Ailella (fo. 106 a 2) m. Echdach m. Feidlimthe m. Fíachrach 5  
Cassain m. Colla Fochrich.

Murchad Find <sup>2)</sup> (i. mac ingine Cennétig [ŋ]i Bríain) m. Rúadri m. Muiredaig m. Ailella m. Cumascaig m. Eochodén m. Rúaducáin m. Cellaig m. Rúadrach m. Conmáil m. Conaing m. Feradaig m. Amalgada. 10

Is iat dā mac Chonmáil .i. Rúadri 7 Fráchán. Is iat tri maic Feradaig .i. Sinach 7 Conaing 7 Mœlodhor Cæch m. Feradaig, a quo hŪi Brötaig <sup>3)</sup> i Cluain Fíachna.

Ornechān m. Cathassaig m. Daimín m. Dubgillai m. Brúaturāin m. Cinæda m. Conaing m. Feradaig. 15

Domnallán m. Gillamuiri m. Cerbaill (fo. 106 a 3) m. Anfeid m. Brúaturāin <sup>4)</sup> m. Ailelláin m. Rúadrach.

**Do genelach Fernmaigi.**

Lethlobor m. Fógartaig m. Muiredaig m. Laidgnén m. Fógartaig m. Donnacáin m. Fógartaig m. Rúadrach m. Máil- 20  
fothardaig m. Arthraich <sup>5)</sup> m. Aithechda m. Máilduib m. Máilfothardaig m. Cronáin m. Fergusa m. Nadsluaig m. Daim argait m. Echach m. Cremthaind Léith m. Féicc m. Dega Duirn m. Rochatha m. Colla Foc[h]rích m. Echdach Doimlen.

**Do Síil Daimēn.**

25

Bécc m. Cumascaig m. Fíachrach m. Muiredaig m. Cathail m. Echach m. Duib thire m. Echdach Lemna m. Fothartaig (fo. 106 a 4) m. Máiledúin m. Fergusa m. Daimíne m. Corpri Daim argait.

Flandgus m. Áeda Buide <sup>6)</sup> m. Aithechtaí m. Máilifothard[aig] 30  
m. Máile Duibtemin m. Cronáin m. Fergusa m. Nadsluaig m. Corpri Daim argait.

Mac leigind m. Cairill m. Cricháin m. Lorcáin m. Dondacáin.

<sup>1)</sup> Cellach comarba Pátraic LL.

<sup>2)</sup> m. Find LL.

<sup>3)</sup> Brótaid LL.

<sup>4)</sup> bruathurain MS.

<sup>5)</sup> Artrach LL.

<sup>6)</sup> m. Buide LL.

Dondacán m. Máilmuiri m. Flandacán m. Fogartaig<sup>1)</sup> m. Ruadrach m. Arthrach<sup>2)</sup>.

Mathgamain m. Laidcend<sup>3)</sup> m. Cerbaill m. M. Phóil<sup>4)</sup> m. Fogartaig m. Ruadrach.

5 Eochaid m. Máilfínáin m. Fächtnai m. Cethemain<sup>5)</sup> m. Cerbaill m. Ruadrach.

### De genelach Clainne Lugáin.

Gilla Coluim m. Gillai Crist (fo. 106 b 1) m. Écnig m. Dalaig m. Maic hUidir m. Cernaig m. Lugáin m. Irgalaig m. Féchin m. 10 Cormaic m. Fergusa m. Áeda m. Cormaic m. Corpri Daim argait.

### Do síl Colla hÚais.

Conchobur m. Conchaille m. Duib darach m. Domnalláin m. Máilchróibí m. Duibfánaig m. Áeda m. Loingsig m. Indrechtaig m. Rechtabrat m. Máilchróibí m. Máilifothartaig m. Suibní m. 15 Furudráin m. Béce m. Cúanach m. Dáre m. Feidlimthe m. Féichén m. Fiachrach Tort m. Colla hÚais.

Muirecán m. Muircertaig m. Flaind (fo. 106 b 2) m. Muirecáin m. Máilchráibí m. Duibsinaig m. Áeda m. Loingsig.

Mælrúanaid<sup>6)</sup> m. Flathbertaig m. Máilchráibí m. Duibsinaig.

### 20 De genealogia Fer Tebtha .i. Claindi Maine.

Bríon<sup>7)</sup> m. Maine, da mac lais .i. Crimthand 7 Brénaind. Rónán m. Anmère m. Brénaind. Tadgán m. Maibendachta m. Bressail m. Conchobair m. Béce m. Colla m. Congail m. Blamaic m. Áeda m. Brénaind m. Briúin<sup>8)</sup> m. Mane.

25 Cóc maic Béce .i. Conaing 7 Conchobar, Murchad 7 Muirchertach 7 Diarmait.

Lachtnán m. Máilciaráin m. Conaing m. Congaile m. Blathmaic m. Óengussa m. Áeda (fo. 106 b 3) m. Brénaind Fiachach m. Mane Neill.<sup>9)</sup>

### 30 Senchus síl hÍr in so.<sup>10)</sup>

Hir septimus filius Miled, qui cum uenissent filii Militis ad Hiberniam in Sicilia insola sepultus est. De quo tertia plebs

<sup>1)</sup> fogartaig MS.

<sup>2)</sup> Artrach LL.

<sup>3)</sup> Ladgnén LL.

<sup>4)</sup> m. Phóil LL.

<sup>5)</sup> Cethniáin LL.

<sup>6)</sup> mælrúanaig MS.

<sup>7)</sup> brian MS.

<sup>8)</sup> briain MS.

<sup>9)</sup> Cf. RI. B 502, p. 144 d.

<sup>10)</sup> Cf. RI. B 502, p. 156 a 26; LL. 329 e; BB. 151 a.

regalis generis ortus est. Hir autem <sup>1)</sup> unum filium habuit, id est, Eber filius Hir, qui ante omnes Scottos campum Lini 7 quintam partem Hiberniæ tenuit.

Dā mac la hEber .i. Artri 7 Ebrecc. Dorochair Eber la Palp mac hErimōin. 5

Ebrecc mac Ebir, dā mac lais .i. Cermna 7 Sobairche, dā chétrí Éirenn a hUltaib. Accu dorōnta na dā dún .i. Dún Sobairche 7 Dún Cermna. Eocho mac Conmáil romarb Cermna ina dún (fo. 106 b 4), Eocho Ech[c]end rí Fomore romarb Soborche.

Ní hindister clanna Sobairche 7 Cermna. Art mac Ebir, 10  
ōenmac lais .i. Sétna airdrí hÉirenn, conidromarb a mac, ut alii dicunt, edōn Fiacha Finscothe .i. Rothechtaid mac Maine maic Ōengusa Ōlmucado do síl Érimōin. Romarb Sétna Art hí Crúachain eter dī láim Fiachach Finscothi a maic feissin, conid airí sin romarb Fiacha Finscothe i ndígail a henig. 15

Ollam Fōtla mac Fiachach m.<sup>2)</sup> Setna m. Airt m. Ebir m. hÍr m. Miled Espāne. Is hó hollamain ainmnigtir Ulaid .i. Ulaid olleith ō hollomain, nō ulchai liatha leo i cath Ōenaig Macha .i. oland liath rocenglad dia smechaib, (fo. 107 a 1) nō Ulaid .i. uilliu leth<sup>3)</sup> leo isin c[h]ath. 20

Ollam Fōtla tra, is leis dorōnad feis Temrach ar tús 7 is leis dorōnad mūr n-ollaman i Temraig. Ollam tra bóí .xl. bliadna irrige 7 gabais móirseisser dia chlaind rige cen nech eturru. Ollam, .iiii. maic leis .i. Coirpre 7 Findachta 7 Slánoll<sup>4)</sup> 7 Gede. 25

Rudraige<sup>5)</sup> mac Sirthi<sup>6)</sup> m. Duib m. Fomoir m. Argatmáir m. Sírláim m. Find m. Blátha m. Labrada m. Cairpri m. Ollaman. Argetmáir<sup>7)</sup>, húa dō Chimbæth<sup>8)</sup> m. Fintain m. Argetmáir. 30

Ædth Ruad m. Badhuirnn m. Argatmáir. Díthurba m. Dímaín m. Argatmáir, is húa Rudraige<sup>9)</sup> cona chlaind. 30

Rudraige, it iat so a maic .i. Congal Cláringnech. Dā mac Chongail .i. Uislend athair Nóise<sup>10)</sup> 7 Áinle 7 Ardáin. Cathbad draí. Bresal Bódíbad m. Rossa m. Rudraige. Fergus m. Rosa. Fer filed m. Glaiiss m. Rosa m. Rudraige. Celtchair m. Cuthechair m. Fothaid m. Fír filed m. Glaiiss m. Rossa m. Rudraige. 35

<sup>1)</sup> h- MS.

<sup>2)</sup> mē MS. and so throughout.

<sup>3)</sup> léith LL.

<sup>4)</sup> nō n above the first l.

<sup>5)</sup> rudraidi MS.

<sup>6)</sup> Sithri LL.

<sup>7)</sup> Argatmár LL.

<sup>8)</sup> Cimbæd LL.

<sup>9)</sup> rughraidi MS. rige LL.

<sup>10)</sup> Noesen LL.

Ferchertne file m. Oengusa Belde[i]rg. Iliach, Lóegairi  
 Búadach m. Condaid m. Iliach. Mál m. Rossa Lette. Fergus  
 m. Lette. Illand m. Fergusa. Gergend athair Munremair. Cass,  
 cuius filius Fachtna Fáthach. Bricre m. Carbad m. Caiss. Athirne  
 5 m. Athcló. Erge Echbél m. Athcló.

Cóic rí *fichet* do hUltaib rogabsat ríge nÉirenn cenmothát  
 na secht rí rogabsat do Dál Fiatach, dáig is do chloind Oengusa  
 Turbig Temrach 7 Ugaine Móir do Dál Fiatach.

Di (fo. 107 a 2) chlaint *immorru* Ollaman Fötla di hUltaib  
 10 .i. do Dál Araide, dáig is iat sin na firUlaid iar fir. Is iat so  
*immorru* na rí sin:

Cermna, Sobairche, Sétla, Art, Fiacha Fínscothach, Ollam  
 Fötla, Finnachta, Slánoll, Gede Ollgöethach, Fiac, Berngal, Ailill  
 rex, Find mac Blátha, Sirlám, Argetmár, Áed Rúad, Dithorba,  
 15 Cimbæth, Macha, Rudraige, Bresal Bōdībad, Congal Clāringnech,  
 Fachtna Fáthach, Élim mac Conrach, Mál mac Rochridi, Coelbad.

Is iat so *immorru* na rí rogabsat o Chimbæth co Conchubor .i.  
 Eochaid Eolechair m. Fedaig m. Fomoir m. Argetmáir .xx.  
*blíadna*.

20 Hūamanchenn m. Cais m. Argetmáir .i. *blíadna*.  
 Conch[h]obur Rot m. Catháir m. Coráin .xxx. *blíadna*.  
 Fiachna m. Fedlimthe .xui. *blíadna*.  
 Mac hUamanchind.

Dáre m. Forgo m. Fedlimthe .lxxi. *blíadna*.  
 25 Énna m. Rochai m. Fedlimthe .u. *blíadna*.  
 Findchad m. Baccéd[o] m. Dáre .ii. *blíadna*.  
 Conchobur Mael m. Fortathí m. Forgo .xii. *blíadna*.  
 Rudraigi m. Sithrí m. Duib .lxx. *blíadna*.  
 Cormac Laithig m. Conchobuir Máil .xxuii. *blíadna*.

30 Mocta m. Murchaid trí *blíadna*.  
 Énna m. Dáre m. Conchobuir .iii. *blíadna*.  
 Eochu Salbuide m. Lothair .xxx. *blíadna*.  
 Bresal Bōdībad m. Rúdraige .xii. *blíadna*.  
 Congal m. Rudraige .xiii. *blíadna*.

35 Fachtna Fáthach m. Cais m. Rudraige .xxx. *blíadna*.  
 Fergus m. Lette m. Rudraige .xii. *blíadna*.  
 Fergus m. Rosa m. Rudraige .iii. *blíadna*.  
 Conchobor m. Fachtnai .xl. *blíadna*.  
 Cumscraid Mend Macha .iii. *blíadna*.  
 Glaisne m. Conchobo[i]r .ix. *blíadna*.



(fo. 107 b 1) Irial Glúnmár m. Conaill Cernaig .xl. bliadna.	
Fíachu Findmas m. Iriail .xx. bliadna.	
Fíachu Find di Dál Fíatach .iiii. bliadna.	
Muredach m. Fíachach Findmais .iii. bliadna.	
Elim m. Conrach m. Fergusa .xx. bliadna.	5
Ogman m. Fíatach .xii. bliadna.	
Mál m. Rochraidí .xxxu. bliadna.	
Tipraite m. Máil .xxx. bliadna.	
Bresal <sup>1)</sup> m. Briúin m. Rochridí .xui. bliadna.	
Fergus Dubdétach m. Imchatha m. Finnchatha <sup>2)</sup> .iiii. bliadna.	10
Eochaid Gunnfat m. Féic m. Imchada .xui. bliadna.	
Óengus Find m. Dubdétaig .uiii. bliadna.	
Óengus Gobnenn m. Fergusa Galaig .iiii. bliadna.	
Lugaid m. Óengusa Find .x. bliadna.	
Fíacha Araide .xx. bliadna.	15
Fedlimith m. Fíachach .xu. bliadna.	
Imchad m. Fedlimthi .uii. bliadna.	
Forgo <sup>4)</sup> m. Dalláin .iii. bliadna.	
Rossa <sup>5)</sup> m. Imchada .ii. bliadna.	
Muredach Munderg .xxx. bliadna.	20
Eochaid m. Lugdach m. Rosa .xx. bliadna.	
Cruind ba drui m. Eochach .xxii. bliadna.	
Fro[e]char Fortren m. Cruind .x. m bliadna.	
Fergus Foga m. Fr[o]echair .xl. bliadna.	
Cœlbad m. Cruind .xu. bliadna.	25
Sarán m. Cœlbaith .xxui. bliadna.	

Secht prím[<sup>f</sup>]lathi di hUltaib im Chonchobor m. Nessa. Ba  
 rí hÉirenn dano Fergus Dubdétach docher i cath Chrinda. Ba  
 rí dano Eochaid Gundfath. Ba rí dano Fíacha Find. Ba rí  
 dano Daig. Bá rí Muiredach m. Forgo. Ba rí Érend 7 Alban 30  
 Bætán m. Cairill. Gíallais Áedán m. Gabráin dó irRoss na Ríg  
 hi Semniu 7 is lais glanta Manu <sup>3)</sup> 7 isin dara bliadain iarna  
 n-écc dolleicset Góidil Manaind. Is dó rochet ic brith chis  
 Muman dó (fo. 107 a 2) fothúait:

Is mór do milib fichet   ō Dún Bætán ilLethet,	35
is cían do thír már do muir   eturru is Imlech Ibair.	

<sup>1)</sup> bresail MS.

<sup>4)</sup> Forgg LL.

<sup>2)</sup> finncata MS.

<sup>5)</sup> Ros LL.

<sup>3)</sup> Two n-strokes added by a later hand above u. Manand LL.

### Senchus Dā[i]l Fiatach in so.<sup>1)</sup>

Dā mac Fiatach Find rí[g] hÉirenn .i. Sirchath<sup>2)</sup> 7 Ogman. Is leis arrobaid for sithib .i. Sid mBressi 7 Sid Nenta 7 Sid Femin 7 Sid Cuilind, *quod dicitur* Tech Cermna i sSleib C[h]uilind.  
 5 Cóc maic Imchada m. Findchoda m. Fógamain .i. Fergus Folt-lebor 7 Fergus Tene fo Brega 7 Fergus doderi Brega<sup>3)</sup> 7 Óengus Foscriche. Is hé an Fergus Dubdétach so roích cath Samnai i torchair Cían m. Ailella Áluim 7 cath Ferta i torchair Eochaid Tóebfota m. Ailella Áluim fós. Conid iarum gabais Fergus  
 10 flaithius hÉirenn, ar bad[ar] ardríg hÉirenn an dias concertatar leis. Co torchair sium iarum la Tadm m. Céin 7 la Cormac hua Cuind i mBrega .i. i cath Crinda. Trí maic Dubthaig m. Mian-naig m. Lúgdhach: Áed, Daig, Dallán. Áed non habuit semen. Is hé immorru Daig gabais ríge nhÉirenn iartain, ut *dicendum*  
 15 *est*. Is de atá Carnd Dega 7<sup>4)</sup> a quo hÚi Dega, a quibus epscop Óengusa irRaith na nEpscop.

Dā mac immorru la Dallán .i. Forgo<sup>5)</sup> 7 Óengus. Mac donn Óenghus sin Eochaid rigéices, qui hospitatus *est* apud Dámne 7 qui sepultus *est* in Domnach Cuilind. Forg m. Dallán im-  
 20 morru, .xii. mac leis: i. Muirbran. Is hésihe riris in flaith fri óssar na claindi .i. fri Muiredach m. Forgo Iarna thimna dō. ii. Combrat, a quo Cenel Combraite, iii. Conad, a quo hÚi C[h]ondaid<sup>6)</sup>. iii. Enna, cuius semen non est. (fo. 108 a 1) v. Nem, a quo hÚi Nemand la Cremthaindiu. vi. Lugaid, a quo hÚi  
 25 Luighdech. vii. Bresal, a quo h[U]i Bresail. viii. Loingthe, a quo hÚi Loingthe. ix. Conall, a quo h[U]i Chonaill. x. Cremthand, a quo Cenel Crimthaind. Óengus Ibtach .i. máthair (*mater* eius) d'Ibtachaib fuit, a quo hÚi Ibdaig. Muiredach Munderg quem benedixit Patricius ut alii aiunt in regnum  
 30 Hibernie.<sup>7)</sup> Cóc maic Muiredaig Munde[i]rg .i. Cairill<sup>8)</sup>, Eochaid, Brenaind, a quo Cenel mBrénaid, Eogan Mérchrom, a quo Cenel Mérchroim, Melodor, a quo Cenel Máilehuidri.

Secht maic Eogain Mérchroim .i. Congal, Blathmac, Suibni, Finán, Rónan, Ernine, Cummine.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. LL 330 c, BB 165 a.

<sup>2)</sup> Sirchass LL.

<sup>3)</sup> Fergus Dub- LL.

<sup>4)</sup> Inserted above line; om. LL.

<sup>5)</sup> Forg LL.

<sup>6)</sup> Connaide LL.

<sup>7)</sup> e corrected by a later hand into æ.

<sup>8)</sup> Cairill LL.

Secht maic Conaill Chostadaig, ar ba <sup>1)</sup> flaith side fon ðen-  
c[h]umma. Ba sí a rath <sup>2)</sup> Óchtar Cuilleche nō Cholland i nDruimnib  
Breg. Is inte randsat maic Chairill a n-orba. Cablini, a quo  
Cenel Cablini. Ainmere, Cormac, Fandleni, Bruit bualid. Ginfíach,  
a quo Cenel nGeno. Bætán mac Cairill rí hEirenn dano ut 5  
diximus, a quo Cú Gabraige m. Flaind m. Fergaile m. Dairchello  
m. Bætáin m. Cairill.

Demmán a quo Cenel Demáin. Is hé in Demán so alta la  
Domongart m. Predæ 7 fichetar leis h[Ú]i Echach hi cath Dromma  
Clethe i torchratar secht maic Fergaile hui Ibdaig ri[g] Ulad. 10  
Hinc ipse regnauit statim 7 gens eius usque hodie regnat.

Cóic maic Demáin .i. Fingen, a quo Cenel Fingin, Glassán,  
Gúairi, Colmán, cleirech síthe, Fíachnai, mac side Demmán maic  
Garbæ ingine Neillene do cheniuil <sup>3)</sup> (fo. 108 a 2) Eogain. Cethri  
maic Fíachnai .i. Dúnchad 7 Mældúin, dá mac Cummine Duibne 15  
ingine Furudrán maic Duib Thuirtri insin, quæ prius peperit  
filios Bætáin maic Cairill. Is hé in Mældúin rogæt ind-ðenach  
descirt Maigi la Murchad. Is hé dano roort maccu Bætáin maic  
Cairill 7 maccu a bráthar i nDún Mognæ, a quo Cenel Murchada.

Demmán m. Conroch m. Congaile Cendfota m. Dúnchada 20  
m. Fíachnai.

Dub Locha dano ingen Fíachnai maic Demmán 7 Cumne  
Dub ben Mongáin maic Fíachnai máthair Cholcon 7 Chonaill, dá  
mac Mongáin.

Intan condiacht fer cherda <sup>4)</sup> bratt co Mongán asbert som fri 25  
Duib Locha: 'Nā tiag dna dobert <sup>5)</sup> sanaise itau anas mbermaisín  
matau ara mbé do menmain-siu. A faile i menmain-se ara mbe  
do menmain-siu. Dered anma do máthar ocus tossach th'anma-su.'

Suibni dano 7 Mælcoba dá derbráthair .i. mac Fíachnai 7  
Cummine Finne ingine Bætáin maic Echdach. 30

### De cheniuil Suibne.

.i. Rechtabra m. Áeda m. Colcon <sup>6)</sup> m. Suibne m. Fíachnai m.  
Demmán. Mælcobai *immorru* mac Fíachnai occidit filium patris

<sup>1)</sup> bat MS. ba LL.

<sup>2)</sup> raind LL.

<sup>3)</sup> The following scribal entry is found on the lower margin of fo. 107 b:  
Oroít ann so do Sighdraig. Misi macáin in Tuill duibh 7 caillech in Riabhaidh  
am [t]jochair.

<sup>4)</sup> cerda LL.

<sup>5)</sup> Olcan LL.

<sup>6)</sup> tiag do eipirt LL.

sui .i. Dunchad 7 postea Congal Cendfota mac Dunchada occidit Mælcoba, ut dixit Duib drui<sup>1)</sup>: 'Mælcoba cassail crochis Congal Cendfota 7 ba cosmail a dath ri brat roros do Dunchad.'

Dā<sup>2)</sup> mac Mailcoba .i. Ōengus 7 Blathmac .i. Brandub mac ingine Duib Dībrama. Áed Róin mac Maili Coba. Iss hē orta i Cremchaill<sup>3)</sup>. Iss ed<sup>4)</sup> atrubairt a chlīamain .i. Mælcaich mac Scandlāin:

Cotomassaig Áed Rón de ní thiag (fo. 108 b 1) irrad n-airgairthe<sup>5)</sup>, rirse mo chorphthen i fot, atchiu cella ni angot<sup>6)</sup>.

10 Ōengus in tres mac Maili Coba, a quo Cenel nŌengusa. Blathmac in cethramad mac. Secht maic Blathmaic .i. Meschar, Rechtabra, Causantin, Fland Fer tri, Dunchad, Inrechtach, Bec Bairche.

Dā mac dēc *immorru* la Bec Bairche .i. Dub Dā Brainne<sup>7)</sup>,  
15 Dubthach, Etarseel, Áed Róin, Cellach, Conchobor, Ōengus. Secht maic Conchainne inda rīgna in sin. Cuirūi *immorru*, Cacht ingen Mailefuataig a mathair side. Cernach dano 7 Rímid dā mac Lethainne in sin. Duos *autem* alios filios [habuit], ac nomina eorundem non reperi scripta, *uel quinque filii*<sup>8)</sup> Fiatach ipsi ut  
20 alii aiunt .i. Sírchad, Trechem, Eochaid, Conall, Brión.<sup>9)</sup>

Cethri maic Féic m. Imchada m. Bresail m. Sírchada m. Fiatach Find, a quo Dāl Fiatach, .i. Trichem, a quo hŪi Thrichem. Trēn<sup>11)</sup>, a quo hŪi Thrēna. Brión<sup>11)</sup>, a quo hŪi Briūin. Eochaid Gunnfat cuius mater Mathair Chōem uocabatur,  
25 a quo hŪi hEchach<sup>12)</sup> na hArda.

Findbarr (i. Findia) Maigi Bile m. Coirpri m. Ailella m. Trichem<sup>13)</sup>, cuius filius Díchú. Cumman dano ingen Ailella m. Áeda m. Bætáin m. Echach Gundfat. Eochaid Gundfat *immorru* ba ri hEirenn ut dicunt 7 is leis forodalta Conaille fo hEirinn  
30 fodaig maic hi Lāga rohort secht rigū do rigaib hEirenn um Art hŌenfer, unde Cormac hua Cuind C[h]etchathaig:

<sup>1)</sup> doid LL.

<sup>2)</sup> cethri LL.

<sup>3)</sup> Fochaird .i. assin derthaig thucad LL.

<sup>4)</sup> fris LL.

<sup>5)</sup> ní thiag isna dirthaige cotamassaig Aed Róin de LL.

<sup>6)</sup> ninanget LL.

<sup>10)</sup> Trian LL.

<sup>7)</sup> Braine LL.

<sup>11)</sup> briūin MS.

<sup>8)</sup> fín MS.

<sup>12)</sup> hethach MS.

<sup>9)</sup> brian MS.

<sup>13)</sup> Trichim LL.

Ní chela hadde for Lāga robī riga dāig secht mbuinne ōir  
imma dōit.

**Do for[s]lontib hŪa ndEchach in so sís.**

Secht n-aithichaicmi in tīri ria tīachtain Duib Echdach .i. Gallraige<sup>1)</sup>, de quibus Cainnech Dromma Fotai. Alii dicunt esse 5 de *genelogia* Fedlemedo. (fo.108b2) Gēl de Mumu. Conaille de *genelogia* Fachtna maic Senchada dicuntur esse. Rosraige de cheniul Celtchair maic Cuithechair. Corcraigi, a quibus Crumthir Corcain Dromma Cruind. Lusraige, Dubraige, Lugaige.

**Do for[s]lontib Ulad iar coitchehn in so sís.** 10

Āedgnai Fergnai<sup>2)</sup> Lethain, diatā Gailini. Garbraige de cheniul Eogain Gairb do Dal Riatai uel uerius<sup>3)</sup> Fergna Garb m. Salaich m. Loairnd Mair. Hinc Garbraige dicuntur. Bŭachaill 7 Conall Cass 7 Corc. Asberat araile batis trī brāthir do Chonget Conganchnes mac Dedad<sup>4)</sup> 7 teora ingena Celtchair maic Cui- 15 thechair .i. a teora māthrecha .i. Ibell<sup>5)</sup>, Nēm, Dalle. Scadarc Angain dano ben Chonget Conginchnes<sup>6)</sup> ingen Cheltchair, Drōnæ ingen Chonchobair maic Nessa. Ab his predictis tribus fratribus Conget Congenchnis nati sunt Dal mBŭachalla 7 Casraige. Trī maic Lugdach maic Oengusa Find: Āed, Daig, Dallán. Teora 20 ingena dano Lugdach: Indiu, Indiacht<sup>7)</sup>, Sciath. Indiu ben Nēill maic Echach, māthair Conaill 7 Eogain. Indecht ben Buiti (.i. Curaind<sup>8)</sup>). It ē a maic .i. Colcu 7 Crumthand. Sciath *immorru* ben Taidg maic Céin. Asnēdem di araill.

**Clanna Conchobuir maic Nessa** 25

(nō maic Fachtna) .i. Cormac Conlonges, Cumsraid<sup>9)</sup> Mend Macha, Furbuide Bern, Findchad Find, Fiacha, Fiachna, Conaing, Maine, Follomon, Glassne, a quo Cenel Glaisne.

Clanda Fergusa .i. Dál Conlaíd 7 Dál Cethirnd 7 Dál nŪluim, diatā epscop Erc Slāne 7 Brēnaind Birra 7 Corcu 30

<sup>1)</sup> Gáilraige LL.

<sup>2)</sup> Fæthgnai LL.

<sup>3)</sup> unius MS.

<sup>4)</sup> dedag MS.

<sup>5)</sup> Bél LL.

<sup>6)</sup> Chonganchnis LL.

<sup>7)</sup> Indiach LL.

<sup>8)</sup> Cruind LL.

<sup>9)</sup> Causcraid LL.

Daland, diatā Caindech m. hūa Daland 7 Dāl Conrach, dia mbái (fo. 109a1)<sup>1)</sup> Élim m. Conrach. D'öenbreith ructha Ólom 7 Conri dā mac Fergusa 7 is amlaid [rucad] Conri 7 clūas Áulaim ina beolu iarna tescad de, 7 Dāl mBuindi 7 Mendraige. Fer eigeach,  
5 a quo Orbraige na hAlle 7 Orbraige Irrais.

Tri maic Medba ri Fergus tar cend Ailella .i. Ciar, Corc, Conmac. Ciar, a quo Ciarraige Lūachra 7 Ciarraige Chuirche, Ciarraige Ái, Ciarraige Cinnend<sup>2)</sup>. Corc, a quo Corcomruad. Conmac, a quo Conmaicne Cúile Tolaid 7 Conmaicne Cúle 7 Conmaicne ceniaíl Dubáin.  
10

Mug Ruith mac Fergusa a quo Fir Maigi Fene. Is hé luid do foglaim druidechta<sup>3)</sup> co Símōn 7 is malle dorōnsat in roth rāmach tic tar Eoraip ria mbráth isin bliadain ria cathugud do Símōn ri Pól 7 Petar. 7 is airi chairigther for Eoraip dāig  
15 dalta cach ceniaíl malle ri Símōn ic frithchathugud ri Petar. Cacht ingen Chathmind rig Bretan mǫthair Moga Ruith. Roth mac Riguill ronalt. Is de ba Mug Ruith. Dā mac Moga Ruith .i. Búan 7 Fer corp. Derdraigen mǫthair dā mac Moga Ruith 7 mǫthair Choirpri Lifechair dā siair do Corcu Bardni ō Dūn  
20 Cermna. Dron ingen Lārīne di Érnaib cētmuinter Moga Ruith 7 ingen do Mug Ruith (fo. 109a2) Tlachtga<sup>4)</sup> ut alii dicunt. Rostoirrchiset trí maic Símōin re tiachtain anair, conid i fos ruc trimcu (sic) doib 7 is hī thuc lé coirthi Cnāmchaille .i. fuigell<sup>5)</sup> an roith, 7 is hé nodbris. Dall cech ōen notnaicfe, bodar  
25 cach ōen notluinfe, marb cach ōen risi mbenfa. Sechmallam clanda Fergusa colleic, taithmetam claindi Conaill Chernaig.

Findchōem ingen Chathbad mǫthair Chonaill Chernaig. Clanda Conaill C[h]ernaig .i. Dāl nAraide 7 Hī Echach Ulad 7 Conalle Murthemne 7 Laigse Lagen 7 na secht Sogain. Clanna  
30 Celtchair dano Eogan 7 Ailill Sem 7 Fer Tlachtga, Cathnia 7 hUathnia 7 Drúth[n]ia a quo Dāl mBuindruini la Connachta. Cland hUathnia .i. hUathe Thire 7 hUathne Chliach. Cland Cathnia .i. Cōenraige. Cland Sem diatāt Semni na nDeisi, de quibus Mochuaróc<sup>6)</sup> sapiens. Cland Ailella diatāt Cennā<sup>7)</sup> la  
35 Laigne<sup>8)</sup> Connacht 7 hUí Ind[í]ochlai. Cland Eogain .i. Corcu

<sup>1)</sup> diambái repeated.

<sup>2)</sup> Chonmend LL.

<sup>3)</sup> druigeata MS.

<sup>4)</sup> tlachtda MS.

<sup>5)</sup> leg. fuidell (LL.).

<sup>6)</sup> Mochæmóc LL.

<sup>7)</sup> Cænna LL.

<sup>8)</sup> Luigne LL.

Olcind Cruraich, Corcu Šolchind Deffind <sup>1)</sup>, Corcu Šoilchind Drochet,  
Corcu Šoilcind Maige Lacha, Corcu Šoilcinn Tethba.

**Cland Conchubó[i]r iterum <sup>2)</sup>.**

Mongan .cc.<sup>3)</sup>

Macne Conchobuir ind rí, la hUltu ba mór a mbrig: 5  
ní roclos fri síl (fo. 109 b 1) fri cath nōnbor nodasáraiged.  
Cormac ba con longas laind, Findchad, Glaisne 7 Conaing,  
Mane, Cumscraid, grāda se, Fiachra, Fiachna, Furbuide.

Dicunt alii eum habuisse duos filios alios i. Benna a quo  
Bentraige, Luma a quo Lumraige 7 nī hé Lumma mac hEirc 7 10  
mac Findscōpe ingene Conchoilaind (*sic*).

Conchobor .cc.

Rombe lathe rordu rind de thūaith Chairpri dés Bōind,  
bai cend airech for airbirt for ar sithbe ba hecaire.  
Batar cadain for clār Cliu, clār ndeis gēisi for suidiu, 15  
ba derg ar carpat uile, ba lān cend ar n-etruidē.  
Ba fir ba hesmon fri scor aroebi isin ibor,  
ba hē ar ngním ūglan nglē isind aithliu i mbāmarnē.  
Cland Amargin ercda cned, Conall Cernach a senser,  
Mes De is Mes Dea dian, Loegairi Cass da fithiar. 20  
Trī maic Fiachrach a Cūalngni, cethernd robīd fri huaibriu,  
ní chomboitis dath (*sic*) Rus 7 Dāre is Imchath.  
Nī facbaitis ní da n-urd macne dariacht a mmurbulg,  
is cian ō thánic a rré, Eogan, Crimthan, Congal clé.  
Macne hUislend, ard a ūgus, is maith a techlas i ffus, 25  
rethitis curach dar (fo. 109 b 2) sāl Nóissi, Áindle is Ardán.

Fergus mac do Rōich ingen (*sic*) Ethach m. Coirpri m. Lugdach  
m. Loga Luaith m. Ethnend Caiss m. Domnaind Deirg m. Ethiu[i]r  
m. Echach Fiad m. Congail C[h]ostadaig m. Echach Apthaig m.  
Airt m. Flaind m. Ébir Brice m. Echach Étguthaig m. Dāre 30  
Doimthig m. Rosa Riguill m. Lugdach Ló m. Breogaind m.  
Lugdach m. Ítha m. Breogaind 7 rl.

Nō Fergus m. Rōich m. Rosa m. Rudraige.

Nō Fergus m. Rōich m. Ehdach m. Coirpri m. Lugdach  
m. Lugair m. Loga m. Ethnend m. Donaind m. Brátha m. Connaid 35

<sup>1)</sup> Desfiud LL.

<sup>2)</sup> Itum MS.

<sup>3)</sup> Vgl. Rl. B. 502, 158, Z. 19.

m. Defatha m. Ceu m. Celebair m. Boais m. Anfois m. Ebir m.  
Ethiuir m. Erech m. Fēbra m. Miled Espáine.

### De genealogia Dál Moga Ruith inso.

- Cú Allaid m. Maic Láre m. Fináin Bicc m. Síláin m. Maic  
5 Láre m. Dathail m. Maic Sure m. Saglend m. Dele *nō* Dere m.  
Caiss<sup>1)</sup> (fo. 110a 1) m. Buen m. Caiss<sup>2)</sup> m. Labrada m. Moga  
Ruith m. Cunisc m. Firdechet m. Firglain m. Firloga m. Fir-  
alith m. Mathráin m. Mathrai m. Magdon m. Matherni m. Alldoit  
m. Nōendi m. Umail, m. Alldoit<sup>3)</sup> m. Cethern m. Fintain m.  
10 Ailella m. Nertlaim m. Trichim m. Forgo m. Dallain m. Bfætach  
(sic) m. Trichim Drúthbennaig m. Orni Cúlennaig.

Is annso condrecaet fri Ciarraigi.

Is hé so senc[h]as coitchinn claindi Fergusa.

Se maic Fergusa .i. Fer Deda 7 Fer Tlachtga 7 Mugtōeth

- 15 7<sup>4)</sup> Mugdōit 7 hUatu, Ethlend<sup>5)</sup> 7 Corp auluim.

Fer Deoda<sup>6)</sup> otat Corcomruad.

Fer Tlachtga otatt na cethri hAraid .i. Tæcraige 7 Artraige

- 7 descert Chach 7 hUí hIdban.

Mugdōit otat Ciarraige 7 Conmacne 7 Bidraigi.

- 20 hUatu otat noi maic niat in cach bailiu.

Ethlend diatat Orbraige 7 Benraige.

Corpaulum otat Corco Ulum 7 rl.

- Celtchair mac Cuthechair m. Fothaid m. Fir filed. Is dia  
clainn Finnián Cluana hIraird 7 rl.

- 25 Finnián m. Fintain m. Conchraid m. Daircealla m. Senaig  
m. Diarmada m. Áeda m. Fergusa m. Ailella m. Celtcair m.

<sup>1)</sup> fo. 109b marg. inf. Cammín m. Colmán Crichidh m. Comarbaig m.  
Insin m. Ane Indrind do Chiarraigibh a Fianaind.

Cammín Insi Celtra i crÍ mac Dimma m. Feidlimthi,  
mac lainn luchair látha ar gail d'áib Briúin Rátha a Connachtaibh.  
Caimmín crie[h]id riar caingnibh, mac Dimma Chirr do Laingnibh,  
do thardaib fe fuarus tair, d'ibh síde iar fir dia māt[h]air.

<sup>2)</sup> In margin, l- before *mē* Caiss.

<sup>3)</sup> In margin, l- sic before *mē* Alldoit. So also LL.

<sup>4)</sup> leg. *nō*.

<sup>5)</sup> Uat llethlend MS.

<sup>6)</sup> The *o* inserted.

fo. 110a marg. inf.

Cuma(i)n ingin Dallbrónaid máthair Cammín co nglúaire,  
mórfeisir ar chethrachait, iss ed rogénair húaídi.



Cuthechair m. Fothaid m. Fir filed m. Glais m. Rossa m. Rudraigi.<sup>1)</sup>

### Itim Síl Fergusa.

Epscop Erc Slāne m. Dega m. Branchon m. Airmora m. Caithir m. Imchatha m. Du[i]b<sup>2)</sup> thaige m. Rossa m. Imchada m. 5 Fechu m. Caiss m. Isis m. Airiuch m. Condlai m. Airt m. Corpri m. Coirp m. Thail m. Corpaulum m. Fergusa m. Róigh.

Epscop Eógain Ard Sratha m. epscop (*sic*) Erc m. Dega m. Branchon.

Brenaind m. Nemain m. Dubdechain m. Scellain m. Nazair 10 m. Thapaill m. Branchon. Fratres eius Eocho, Domnall.

Donnchad m. Áeda m. Loingsig m. Etig m. Lethlobair m. Loingsig m. Thomaltaig m. Indrechtaig m. Lethlobair m. Echach Iarlathe m. Fiachnai Luscan m. Bætān m. Echach (fo. 110 b) m. Condlai m. Cōelbad Coba m. Cru[i]nd ba draí (cuius filii Echu 15 7 Frēcher athair Fergusa) m. Echach Coba m. Lugdhach m. Rossa m. Imchatha m. Fedlimthe m. Caiss m. Fiachach Araidi m. Oengusa Gobnenn m. Fergusa Gallí m. Típrate (qui occidit Cond Cetchathach) m. Bresail Láig (qui subintravit Loch Laig) m. Bresail m. Feirb m. Máil (qui Tūathal Techtmar occidit) m. 20 Rochridi m. Cathbad m. Ailchoda m. Cuindcadho m. Findchado m. Muiredaig m. (Fiachach) Findamnais m. Iriail Glūnmair m. Conaill Cernaig m. Amargin m. Chaiss m. Fachtnai m. Capi m. Cingai m. Rudraigi m. Sithrithe m. Duib m. Fomair m. Athatlaim m. Sirlaim m. Blátho m. Labrada m. Corpri Condilig m. Fiachach 25 Findamnais m. Setna Airt m. Eibricc m. hÍr nō Ebir Duind m. Miled Espāne.

Trí meic Cruind ba draí: mac Echach, mac Lúdgach (*sic*) i. Cōelbad rí hÉirenn lastorchair Muiredach Tírech, a quo Dál nAraide; Eocho Coba. Frechar Fortriúin athair Fergusa Foga 30 tiug[í]latha Emna. Is hē dorochair lasna trī Colla i. Colla hŪais 7 Colla Mend 7 Colla Focri.<sup>3)</sup> Is annsin rotascrad Emain la hUltu. Oc Bēdān m. Echach condrecat rígrad Dál nAraidi. Oc Echdaig *haudem* athair Bēdān condrecat hŪi Echach Coba 7 Dál nAraidi.

35

<sup>1)</sup> ruraidi MS.

<sup>2)</sup> i erased.

<sup>3)</sup> Corrected from *facri*.

Cathassach m. Aililla m. Dúnlainge (cuius filius Cú Churain, cuius Congal Cáech) m. Scandail m. Bécce m. Fiachrach m. Bætháin Cáich m. Echach m. Condlai m. Cælbád m. Cruind ba drui.

### De genelach hŪa nEchach Coba.

- 5 Is iat-sidhe lethcenelach Dal Araide.  
 Congalach m. Āeda m. Garbida m. Certaiġ (cuius filius Cumascach) m. Lorcán m. Cernaig m. Máil Bresail m. Ailella m. Fedlimthi m. Máili Cothaid m. Fergusa m. Āedaín m. Mongáin m. Sárain m. Mane m. Fothaid m. Conaill m. Echach (a quo hĭ  
 10 Echach) m. Cruind ba drui.  
 Comgall Bendchair m. Setnai m. Echach m. Briáin<sup>1)</sup> m. Forgo m. Ernaím m. Cremthaind (hinc hĭ Chremtaind Chúile 7 Maige Dinairne)<sup>2)</sup> (fo. 111 a) m. Echach m. Lugdach m. Rossæ m. Imchadó m. Feidlimthe m. Caiss m. Fiachrach Araidi.  
 15 Niall m. Gilla Féchen m. Neill m. Fergusa m. Cumascaig m. Écertaig.  
 Bec Baile dano m. Echach Coba m. Aililla m. Fedlimthe (sursum) m. Mongáin m. Āedaín m. Máile Duin m. Cumuscaigh m. Fogartaig m. Ferdalaig.  
 20 Flaithebertach m. Echmílid m. Āeda m. Āengusa m. Addid m. Laigne m. Blaitheimeic m. Domnaill m. Concubair m. Bresail Bal- m. Fergusa m. Āedháin.

### Genelach Clainne Āeda.

- Ed m. Failbe m. Illaind m. Fiachrach Læb m. Mane m.  
 26 Āengusa m. Cruind ba drui.  
 Eochu m. Ardġair m. Matudáin m. Āeda m. Eochuáin m. Āeda m. Echdach (qui habuit filios .xii.) m. Fiachnai m. Āeda Róin m. Bece Bairche m. Blaitheimeic m. Máile Coba m. Fiachnai

<sup>1)</sup> l. Briáin.

<sup>2)</sup> On the upper margin of fo. 110b: Sallthair mic Ruisedrd Buitiler .i. Emann Buitiler int sallthair seo nogo dtuca maid mBaile in fPuill air iarla Urmumhan 7 air Mac Ruisedrd la iarla Desmuman (.i. Tomás) 7 dobainedh in leabur so 7 leabur na Carruigi as fuasg mic Ruisedrd 7 iss ē in Mac Ruisedrd sin do chur na leabair sin da scribenn dō fēn no gur bain Tomás iarla Desmuman amach iad. The same entry, much faded, is found on the lower margin: Sallthair Roisdard Buitler so gu tor . . catha Baile an Phnill . . la Tomás . . . . . gaid iarlla ar iarlla oram . . . . . 7 ala b . . aith 7 dail gan s . . .

Duib Tuile m. Demmain m. Cairill (qui credit Patricio) m. Muire-  
daigh Mundeirg m. Forgo m. Dallain m. Dubthaig m. Miennaig  
m. Ludgach m. Oengusa Find m. Fergusa Dubdhetaig (Moen  
ingen Chuind Chetchathaig mathair na tri Fergus a ndochersat  
i cath Crinna) m. Imchado m. Findchado m. Fiatach Find (a 5  
quo Dal Fiatach) m. Fir furmi m. Dairi m. Dluthaig m. Deitsini  
m. Echach m. Sin m. Rosin m. Trein m. Rothrein m. Rogein m.  
Arndil m. Mane Mair m. Forgo.

(fo. 111 b) **Senchus Sil hErimoin annso fo hEirind.**

Herimon per xuii. annos regnauit Hiberniam 7 quinque 10  
filios electos genuit 7 .iii. ex eis regnauerunt Hiberniam .i.  
Muimne, Luigne, Lagne per tres annos. Iarel profeta per .x.  
annos regnauit 7 antequam regula Patrici Christique regnaret.  
De semine eiusdem regis .liiii. regis regnauerunt super Hiberniam  
7 post Patricium <sup>1)</sup> de prole [i]llius .i. regis. 15

*Haec sunt nomina qui non crediderunt regum.*

Hërimön, Mumne, Luigne, Laigne, Iarel faith, Etherel,  
Tigernmas, Fiacha Labrainne, Oengus Olmucaid <sup>2)</sup>, Fothechtaid,  
Sirna, Giallachad, Nuado, Simön Brecc, Muiredach Balcrach, Eochu  
Fiadmuine, Conaing Bececla, Ugaine Mör, Löggaire Lorcc, Cob- 20  
thach Cöel, Labraid Loingsech, Melge Mol-, Oengus Ollam, Ierero,  
Condla Cöem, Ailill Casfiacloch, Eochu Altleathan, Fergus Forta-  
mail, Oengus Turbech, Conall Collomrach, Enna Argech, Crimthan  
Crom, Eochu Fedleach, Eochu Areman, Eterscöl, Conare Cöem,  
Lugaid tri riab, Conchubor Abradrüad, Crimtann niath nair, 25  
Feradhach Find, Fiatach Find, Fiacha Findolaid, Tuathal Techt-  
mar, Fedlimid Rechta, Cathair Mör, Cond Cetchathach, Conaire  
Cöem, Art Öenfer, Cormac Ulfata, Fergus Dubdétach, Eochu  
Gunnfat, Coirpri Liffchair, Fiacha Sraptine, Colla hUais, Muire-  
dach T'rech, Eochu Mughmhedön, Niall Nöigiallach, Nathí. 30

*Haec sunt nomina credentium regum.*

Lögairi, Ailill Molt, Lugaid, Muircertach, Tuathal, Diar-  
mait, Domnall, Fergus Bädän, Eochaid, Anmire, Bädän, Äed,  
Colmān, Äe[d] Slane, Äed Ollān, Mael Coba, Suibne Mend, Domnall,  
Ceallach, Conall, Blathmac, Diarmait, Seachnasach, Cenduelad, 35

<sup>1)</sup> patriciam MS.

<sup>2)</sup> ol-mucaid MS.

Findachta, Loingsech, Congal Cind, Fergal, Fogertach, Cinæd,  
 Flaithbertach, Æ[d] Allān, Domnall, Niall Frasach, Dondchad,  
 Æd Ordnidi, Concobor, (fo. 112a) Niall Caille, Mæl Sechnaill,  
 Æd Findliath, Fland, Niall Glündub, Domnall, Dondchad, Con-  
 5 galach, Domnall, Mæl Sechnaill, Brian mac Cinnetig 7 rl.

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From here onward to fo. 116b1 follows a series of syn-  
 chronisms beginning *Sláne toisech Fer mBolg is hé cétrig na*  
*hÉirenn .ii. bliadna*. These I hope to publish on some future  
 occasion.

Liverpool.

KUNO MEYER.

## THE BLACK PIG'S DYKE AND THE CAMPAIGN OF THE TÁIN BÓ CUAILGNE.

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In May 1909 a very interesting paper appeared in the *Proc. R. I. A.* Vol. 27, Sec. C, No. 14, on 'The Black Pig's Dyke; the ancient boundary fortification of Uladh' by W. de Vismes Kane. It is a study of an ancient earth-work in the North of Ireland, portions of which still exist, and the general outline of which Mr. Kane has established from old ordnance surveys, local traditions and place-names. At p. 316 of his paper he shows on a Map the course it followed across Ireland from Scarva in the East to Bundoran in the West. A glance at the Map shows that this course was most irregular. In fact, the outline of the whole thing is most unexpected, and, only that Mr. Kane's proofs are very sound, could scarcely be believed.

Mr. Kane's conjecture as to the origin of the Dyke is, that it was built in the second century A.D. when the province of Meath was formed. Against this it may be urged that, if built then, we might expect to find such a dyke to the South of Meath as well as to the North. I have never heard of such a thing and, while it is quite true that the North boundary of Meath did coincide with the Dyke, yet Mr. Kane himself says 'The deepest fosse and steepest side of the rampart face the Province of Meath' (see p. 312). All his evidence points to the fact that the Dyke was built to defend the North against the South or West, so that it is incredible that the partition of Meath was the cause for building the Dyke. He says 'the southern side of the hills and heights is always chosen so that the steepest slope of embankment would be against the southern tribes etc.' (see p. 303).

There is no mention, as far as I know, of such a work in Irish history or romance. We have no definite statement about

it anywhere. Nevertheless I venture to think that there are certain passages in one of the great cycles of romance which cannot properly be explained unless this Dyke was already in existence when the events on which this cycle is founded took place. This cycle originated in the century just before or the century just after Christ (see Windisch, Pref. to Táin, p. XXXII, and Ridgeway, Date of first shaping of Cuchullain Saga, p. 34). I propose to take these passages in order, and show where the course of events seems to have been influenced by the existence of the Dyke. I shall begin at the beginning of the Táin itself. To follow my argument clearly, Mr. Kane's Map of the Dyke and the Map of Ireland should be consulted.

First: Medb's army assembled at Cruachan and their objective was Cuailgne. The natural route would apparently be due East across South Leitrim, Cavan and North Louth. Instead of this they make a *détour* to the South and go very much out of their way before entering Louth at all. Why? It is possible that forests and bogs may have had something to do with it, but these were common in Ireland of that day and, while we have no evidence that they were worse between Cruachan and Cuailgne than elsewhere, we certainly have evidence that such a rampart as the Black Pig's Dyke might have interfered very much with a march straight across country. In order to do so Medb's army would have had to cross the Dyke four times before getting near Cuailgne at all. This would be a sufficient reason for making a *détour*.

Secondly. When we examine the route Medb did take, we find the following facts. After leaving Cruachan she went South by Tuaim Móna (Tumona in Ogulla parish near Tulsk, Co. Roscommon), by Cúil Sibrinne (Kilcooley, Co. Roscommon), by Badbghna (Slieve Banne, Ballintubber, Co. Roscommon), by the Shannon. After crossing the Shannon we find her next in Magh Trega (Moytra in Co. Longford) and Tethba Tuaiscirt (district round Granard in Co. Longford). Now, why if she wanted to march through Tethba did she not cross somewhere near Carrick-on-Shannon and so march by a much shorter route to Tethba? It was possible to go this way, for when Conall Cearnach fled for his life from Cruachan he fled by Magh Luing (Moylurg in Co. Roscommon) and towards Magh Slecht (round Bally-ma-gauran in Co. Leitrim). He must have crossed the Shannon north of

Cruachan (see Goire Conaill Cernaig, *Zeitschr.* I, and *Revue Celt.* XXIII, p. 308, and *Dindseanchus* LL 166b. 41). The presence of the Dyke would explain both these passages. Conall Cearnach was seeking shelter behind it; it was his nearest refuge. Medb on the other hand was obliged by its presence to take a longer route to Tethba. It is noteworthy that in marching through Magh Trega and Tethba she skirted the Dyke very closely at its southernmost point. It is true that even then she does not go straight across country. She still keeps Southward and, as far as her route can be identified, went through Westmeath and Meath till we finally find her at Slane on the Boyne. There are so many unknown names in the detailed marching route given in the Táin that it is not possible to be positive about this part of the march. I have here used throughout the list of places given in Windisch's edition of the Táin with the notes and identifications given there (see p. 40). As far as we can say with certainty she never goes inside the line of the Dyke, though at one point very close to it and, if there is any rhyme or reason in her mode of proceeding at all, the existence of the Dyke accounts better than anything else for the peculiar line of march described.

Thirdly: When Medb's army reaches Louth and the fighting begins, it is altogether confined to Muirthemne and Cualgne; that is, to districts belonging to Ulster but lying outside the line of the Dyke. There is no attempt to ravage Fernmagh (Farney, Co. Monaghan) which had no natural defence in mountains etc. But it was well inside the Dyke, which here would seem to correspond with the boundary between Fernmagh and Muirthemne. Again, while ravaging Muirthemne, 'the men of Ireland said to MacRoth to go to watch for them to Sliabh Fuait so that the Ulstermen might not come upon them without warning' (see Windisch, Táin p. 603). Here we have it implied that the Ulster attack would begin from Sliabh Fuait. The chief approach to Emain Macha was by the well-known pass through Sliabh Fuait, which was one reason for watching it; but it is clear from the Táin that Medb and her army did not expect to meet the Ulstermen till then. Cuchulainn's resistance was a surprise to them. But they are quite prepared for an attack from the country within the Dyke (which ran up to Sliabh Fuait) and they send their scouts to watch there.

Fourthly: Medb makes a daring raid to Dun Severick and back again. How does she go? 'Medb marched into Ulster ... till she reached Magh Cobha ... marched to Dunseverick' (see Dindsenchus of Ath-Luan, *Revue Celt.* XV, p. 465). 'Medb wasted Pictland, Cuailgne, land of Conall Mac Amirgin and reached Dunseverick' (see Egerton 93, 18). Magh Cobha and Pictland represent Co. Down and the east coast of Antrim (see Windisch, *Táin* p. 264, note 2). Now the Dyke did not protect Co. Down. It left the way across Carlingford Lough open. Therefore Medb again skirted it south of Slieve Gullion and made her dash on the only districts that lay open to her. She never attempts to go near Emain Macha. The whole object of the *Táin* was loot, and the Dyke would have been a serious obstacle over which to drive cattle. So Medb never entangles herself inside the Dyke. She gives it a wide berth, and its existence is the best and indeed the only explanation that can be offered for her whole plan of campaign.

There is another passage in the *Táin* which becomes much more comprehensible if the existence of the Dyke be admitted. I mean the passage where Cuchulainn questions Ibar on the routes of Ulster (see Windisch, *Táin* p. 139). 'And this high road which goes past us, in what direction does it go?' said the little boy. 'It goes to Áth na Foraíre in Sliabh Fuait' said Ibar. 'Why is it called Áth na Foraíre?' 'A good soldier of the Ulstermen does be watching and guarding there so that there should come no warrior or foreigner to challenge the Ulstermen to fight, but he is the champion who fights for the whole province. If Artists go away discontented with the Ulstermen from the province, he it is who offers gifts for the honour of the province. If Artists come to the country, he is the man who protects them ...' Throughout this passage it is implied that Ulster begins and ends at Sliabh Fuait, at Áth na Foraíre. Ibar says the road from Emain Macha ends there. There is the spot where foreign champions come to challenge Ulster; not at the Boyne. Yet the southern boundary of Conchobur's province is always given as the Boyne. There seems to be no reason why this particular spot should be singled out for all this unless the Dyke was already in existence. Its presence would at once explain why it was in Sliabh Fuait the watch was kept, and why it was there that foreign visitors were



challenged. It was used by Ulster as an inner line of defence, and the kernel of the province lay within it. It is worth noticing in connection with this that Mr. Kane says (p. 303) that remains of wooden sheds and battens of timber have been found on the northern side of the Dyke as if to shelter sentries and guards. If it was patrolled in ancient days, and a watch kept, it is probable that we have the tradition of this preserved in this passage of the Táin.

Again in *Fled Bricrenn* (*Irische Texte* I, p. 275) we find Cuchulainn going from Bricriu's house (near Dundrum, Co. Down) to Cruachan. He is supposed to be in a great hurry, yet he goes 'over Sliabh Fuait and over Magh Breg' before turning westward. Here again the Dyke would have interfered with a more direct route, say by Clones and Belturbet, and its presence would account for his taking this course. There is no doubt that the ancient high road to Armagh ran through Sliabh Fuait. In the Cuchulainn cycle it is certainly the accepted route. In *Tochmarc Emire* (*Zeitschrift* III, p. 240) Cuchulainn travels from Emain Macha to Lusk between 'Sliabh Fuait to the South and Sliabh Cuillend to the East to Dorcel (Forkhill) between them...' In *Aided Guill ocus Gairb* (*Revue Celt.* XIV, p. 414) Conchobar says, in discussing the road to Cuailgne, 'tis not into Glenn Righe that the hosts go, but unto Sliabh Fuait straight ahead'. In *Mesca Uladh* (*Todd Lectures* I, p. 14) the Ulstermen come down from Dún dá benn through Co. Antrim, and then from Ollarbe (Six-mile-water River) go 'into Magh Macha, into Sliabh Fuait, into Áth na Foraíre' and so to Muirthemne. Whether they were going South, or South-West, or West, this was the one exit from Ulster in the East. The whole country from Sliabh Fuait across to the Shannon cannot have been totally impassable. Yet I can find no mention as far as I have gone of any one going south from Emain Macha, say, through Farney or through Cavan. This seems to need the existence of the Dyke as explanation. It is quite true that in the middle ages there seems to have been the same lack of routes, but it is perfectly possible that the building of the Dyke determined the course of the routes to Ulster from a very early period, and that even down to Elizabethan times it was a sufficiently formidable obstacle to prevent entry to Ulster except by the recognized high-road.

We have seen that in Tochmarc Emire, Cuchulainn passes Forkhill. Just here is situated the Dorsey, the great fortified camp which Mr. Kane thinks was once linked with the Black Pig's Dyke. Its size and strength show how jealously the Sliabh Fuait pass was once guarded. We have no hint in the Táin of its being used by the Ulstermen, but I think there is possibly a reference to it in the 'Caithréim Conghail Chláiringhnigh' (Irish Texts Soc. V, p. 10). The Ulstermen are going from Emain to Teamhair; 'so they came to Teamhair... It is thus Teamhair was at that time: every provincial king had there splendid houses and lands. These came to the rath of the Ulstermen ('Ráith Uladh') which is called 'Ráith na ndoirseorach' at this time. Their reason for so doing was that they might partake of their first night's feast on their arrival in Teamhair...' The passage as it stands clearly implies that 'Ráith na ndoirseorach' was the Ulster house in Teamhair. But I can find no mention of such a name in Petrie's description of the ancient buildings there. In 'Cath Maighe Rath' we are told that the provincial houses in Teamhair were 'an Long Mumhan, an Long Laighen, an Caisir Chonnacht, an Eachrais Uladh'. On the other hand we have this huge rath on the road between Emain and Teamhair, whose name 'The Dorsey' is a corruption of 'Doirseorach'. O'Donovan says in his MS. of the ordnance Survey (Co. Armagh, No. 1, April 22nd, 1835): 'the name of the townland is 'dorsa'... the peasantry sometimes call it 'Baile na ndorsa'. This is very close to the name as given in the Caithréim. It is possible that the passage is corrupt, or that something has been left out or put in, and that 'Ráith na ndoirseorach' was passed on the road to Teamhair. Unfortunately the passage as it stands proves nothing definite, but it is possible that originally it did refer to the Dorsey, though the meaning is now altered. It may be noted here that Canon Lett says (Journal R. S. A. I. Vol. 8, p. 14, 1898) 'close to the east of the Dorsey we still find a spot called 'Silver Ford' or 'Silver Bridge', and that he quotes a passage from the 4 Masters referring to Bél Átha an airgit on the Sliabh Fuait road. Whether this ford could have been the ancient Áth na Foraire there is nothing to show, but, at all events, it is interesting to know that some ford did exist close to the Dorsey, the ancient 'gates of Ulster'.

Now, if the Black Pig's Dyke does date from before the

time of the Táin, when could it have been erected? I venture to think that it is a very ancient erection indeed and would be inclined to attribute it to the Bronze age (circa 1500—500 B.C.) for the following reasons.

First: The Bronze age in Ireland judging from archaeological remains was of long duration and its civilization was of an advanced type for that age in Europe. It was then that the Irish gold mines were worked, the dolmens built, the gold crescents and bronze weapons manufactured. The people were quite sufficiently organized to construct great works, especially earthen ones. These do not require a highly civilized society or great technical skill.

Secondly: We have no mention anywhere in any written document of such a work being built. Yet the construction of such an extensive rampart could hardly pass unnoticed. It must have been built before any of the existing records were put together. Like cremation it must have belonged to an earlier stage of society. All the cremated burials in Ireland belong to the Bronze age, and all the burials described in Irish literature are of a later date. They are Iron age burials. The Bronze age has left far more traces in Ireland than the La Tène period of the Iron age, so that it is not unreasonable to credit it with the largest earth-works in the country.

Thirdly: The local legends about the Dyke are derived from the story 'The Fate of the Children of Turenn' (see Mr. Kane's paper p. 324). This story belongs to the oldest cycle of Irish literature, viz. that connected with the Tuatha de Danann, which precedes the Cuchulainn or Táin cycle. I think it is noteworthy that local tradition should associate the Dyke with the most ancient stories we have got and not with Finn Mac Cumhaill or any more recent hero.

Fourthly: Admitting that the Dyke existed in the time of the Táin and influenced the story, the fact that it was already ancient and a familiar land mark would account for its not being specifically described, even though utilized by the Ulstermen of the Táin and avoided by their enemies.

Fifthly: Canon Lett says in his paper on the Dorsey (Journal R. S. A. I. VIII, pp. 1.2, 1898) 'everything about it indicates its extreme antiquity. For example, the stream on the

east of it has in the lapse of centuries altered its course and cut almost right through the walls'.

To sum up: The evidence I have collected here is very incomplete, but, as far as it goes, I think it points to the Dyke and the Dorsey being much older than hitherto supposed. I can find no evidence against their antiquity and I think there is some ground for believing that these earth-works already existed in the first century of our era when the events narrated in the Táin Bó Cuailgne took place.

Cushendall, co. Antrim.

MARGARET DOBBS.

## MITTELKYMR. UCH PEN.

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Eine Stelle in dem Abschnitt von *Kulhwch ac Olwen*, der in Strachan's *Introduction to Early Welsh* aufgenommen ist, scheint mir in der Regel mißverstanden zu werden.

Kei hat sich als Schwertpolierer bei dem Riesen Wrnach eingeführt; man hat ihm einen Stuhl in der Halle hingesetzt, er hat das Schwert des Riesen poliert und es Wrnach zurückgegeben, und dieser hat seine Zufriedenheit mit der Arbeit ausgesprochen. Nun heit es weiter (S. 195):

'Kei sagte: „Deine Scheide hat das Schwert verdorben. Gib (sie) mir, um die *kyllellbrenneu* (d. h. wohl die durch zwei Hlzchen gebildete obere Spalte der Scheide, durch welche die Klinge hineingesteckt wird) von ihr zu entfernen, und damit ich neue fr es machen knne.“ Und er nahm die Scheide und (hielt) das Schwert in der andern Hand. *A* (om. P) *dyuot ohonaw uch pen y kawr, malphei y cledyf a dottei yn y wein. Y ossot a oruc ynteu* (add. H) *ym phen y kawr a llad y penn y ergyt y arnaw.*'

Loth (Les Mabinogion, I, S. 259 f.) bersetzt: 'et, le bras au-dessus de la tte du gant comme s'il voulait remettre l'pe dans le fourreau, il la dirigea contre lui et lui fit voler la tte de dessus les paules.' — Aber was hat Kei's Arm — von dem brigens der kymrische Text nichts sagt — ber dem Kopfe des Riesen zu suchen? Diese Situation wre nur dann verstndlich, wenn etwa das Schwert in die Scheide gesteckt werden mfte, whrend sie der Riese umhngen hat. Aber darum kann es sich nicht handeln. Denn Kei hat ja soeben die Scheide vom Riesen erbeten, um sie auszubessern. Der Satz 'er nahm die Scheide' setzt also voraus, da Wrnach sie ihm wirklich berreicht hat;

und nun hält Kei in der einen Hand die Scheide, in der andern das Schwert. Aber wie kommt er dann 'über das Haupt des Riesen', ohne das Mißtrauen der Versammlung zu erregen? Auch das Glossar gibt zu *uch ben* nur die Bedeutung 'above, over' und verweist auf § 193, wo auch nichts weiteres steht.

Um die Stelle zu verstehen, muß man sich erinnern, was *úas . . . cinn* im älteren Irischen bedeuten kann. Am deutlichsten tritt das hervor in *Immacallam in dá thuarad* (ed. Stokes, Rev. Celt. 26, p. 42, § 223). In den letzten Zeiten — wird dort prophezeit — wird jede gute Sitte in ihr schlimmes Gegenteil verkehrt sein, z. B. *corop maith lasin sósar* (oder *ósar*) *bith ina súidiu 7 a sínser úas a chind* 'so daß es dem Jüngern gefallen wird zu sitzen, während der Ältere in seiner Gegenwart steht'. Ebenso klar ist die Lage in *Longes mac n-Usnig* (Ir. T. I, 67): die Ulter sind beim Trinkgelage in Feidlimid's Haus; *bái dana ben ind Féidlimthe [sin] oc airiuc don tsluag os a cind*. Während die Menge der Gäste auf den *imda's* gelagert zecht, wartet ihnen die Hauswirtin stehend auf. Das also bedeutet *os chind araili*, das Stehen, während der andere sitzt oder liegt.

Offenbar ist das auch der Sinn von *dyvot uch pen y kaver* in *Kulhwch ac Olwen*: 'Kei stand auf, während der Riese sitzen blieb'. Das Aufstehen wird dadurch motiviert, daß er tut, als ob er das Schwert in die Scheide stecken wolle, etwa um zu sehen, wo die Scheide die Klinge kratze. Schwert und Scheide sind als so groß zu denken, daß es der Umgebung nicht auffällt, wenn er zu dieser Manipulation aufsteht. Lady Guest (The Mabinogion II, 296) ist somit dem Richtigen ganz nahe gekommen mit ihrer Übersetzung: 'And he came and stood over against the Giant, as if he would have put the sword into the scabbard.'

Im Folgenden ist noch *y ergyt* nicht ganz klar. Lady Guest's *at one blow* entspricht wohl nicht genau. Loth scheint *ergyt* als 'Flug' zu fassen: 'er schlug das Haupt, daß es von ihm wegflog'. Oder ist eher zu übersetzen: 'er richtete es nach dem Haupt des Riesen und schlug das Haupt seinen (des Schwertes) Schwung weit von ihm weg', also *y ergyt* inneres Objekt zu *llad*?

Wie in *uch pen* das Mittelmymrische zum Mittelirischen stimmt, so auch in der Verwendung von *yn drws* = ir. *i n-dorus* einfach im Sinne von 'vor' (Rev. Celt. 6, 104) in dem Satze S. 194, 3: *Kyweithyd yssyd yn drws y porth* 'eine Gesellschaft

ist vor dem Tor'. Lady Guest's *at the door of the gate* ist nur scheinbar genauer (Loth: 'Il y a à la porte une compagne').<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Ein eigentümlicher unverbesserter Druckfehler ist *y geffeil* für *y gesseil* S. 194, 14, eigentümlich deswegen, weil im Glossar nicht nur das richtige *cesseil* 'the armpit' steht, sondern auch unter *geffeil* 'tongs, pincers' auf unsere Stelle verwiesen wird, obschon das keinen Sinn ergibt.

Freiburg i. B.

R. THURNEYSEN.

## ZU BD. VIII, S. 72 ff.

Bei der Aufzählung der Stellen, wo Conall Cernach *clócn* genannt wird, habe ich übersehen, dafs auch Cinaed ua h-Artacáin da, wo er von Mess-Gegras Tod durch ihn berichtet, also auf die Geschichte von *Talland Étair* anspielt, ihn *Conall clócn* nennt; und zwar reimt das Wort hier ebenso mit *róen* wie in *Cath Ruis na Rig* (Rev. Celt. XXIII, 308, 22; 321, 22; 327, 23). Man sieht, wie eng alle diese Stellen zusammengehören.

Dafs der Ausdruck *cloentruag* (S. 76) auch in *Aided Ailella ocus Conaill Chernaig* ZCP. I, 104, 18 vorkommt, von der Handschrift H. 2. 17 in *clamtruath* (l. *-truag*) variiert, darauf hat schon K. Meyer Zs. I, 110 aufmerksam gemacht. Es wird also wirklich auch in *Fled Bricrend* § 43 ursprünglich Kompositum sein.

Freiburg i. B.

R. THURNEYSEN.

## THE RENNES DINDSENCHAS.

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In a note on p. 32 of my edition of the *Voyage of Bran* I drew attention to the fact that in the arrangement of the various articles of the Rennes Dindsenchas a definite geographical sequence can be discerned. As this arrangement occasionally facilitates the identification of place-names I would briefly return to the subject here.

§§ 1—8 all refer to localities within the ancient province of Meath. *Druim Dairbrech* (§ 8) is evidently near Commur in Meath, where the Boyne and Blackwater meet, and has to be distinguished from another place of the same name east of Bri Éli. §§ 9—40 deal with Leinster. The article on *Carman* (§ 18) coming after that on *Ailenn* (in co. Kildare) confirms Hogan's surmise as to its situation in co. Kildare and Carlow. Similarly *Ceilbe* (§ 21) following upon Naas is no doubt, as Hogan proposes, a place in co. Kildare, probably Kelbridge. Again, *Ráith Cnám-rossa*, which O' Donovan sought in co. Carlow, is more likely to be in co. Dublin, as Hogan suggests; for it follows upon Bann Étaí and Dún Crimthainn. §§ 41—59 all refer to Munster. *Mag Roigni* (§ 43) forms no exception, as in ancient times part of co. Kilkenny was included in Ormond. Next follows Connaught (§§ 60—79) and then Ulster (§§ 80—101). It is true, here the order is more than once interrupted, as in § 86, if *Crechmáel* is really to be sought in Leinster. In the remaining articles the arrangement is far less consistent; but certain groupings according to definite areas are still discernible.

Liverpool.

KUNO MEYER.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF WHITLEY STOKES.

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The following Bibliography of the publications of Whitley Stokes was undertaken at the request of the Editor of this *Zeitschrift*. In the short time at my disposal I have done my utmost to make it complete. It is inevitable, however, that some particulars have been omitted, but nothing, it is hoped, of importance. With the exception of a few of the publications on Indian law, which have been taken from the catalogues of the British Museum, the Imperial Library of Calcutta, the Library of Lincoln's Inn, and the biographical notices in 'Men of the Time', — the latter readily distinguished by their meagre descriptions, — all the entries have been made from the originals.

The works are arranged as far as possible under the year in which they appeared. In the case of a few early periodicals and transactions I have found it difficult to ascertain the actual date of issue, owing to the wrappers not having been always preserved in the Dublin collections: the date on the title-page of a volume is often two or three years later than the appearance of the first parts. Again, offprints of some memoirs were evidently issued in advance: thus, the wrapper of the *Phil. Soc. Trans.* containing the review of Atkinson's *Passions and Homilies* is dated 1891, whereas a notice of it appeared in the *Rev. Celtique* in 1889. Stokes as a rule signed his contributions with the date, and this useful practice has been of considerable help towards determining the year of publication.

Where a work is merely reprinted or translated in another Journal, reference is made under the original entry, unless, as frequently happened, it was recast and enlarged, in which

case it is treated as a new edition. Also the numerous Corrigenda which Stokes, in the constant effort to perfect his published work, was in the habit of printing in later volumes, have been added to the original entry, for convenience sake.

Most of the contributions to the 'Academy' appeared under the heading of Correspondence. They frequently extend over several columns, and contain valuable corrigenda to printed Irish texts, and first editions of some Old-Irish glosses.

Though there may be official Indian publications bearing Stokes' name, which I have not been able to trace, the following list contains all those mentioned in the biographical notices which appeared during his life-time, and others besides.

What will most impress one on looking over this list is the number and variety of the contributions, comprising grammar, etymology, glosses, glossaries, inscriptions, sagas, poems, saints' lives, martyrologies, folk-lore, law, palaeography. There was no field of Celtic studies in which Stokes did not labour. He was present, one might say, at the birth of Celtic philology, when the immortal *Grammatica Celtica* appeared, and he lived to read and take delight in the first part of Pedersen's Comparative Celtic Grammar.

I am indebted to Mrs. Boothby for a list of unsigned articles and verse translations contributed by her father to Fraser's Magazine, the Saturday Review, Dublin University Magazine, etc. between 1852 and 1862, also for reference to the obituary notice of John Boxwell and the note on Indian Codification (Academy 1891).

#### The Battle of Kossovo.

Includes a verse translation.

#### Russian and Polish Ballads.

Vanamanen's Harping, the 41st rimo of the Kalevala.

#### The Cornish Drama.

The above four articles, together with the three unlocated reviews under 1853 and 1855, are contained in a volume entitled *Miscellanea*, now in the Library of University College, London. There is no indication of the periodical in which they appeared.

### 1852

Danish Ballads. (Fraser's Magazine XLV. 649—59, 1852.)

Includes verse translations of *Swayne Vonved*, *Swayne Dyring*, *Det Uheldige Giftermaal*, *Hafbur* and *Signe*. Unsigned.

## 1853

Review of Siegfried Kapper's 'Die Gesänge der Serben', 1852.  
(*London*, Jan. 15, 1853.)

Unsigned.

Review of Karadschitsch's Volksmärchen der Serben. (*London*,  
Aug. 25, 1853.)

Unsigned.

## 1854

The Dying Doytschin. From the Servian. (*Dublin University Magazine* XLIII. 588—93, 1854.)

Verse translation. Unsigned.

Servian Songs and Ballads. (*Ibid.* XLIII. 668—69, 1854.)

Verse translations. The Despair of the Beloved. Doubt, Wishes.  
The Christian and the Turkish Maiden. Dated, Howth, July 1852.  
Unsigned.

Buyadin and his Sons. Translation from the Servian. (*Ibid.*  
XLIV. 242—43, 1854.)

## 1855

Review of A. Boltz's Slovo o Polku Igorev. (*London*, June 21,  
1855.)

Unsigned.

A Second Batch of Danish Ballads. (*Fraser's Magazine* LI.  
86—95, 1855.)

Includes verse translations of *Germand Gladensvend*, *Hellalyle* and  
*Hildebrand*, *The Two Sisters*, *The Despair*, *King Waldmar* and his  
*Sister*, *The Nightingale*. Unsigned.

Servian Proverbs. (*Ibid.* LI. 517—26, 1855.)

Review of Karadschitsch's 'Volksmärchen der Serben. Ins Deutsche  
übersetzt. Mit einer Vorrede von Jacob Grimm, nebst einem Anhang  
von mehr als tausend serbischen Sprichwörtern'. Berlin, 1854. Unsigned.

## 1856

North American Indian Legends. (*Saturday Review* II. 273—5,  
1856.)

Review of Henry Schoolcraft's 'The Myth of Hiawatha and other  
oral legends, mythologic and allegoric of the North American Indians',  
Philadelphia, 1856. Unsigned.

Roman Ballads and Superstitions. (*Ibid.* II. 321—3, 1856.)

Review of 'Ballades et Chants populaires de la Roumanie, traduits  
par V. Alexandri', Paris, 1855. Unsigned.

The Albanians. (*Ibid.* II. 460—2, 1856.)

Review of Chopin et Ubicini's 'Provinces Danubiennes et Roumaines', Paris, 1856, and J. G. von Hahn's 'Albanesische Studien', Jena, 1854. Unsigned.

## 1857

Catalan Ballads and Children's Stories. (*Ibid.* III. 202—3, 1857.)

Review of Ferd. Wolf's 'Proben Portugiesischer und Catalanischer Volksromanzen', Wien, 1856. Unsigned.

A Poem from Lapland. (*Ibid.* IV. 17—18, 1857.)

Translation of the poem *Peiven parneh* (The Sun's Sons) from the German analysis by Anton Schiefner in his notes to Castrén's *Vorlesungen über die Finnische Mythologie*, 1853. Unsigned.

Percy's Reliques. (*Ibid.* IV. 181—3, 1857.)

A criticism of the edition by R. A. Willmott, London, 1857. Unsigned.

Adamnan's Life of St. Columba. (*Ibid.* IV. 224—5, 1857.)

A review of Reeves' edition, Dublin, 1857. Unsigned. Contains a new translation by Stokes of St. Patrick's Hymn.

## Tuscan Proverbs. (Fraser's Mag. LV. 18—28, 1857.)

Review of G. Giusti's 'Raccolta di Proverbi Toscani', Florence, 1853 and A. Gotti's 'Aggiunta ai Proverbi Toscani', Florence, 1855. Unsigned.

The Mythology of Finnland. (*Ibid.* LV. 523—37, 1857.)

Review of A. Castrén's *Vorlesungen über die Finnische Mythologie*, herausg. von A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1853. Includes a number of verse translations. Signed: Macc Dá Cherda.

## 1858

## Bemerkungen über die irische Declination. (Kuhn's Beitr. zur vergl. Sprachf. I. 333—55, 448—73, 1858).

Signed W. S. Merrión Square, Dublin, Oct. 24th, 1857. Translated into German by Lottner.

## The Geraldines. (Saturday Rev. V. 273—4, 1858.)

Review of 'The Earls of Kildare and their ancestors from 1057—1773', by the Marquis of Kildare. Second ed., Dublin, 1858. Unsigned.

Taliesin and Ossian. (*Ibid.* V. 540—41, 1858.)

Review of W. Nash's 'Taliesin; or the Bards and Druids of Britain', London, 1858, and J. H. Simpson's 'Poems of Ossian, Bard of Erin', London, 1857. Unsigned.

Dr. Latham's Celtic Philology. (*Ibid.* VI. 139—41, 1858.)

Review of Prichard's 'Eastern origin of the Celtic Nations', ed. R. G. Latham, London, 1857. Unsigned.

The Finnish Saga of Kullervo. (*Ibid.* VI. 191—92, 1858.)

Account of this episode in the Kalevala with verse translation based on the German edition of A. Schiefner. Unsigned.

Danish Ballads. (*Ibid.* VI. 213—15, 1858.)

Review of S. Grundtvig's 'Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser', Kjöbenhavn, 1853-6, and 'Dänische Volkslieder der Vorzeit, aus der Sammlung von S. Grundtvig, übertragen von Rosa Warrens', 1858. Unsigned. Includes verse translation of *Auje og Else*, etc.

Castrén on the Altaic Races. (*Ibid.* VI. 264—66.)

Review of Castrén's 'Ueber die altaischen Völker nebst Samojedischen Märchen und Tatarischen Heldensagen, herausg. von A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1857. Unsigned.

## 1859

## Gallische Inschriften. (Kuhn's Beitr. zur vergl. Sprachf. II. 100—112, 1859.)

Dated, March 4, 1859. Nachträge, Band III. 75—6. Dated, den 29. november 1860.

Die Endung der 1 pers. praes. indic. act. im neuirischen. (*Ibid.* II. 131—33, 1859.)

Dated, March 20, 1859.

## Gaulish and Ogham Inscriptions. (Saturday Rev. VII. 279—81, 1859.)

Review of A. Pictet's 'Essai sur quelques inscriptions en langue gauloise', Genève, 1859. Unsigned.

The Chronicle of My Cid. (*Ibid.* VIII. 167—69, 228—29, 1859.)

Review of 'Poème du Cid, par Damas Hinard', Paris, 1858. Includes verse and prose translations. Unsigned.

Morgan's British Kymry. (*Ibid.* VIII. 371—72, 1859.)

Criticism of R. W. Morgan's 'The British Kymry, or Britons of Cambria'. Unsigned.

Runes from Kalevala. (*Ibid.* VIII. 813—15, 1859.)

Includes verse translations from Schiefner's German edition, and in the alliterative metre of the Finnish original. Unsigned.

## 1860

## Irish Glosses, edited by a Member of the Council, from a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1859, 168—215 [1860].)

The Irish text from H. 3. 18 (61—87). Signed, W. S.

Irish Glosses. A Mediæval Tract on Latin Declension, with examples explained in Irish. To which are added the *Lorica* of Gildas, with the gloss thereon, and a selection of glosses from the Book of Armagh. Edited by Whitley Stokes A.B. 4to, 208 pp., *Dublin*. Printed at the University Press, for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, 1860.

The Text from H. 2. 13 Trin. Coll. with Commentary and Notes, and General Index and Indices Verborum. The *Lorica* of Gildas is edited from the *Lebar Breac*. Preface dated Caraig Breace, Howth, August 16, 1858. Colophon: Bendacht Dæi for huili carate Héirinn ocus a senbéire.

A Treatise on the Liens of attorneys, solicitors, and other legal practitioners. 12mo, *London*, Sweet, 1860.

The Book of Deir. (Saturday Rev. X. 734—35, 1860.)

An account of the recently discovered MS. Unsigned.

### 1861

Precedents of Powers of Attorney. Edited with a preliminary dissertation and practical notes, by Whitley Stokes. *London*, Henry Sweet, 1861. 8vo, xvi + 118 pp.

Forms Vol. VIII. Pt 1. of A Selection of Precedents from Modern Manuscript Collections, and Drafts of Actual Practice, forming a System of Conveyancing, with Dissertations and Practical Notes, by Thomas Jarman. The Third Edition.

Notes on Comparative Syntax. By a Member of the Council. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1860-1, 168—171, 1861.)

I. The Omission of one of the Subject-Pronouns of a verb. II. The Irish Infinitive with an Accusative instead of a Genitive. III. A Demonstrative Suffix [-sa] for that of the first personal pronoun. Signed W.S. A German edition, with a few omissions, appeared under title: Zur vergleichenden Syntax, dated Feb. 28, 1860 in Kuhn's Beitr. II, 394—6.

Reduplication im altirischen verbum. (Kuhn's Beitr. II. 396—7, 1861.)

Dated, Feb. 28, 1860.

Bemerkungen über das altirische verbum. (Kuhn's Beiträge III. 47—64, 1861.)

1. Die verbalclassen. 2. Der conjunctiv. 3. Die relativen formen. Dated 10 dec. 1860.

Ueber die inschrift von Todi. (*Ibid.* III. 65—74, 1861.)

Dated den 29. november 1860.

On the Third Person Singular Imperative active in Cornish. By a Member of the Council. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1860-1, 171—2, 1861.)

Cambrica. By a Member of the Council. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1860-1, 204—49, 288, 1861.)

I. The Welsh glosses and verses in the Cambridge codex of Juvenius [with Commentary]. W. S. II. The Old-Welsh glosses at Oxford, Bibl. Bodl. Auct. F. 4—32. III. The Middle-Welsh glosses in Cott. Vesp. A. XIV (Mus. Brit.), Fol. 11 a. W. S.

King Ailill's Death [circa A. D. 550]. (Fraser's Magazine LXIII. 684, 1861.)

Unsigned. See under 1884.

Danish Ballads II. (Saturday Rev. XI. 46—48, 1861.)

Review of Grundtvig's 'Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser', Band III, Kjöbenhavn, 1858, and of R. C. A. Prior's 'Ancient Danish Ballads', 3 vols. London, 1860. Unsigned. Includes a verse translation by Stokes of the ballad *Swayne Dyring he rode away, away* 'taken with many alterations from one that appeared in Fraser's Magazine for June, 1852'.

## 1862

The Passion, a Middle-Cornish poem, transcribed and translated, from a British Museum MS., Harl. N. 1782, by Whitley Stokes Esq. (Appendix to Philological Society Transactions for 1860-1, p. 1—100.)

Issued separately with title "Pascon agan Arluth. The Passion of Our Lord. A Middle-Cornish Poem, edited, with a translation and notes by W. S." 8vo, Berlin, 1862. Corrigenda in Kuhn's Beiträge V. 252, 1867.

The Play of the Sacrament, a Middle-English Drama, edited from a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with a Preface and Glossary, by Whitley Stokes, Esq. (Appendix to Philological Society Transactions for 1860-1, p. 101—152, [1862].)

Three Irish Glossaries. Cormac's Glossary, Codex A. (from a Manuscript in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy), O'Davoren's Glossary (from a Manuscript in the Library of the British Museum), and a Glossary to the Calendar of Oingus the Culdee (from a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin). With a Preface and Index by W. S. 8vo, lxxx + 168 pp., London, Williams and Norgate, 1862.

R. I. A. MS. = H. & S. No. 224. S. 3. 67 (Leabhar Breac). Brit. Mus. MS. = Egerton 88. T. C. D. MS. = H. 3. 18.

The Preface includes a list of Latin loan words, words illustrating Irish civilization, notes on the mythology and superstitions of Ireland, the following tales and legends, text and translation: Story of Nede mac Adnai from Yellow Book of Lecan, col. 47; The eight parts of Adam, from Brit. Mus. Add. 4783, fol. 7, p. 1; Cormac and the Badgers, from H. 3. 18 p. 42, T. C. D.; Story of Mugh-Eime, etc.

Preface dated Dublin, October 1861. Dedication "To George Petrie LL. D. Archaeologist, Painter, Musician, Man of Letters, as such, and for himself revered and loved".

Cornisches. (Kuhn's Beiträge III. 151—59, 1862.)

1. Die declinationen. 2. Reste von casusbildungen in substantiven. 3. Der artikel. 4. Die pronomina possessiva. 5. Die conjugationsclassen. 6. Die dritte person sing. imperativi activi. Dated, August 1861.

Zur vergleichenden syntax. (*Ibid.* III. 159—161, 1862.)

Dated, Juli 1861.

The Play of the Sacrament. (Saturday Rev. XIII. 159—61, 1862.)

An account of Stokes' forthcoming edition in the Transactions of the Philological Society. Unsigned.

### 1863

Madras High Court Reports. By Whitley Stokes, I. M. C. Mills, & P. O'Sullivan. 7 vols. 8vo, Madras, 1863 *etc.*

### 1864

Gwreans an Bys. The Creation of the World, a Cornish mystery, edited, with a translation and notes, by Whitley Stokes, Esq. 8vo, 208 pp. Published for the Philological Society by A. Asher & Co., Berlin.

Forms Pt IV. of the Transactions of the Phil. Society for 1864. Issued separately with imprint of Williams and Norgate, 1864.

Corrigenda in Kuhn's Beiträge V. 254—5, 1867.

### 1865

The Indian Succession Act, 1865 (Act X. of 1865), with a commentary; and the Parsee Succession Act 1865, Acts XII. and XIII. of 1855, and the Acts relating to the Administrator-General, with Notes. 8vo, *Calcutta*, 1865.

Die glossen und verse in dem codex des Juvencus zu Cambridge. (Kuhn's Beiträge IV. 385—423, 1865.)

Anhang: 1. Bemerkungen zu der ausgabe der Oxforder glossen von Zeuss. Bibl. Bodl. Auct. F. 4—32. 2. Die mittelwelschen glossen im Cott. Vesp. A. XIV (Mus. Brit.) fo. 11a. Dated, *Madras*, 8 october 1864.

Addenda in Band V. 142—3. Dated, *Calcutta*, Weihnachten 1865.



Hindu Law Books. The Vyavahāra Mayūkha, translated by Borradaile; the Daya Bhāga of Jimūta Vāhana and the Law of Inheritance, from the Mitaksharā translated by Colebrooke; the Dattakā Mīmāṃsā and the Dattakā Chandrikā, translated by Sutherland. Edited, with notes and an Index, by Whitley Stokes. 4to, *Madras*, 1865.

## 1866

Goidilica, [sic] or Notes on the Gaelic Manuscripts preserved at Turin, Milan, Berne, Leyden, the Monastery of S. Paul, Carinthia, and Cambridge, with eight Hymns from the Liber Hymnorum, and the Old-Irish Notes in the Book of Armagh. Edited by W.S.

*Devīm vācam ājanayanta devāḥ*. — Rv. VIII, 89, 11.

*Calcutta*, privately printed for the Editor by the Calcutta Central Press Company, Limited. 8vo, viii + 108 pp., 1866.

The Irish texts accompanied by translations and Index Verborum. Dated *Calcutta*, 28th April 1866. "... the first stone of the cairn which I hope to raise to the memory of my beloved friend and teacher Siegfried."

Aus einem Briefe von Mr. Whitley Stokes. (Kuhn's Beitr. V. 114, 1866.)

On Flechia's paper on the Novarese inscription.

The Indian Companies' Act, with Notes, 1866.

## 1867

A Collection of Statutes relating to India passed between the years 1855 and 1867 (both inclusive), being a supplement to "The Law relating to India and the East India Company" (fifth edition). Edited with an index to the Statutes relating to India not expressly repealed, by W. Stokes (Legislative Council House). 4to, *Calcutta*, Superintendent of Government Printing, 1867, 238 pp.

Remarks on a lately published Middle-Breton Mystery. By Whitley Stokes, Esq. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1867, 22—41, 1867.)

A review of "Le Grand Mystère de Jésus, Passion et Résurrection, Drame Breton du moyen-âge . . . Par le Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué. Paris, 1865." Dated, 30th June, 1866.

A German edition appeared in Kuhn's Beiträge V. 213—34, 1867. Dated, Simla, 30 juni 1866.

Corrigenda [Passion of our Lord, 1862, Creation of the World, 1864]. (Kuhn's Beiträge V. 252—55, 1867.)

Dated, 1 September 1866.

The Middle-Breton Irregular Verbs. By Whitley Stokes. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1867, 114—166, 1867.)

I. The Verb Substantive. II. The verb 'to have'. III. Doen 'to bring'. IV. Donet 'to come'. V. Monet 'to go'. VI. Ober 'to do'. VII. Reiff 'to go'. Dated, 31st July, 1866.

A German edition appeared under title: "Die mittelbretonischen unregelmässigen verba" in Kuhn's Beiträge V. 306—62. Dated, Simla, 31 Juli 1866. And Corrigenda to same in Band VI. 248—49. Dated, Calcutta, weihnachten 1868.

### 1868

Miscellanea Celtica, by the late R. T. Siegfried. Collected, arranged, and edited by Whitley Stokes. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1867, 252—304 [1868].)

Dated, Calcutta, 6th February 1867. "In tánaise arténe for lige m'anamcharat, inso síis."

A German edition (abridged) appeared under title: Miscellanea Celtica, von dem verstorbenen R. T. Siegfried. Gesammelt, geordnet und herausgegeben von Whitley Stokes, in Kuhn's Beiträge VI. 1—18, 1868.

Zwei altceltische bilinguals. (Kuhn's Beitr. V. 362—67, 1868.)

On the inscriptions of St. Dogmael and Killeen Cormac. Dated, Simla, aug. 1866.

Miscellanea Cornica. (Kuhn's Beitr. V. 445—54, 1868.)

Dated, Simla, mai 1867.

Cornisch *f* im inlaut. (*Ibid.* V. 455, 1868.)

Dated, Simla, 17 juli 1867.

Sanas Chormaic. Cormac's Glossary, translated and annotated by the late John O'Donovan, LL. D. Edited, with Notes and Indices, by Whitley Stokes, LL. D. 4to, xii + 204 pp., Calcutta, printed by O. T. Cutter for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1868.

The text of the lemmas is from Leabar Brecc, printed in *Three Irish Glossaries*, 1862, with Additional Articles from the Yellow Book of Lecan, here printed and translated for the first time by the editor. Preface dated Calcutta, Christmas, 1868. Colophon: In tris artéine for lige m'anamcharat .i. Rudolf Tomás Siegfried, inso súas.

### 1869

A Collection of Statutes relating to India, passed between the years 1855 and 1869 . . . being a supplement to "The Law relating to India and the East India Company" (fifth edition). Edited, with an Index . . . by W. Stokes. 4to, Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, 1869.

## 1870

- A Cornish Glossary. By Whitley Stokes Esq. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1868-9, 137—250, 1870.)

"Intended as a supplement to the Rev. Robert Williams' *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* (Llandovery, 1865), and contains about 2000 words..."

- Note on Endlicher's Gaulish Glossary. By Whitley Stokes, Esq. (*Ibid.* 1868-9, 251—4, 1870.)

Dated, Calcutta, November 1867.

Appeared in German under title: Endlicher's glossar, in Kuhn's Beiträge VI. 227—31, 1869(?) before the English original. Dated, Calcutta, december 1867.

- The Accusative Plural in the British Languages. (*Ibid.* 1868-9, 255—6, 1870.)

Dated, Calcutta, Christmas 1869.

Appeared in German under title: Der accusativ pluralis in den britischen sprachen, in Kuhn's Beiträge VII. 69—71, 1871. Dated, Calcutta, weihnachten 1869.

- Fis Adamnain. Slicht Libair na Huidre. Adamnán's Vision transcribed and translated from the Book of the Dun Cow. With Notes. Fifty copies privately printed. sm. 4to, 42 pp., *Simla*, printed at the Station Press by J. Elston, MDCCCLXX.

Preface signed W. S., Simla, in the Panjáb: 20th April, 1870.

- Mythological Notes. (Rev. Celt. I. 256—62, 1870.)

I. The *Luchorpán* (Senchas Már I. 70, 71; LU. 2a, De senchas na torothor). II. The *Rosult* (LL. 118a2, Dinds. Mag Murisci). III. Names for "God". IV. *Cenn Cruaich* (Rawl. 505, 175 b). Spirits speaking from weapons (LU. 43a). V. The Bull-feast (LU. 46). VI. *Man octi-partite*.

## 1871

- The Manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels. (Rev. Celt. I. 332-45, 1871.)

Text with Glossarial Index to the Celtic words. Dated, Dublin, November 20, 1871.

- Das altirische verbum. (Kuhn's Beitr. VI. 459—74, 1870; VII. 1—69, 1871.)

Dated, Simla, October 1869.

Corrigenda and Addenda. (*Ibid.* VII. 253—56, 1872.) Dated, Dublin, december 1871.

- The Bodleian Fragment of Cormac's Glossary. By Whitley Stokes, LL. D. (Read before the Royal Irish Academy, 30th November, 1871.) 8vo, 19 pp.

The Irish text only. Intended for the Irish Manuscripts Series of the Academy, but not published.

List of the Unrepealed Acts relating to British India. 3 parts. fol. Calcutta, 1871.

Signed, The 8th April 1871, W. S.

### 1872

Le Catholicon de J. Lagadenc. (Rev. Celt. I. 394—9, 1872.)

A collation, with note by H. Gaidoz. Dated, Simla, 19 Avril 1870.

Goidelica. Old and Early-Middle-Irish Glosses, Prose and Verse.

Edited by Whitley Stokes. Second Edition. 8vo, 184 pp., London, Trübner and Co., 1872.

I. *Glosses*: The Turin Glosses. Extracts from the Milan Codex. The Vienna Glosses. The Nancy Glosses. The Gloss in Mac Durnan's Gospels. The Berne Glosses. The Leyden Glosses. The Glosses in the Southampton Psalter. The Irish Glosses on the Latin Hymns in the Trinity College *Liber Hymnorum*. Dúil Laithne. II. *Prose*: The Irish Notes in the Book of Armagh. The Irish Prefaces to the Latin Hymns in the Trinity College *Liber Hymnorum*. The Gaelic in the Book of Deir. III. *Verses*: The Irish Hymns in the Trinity College *Liber Hymnorum*: Colmán's Hymn. Fiacc's Hymn. Niníne's Prayer. Ultán's Hymn in praise of Brigit. Broccán's Hymn in praise of Brigit. Sanctán's Hymn [Text]. Patrick's Hymn. The Amra Choluimbchille [Text]. Adamnán's Prayer [Text]. Maelisú's Hymn. Quatrain on the Apostles. — The Poems in the Monastery of St. Paul, Carinthia. The Verses in the Codex Boernerianus.

Beunans Meriasek. The Life of Saint Meriasek, Bishop and Confessor. A Cornish drama. Edited with a translation and notes, by Whitley Stokes. 8vo, xvi + 280 pp., London, Trübner and Co., 1872.

Preface dated 5, Merrion-Square, North, Dublin, December 14, 1871.

Further Corrigenda and Addenda [to above]. 8vo, 14 pp. August 22, 1872.

Fionn's Conversation with Ailbhe.

Transcription of Irish text from H. 1. 15 (653) printed in J. F. Campbell's *Leabhar na Feinne*. Vol. I. fol. London, 1872, p. 151. Portion of the *Tochmarc Ailbe*.

### 1873

The Klosterneuburg Incantation. (Rev. Celt. II. 112—115, 1873).

The Irish text with commentary, and emended version of Ebel's Latin translation. Dated, Calcutta, Jan. 18, 1873.

The Old-Welsh Glosses on Martianus Capella [with Index]. (Archaeologia Cambrensis Ser. 4. Vol. IV. 1—21, 1873.)

Dated Screw-Steamer *Surat*, between Aden and Bombay: 4th March 1872.

The Old-Welsh Glosses on Martianus Capella, with some Notes on the Juvenius-Glosses. (Kuhn's Beitr. VII. 385—416, 1873).

Dated, 4 March 1872. The Glosses on Martiannus Capella are reprinted from above with omission of Index.

Zum keltischen passivum. (Aus einem briefe von herrn Whitley Stokes, d. d. Simla in the Pañgab 9th May 1872.) (Kuhn's Beitr. VII. 467, 1873.)

## 1874

Mythological Notes. (Rev. Celt. II. 197—203, 1874.)

VII. Labraid Lorc and his ears. Text and transl. from Yellow Book of Lecan (col. 690, 691). VIII. Cred's pregnancy. Text and transl. from Lebar Brecc (p. 88). IX. Souls in forms of birds. X. Human sacrifice [Ódrán's]. XI. Waves. XII. Lycanthropy. Passages from Lebor na hUidre (p. 36 b) and Bk. of Ballymote (140 b) with transl. Addenda.

Welsh words borrowed from Latin, etc. (Archaeologia Cambrensis V. 4th Ser. Note 39 p. 258—9, 1874.)

The Older Statutes in force in India. Edited with Notes by W. Stokes. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1874.

Statutes passed before 1726. Preface signed Whitley Stokes, *Calcutta*, 25th April 1874. See under 1881.

Some Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius' Greek Etymology. By Whitley Stokes, Vice-President of the Philological Society, and Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society. 8vo, 39 pp., *Calcutta*, 1874.

On the Celtic additions by Ernst Windisch, p. 36—380. Corrigenda to Goidelica, 2nd Ed. Dated, *Calcutta*, June 1st, 1874.

Reprinted in Kuhn's Beiträge VIII. 301—55, 476, 1875. Dated, *Calcutta*, June 1st, 1874.

## 1875

Remarks on the Facsimiles published by the Royal Irish Academy. A letter to the Chairman of the Committee of Polite Literature and Antiquities, by Whitley Stokes, Vice-President of the Philological Society and Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society. 8vo, 22 pp., *Simla*, 1875.

'Yet progress means contention, to my mind'. *Aristophanes' Apology*.

Addressed to Mr (afterwards Sir) Samuel Ferguson. The Facsimiles are those of the Lebor na hUidre and the Lebar Brecc. Lists of Corrigenda are given.

Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius' Greek Etymology, and on the Celtic comparisons in Bopp's Comparative Grammar, with notes on some recent Irish publications. By Whitley Stokes. 8vo, *Calcutta*, 1875, 98 pp.

"Why, the healthy progress of science depends on antagonism: it is by flails of disputation that the truth is threshed out." *The Ibis*, July 1874, p. 176.

*Appendix A.* Mr. Crowe's Publications: I. *Scéla na Esérge*, 1861. II. *Aided Echach maic Máireda*, 1870. III. *Siaburcharpat Con-Culaind*, 1871. IV. *Echtra Condla Cain*, 1874. V. *Táin Bó Fráich*, 1877. VI. *Amra Coluimchille*, 1871. *Appendix B.* Facsimiles of Neo-Celtic Texts: Facs. of part of the Book of Chad in the *Liber Landavensis* p. 273; Facs. of *Lebor na hUidre*, *Lebar Brecc*, Part I. *Appendix C.* Mr. Hennessy's paper on the Irish Goddess of War (*Rev. Celt.* I. 32—57). *Appendix D.* *Goidelica*, 2nd ed. *Appendix E.* Additional Old-British Glosses. *Appendix F.* Corrigenda to the Old-British Glosses published by Zeuss. *Appendix G.* Irish Glosses in Parker, No. 279 (*Corpus Christi Coll. Camb.*). *Appendix H.* O'Curry's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, and O'Sullivan's Glossarial Index. Indexes.

*Appendix C* reprinted in *Rev. Celtique* II. 489—92, 1875. The Notes on Bopp's Comparative Grammar, and *Appendix H* reprinted in *Rev. Celtique* III. 31—9. 90—101, 1876.

A Middle-Irish Homily on S. Martin of Tours. (*Rev. Celt.* II. 381—402, 1875.)

Text from *Lebar Brecc* (p. 59a) with translation. Dated, *Calcutta*, June 1874. Corrigenda III. 152.

A conjectural emendation of Pliny. (*Ibid.* II. 407, 1875.)

A note on *asiam* = *sasiam*.

Review of E. Windisch's *Verlust und Auftreten des p in den celtischen Sprachen*. (*Ibid.* II. 408—11, 1875.)

The Unrepealed General Acts of the Governor-General in Council, 1834-1876; with chronological table, *etc.* [edited by Whitley Stokes]. 3 vols. 8vo, *Calcutta*, 1875, 1876.

## 1876

Middle-Breton Hours. Edited, with a Translation and Glossarial Index, by Whitley Stokes. 8vo, [4] + 102 pp., *Calcutta*, 1876.

Preface dated *Calcutta*: 31st March 1876.

Cornica. (*Rev. Celt.* III. 85—86, 1876.)

I. *Durdala*, *Dursona*. II. Cornish in the Vatican. Glosses in the Commentary on Merlin's *Prophetia* MS. 8 Ottob. 1474. III. A Cornish Life of S. Columba.

- The Madras Code: consisting of the unrepealed Madras Regulations, and acts of the Supreme Council relating solely to Madras, and Acts of the Governor of Fort St. George in Council; with chronological table. [Edited by Whitley Stokes.] 8vo, *Calcutta*, 1876.

## 1877

- Three Middle-Irish Homilies on the Lives of Saints Patrick, Brigit and Columba. Edited by Whitley Stokes. (One hundred copies privately printed.) 8vo, 12 + 140 pp., *Calcutta*, 1877.

Text from the Leabar Brecc, with translation, indices, and glossary. Preface dated February 28th, 1877. "Dedicated to Professor Ernst Windisch, from whom I have already learnt much and hope to learn more."

- Three additional notes on Ogham Inscriptions at Monataggart, Co. Cork. Communicated by Samuel Ferguson, LL. D. III. Note on Monataggart Ogham Inscription by Whitley Stokes, LL. D., *Calcutta*. (R. I. A. Proc. 2 Ser. I. 353, 1877.)

- Cuchulainn's Death. Abridged from the Book of Leinster, ff. 77 a 1—78 b 2. (Rev. Celt. III. 175—185, 1877.)

Irish text and translation. Dated 25 Sept. 1874.

- On the Gaelic Names in the Landnamabok and Runic Inscriptions. (*Ibid.* III. 186—191, 1877.)

Dated, *Calcutta*, April 5, 1876.

- The Leabhar Breac. Facsimile Ed. 1872, 1875. (*Ibid.* III. 274—8, 1877.)

A Criticism of the Description of the Contents prefixed to the R. I. A. facsimile edition. Dated, *Calcutta*, Christmas 1876.

- The Oudh Code: consisting of the Bengal Regulations, and of the local acts of the Governor-General in Council in force in Oudh. [Edited by Whitley Stokes.] 8vo, *Calcutta*, 1877.

- The Indian Limitation Act, being Act of 1877, to which is added an Appendix containing . . . the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Stokes on the passing of the bill . . . by D. E. Cranenburgh. 8vo, *Calcutta*, [1877?].

## 1878

- A Parallel. (Rev. Celt. III. 443—4, 1878.)

The Story of Brigit and Beccán from Leabar Brecc (63b), with translation. Dated, Simla, April 1877.

The Panjáb Code: consisting of the Bengal Regulations, and local acts of the Governor-General in Council in force in the Panjáb. [Edited by W. S.] 8vo, *Calcutta*, 1878.

## 1879

Old-Breton Glosses. Edited by Whitley Stokes, Correspondant de l'Institut de France. (Fifty copies privately printed.) 8vo, vi + 24 pp., *Calcutta*, 1879.

The Glosses from (1) Berne Scholia on Vergil, Codex 167, (2) Amalarius 'De divinis officiis' (Corpus Christi Coll. Cambr. No. 192), (3) Colatio Canonum (Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 12021; Bodl. MS. Hatton 42; Brit. Mus. MS. Otho E. XIII.; Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 3182). With commentary and index. Preface dated Simla, 21st October 1879.

Reprinted in *Rev. Celt.* IV. 324—48, 1880.

The Ajmer Code: consisting of the Bengal Regulations and Local Acts of the Governor-General in Council in force in Ajmer and Merwára, regulations made therefor under the thirty-third of Victoria, cap. 3, and Notifications under the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874, relating thereto. [Edited by W. S.] 8vo, iv + 193 pp., *Calcutta*, 1879.

## 1880

Tidings of Doomsday. An Early-Middle-Irish Homily. (*Rev. Celt.* IV. 245—57, 479, 1880.)

Text of *Secla Láí Bratha* from *Lebar na hUidre* (p. 31—34) with translation.

Cornica. (*Ibid.* IV. 258—64, 1880).

IV. The fragments of a drama in Add. Ch. 19, 491, *Mus. Brit.* Text, transl., and notes. V. Cornish phrases, with notes, [from *Borde's Introduction of Knowledge*]. VI. *Poli*, *poly*.

The Breton Glosses at Orleans. Edited by Whitley Stokes. (Fifty copies privately printed.) 8vo, ix + 77 pp., *Calcutta*, 1880.

The Old-Breton glosses contained in a Latin MS. No. 193, written chiefly by one Iunobrus, and preserved in the Library at Orleans. Edited with a Commentary and Indexes. Dated, Simla, 26th October 1880. See 1883.

On the Calendar of Oengus. By Whitley Stokes, LL. D. (Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. Irish Manuscript Series. Vol. I. June 1880. 4to, 32 + ccclii pp., *Dublin*, 1880.

Read November 13, 1871. A four-text edition of the Calendar, from Rawlinson B 505 fol. 211—20, Rawl. B 512 fol. 53a—56b, Laud 610 fol. 59a1—72a, *Lebar Brecc* p. 75—106 (Facs.), with translation at foot



of page. The Notes and glosses from the Lebar Brecc, comprising legends, poems, etc., with translation. An introduction upon the language, metre, scholia, etc., Glossarial Index, and Index of Persons and Places. See also below 1883, 1905.

The Coorg Code: consisting of the Local Acts of the Governor-General in Council, and of the Governor of Fort St. George in Council in force in Coorg, and the Land-Revenue regulation made therefor under the thirty-third of Victoria, cap. 3. [Edited by W. S.] 8vo, 6 + 99 pp., *Calcutta*, 1880.

The Bombay Code: consisting of the unrepealed Bombay Regulations, Acts of the Supreme Council relating solely to Bombay and Acts of the Governor of Bombay in Council. With chronological table. [Edited by W. S.] 8vo, xxiv + 774 pp., *Calcutta*, 1880.

### 1881

Four new Gaulish Inscriptions. (Rev. Celt. V. 116—21, 1881.)

I. Inscription of Nêris-les-Bains (Allier). II. Inscription of Bavai. III. Inscription of Nîmes. IV. Inscription of Gargas (Vaucluse). Dated, Simla, 21 March 1881.

A Collection of Statutes relating to India. In two volumes. [With Supplement.] 8vo, 3 vols. *Calcutta*, Superintendent of Government Printing, 1881.

The Statutes from 1285 to 1881. Vol. I contains preface signed Whitley Stokes, Simla, 18th July 1881, also Preface to the First edition (1874), signed Whitley Stokes, *Calcutta*, 25th April 1874.

The Central Provinces Code: consisting of the Bengal Regulations and Local Acts of the Governor-General in Council in force in the Central Provinces. [Edited by W. S.] 8vo, vi + 253 pp., *Calcutta*, 1881.

The Irish Passages in the Stowe Missal. Edited by Whitley Stokes. (Fifty copies privately printed.) 8vo, 22 pp., *Calcutta*, 1881.

Text, translation, and notes. Dated, *Calcutta*, Christmas 1880. Reprinted in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* XXVI. 497—519. See 1883.

### 1882

Togail Troi. The Destruction of Troy. Transcribed from the Facsimile of the Book of Leinster and translated with a Glossarial Index of the rarer words, by Whitley Stokes, Correspondent of the Institute of France and Honorary

Member of the German Oriental Society. (Seventy copies privately printed.) 8vo, xvi + 180 pp., *Calcutta*, 1881 [Wrapper dated 1882].

The Irish text from LL. 217 a—244 b, and 406 b—408 b. Preface with analysis of phonetic and grammatical forms. Dedicatory Letter to Professor Sophus Bugge, Christiania, dated *Calcutta*, November 23rd, 1881, and the following colophon: *Atá indopair beccso iarnacrichnugud isimla itir nacóicabann anóenmad lá fichet domis septimbir inbhladaín dáes crist mdccclxxxi lasin mac sinem uilliam stokes ardlega hérenn innaaimsirsom, óbaliu átha cliath duiblinne. 7 istromm mochride arismarb mobanchélese rocharfad inlebránsó. 7 isgalrach mingen báid beccsa .i. medb. 7 itili mocharait maib acht itúati mocharait bli. 7 istrug hériu tri intleda 7 bréic 7 fingail 7 sáraighthiu dogníat drochdóini etir saxanchu 7 hérennchu . . .* Corrigenda in *Rev. Celtique* V. 401—04, 1883. See below.

Review of Vittorio Poggi's 'Contribuzioni alla studio della epigrafia etrusca, 1879'. (*Rev. Celt.* V. 228—229, 1882.)

Dated, Simla, 29 May 1881.

Review of E. Windisch's "Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch, Leipzig, 1880". (*Ibid.* V. 230—55, 1882, 507—08, 1883.)

Dated, Simla, 24 April 1881.

Review of H. Zimmer's "Keltische Studien. Erstes Heft. Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch von E. Windisch". (*Ibid.* V. 255—65, 1882.)

Dated, Simla, October 3, 1881.

### 1883

The Saltair na Rann. A collection of Early Middle Irish Poems. Edited from MS. Rawl. B. 502, in the Bodleian Library, by Whitley Stokes, LL.D., Honorary Fellow of Jesus College. (Anecdota Oxoniensia. Mediaeval and Modern Ser. Vol. I. Part III.) 4to, vi + 155 pp., *Oxford*, at the Clarendon Press, 1883.

Preface and Index Verborum. Text untranslated. Corrigenda in *Academy* XXIV. 31—2. See below.

On the Calendar of Oengus. (*Rev. Celt.* V. 339—380, 1883.)

"A recast of the preface to the work published by the R. I. Academy, carefully revised for the *Revue* by Mr. Wh. Stokes. — Ed."

Dated, *Oxford*, 6th June 1882.

Irish Folklore. (*Ibid.* V. 391—2, 1883.)

1. The Cause of toothache. Dated, *Calcutta*, 19th Feb. 1882.

Another Parallel. (*Ibid.* V. 393—4, 1883.)

Passages in the Lives of Columcille and Patrick compared with a Buddhistic Legend. See also 1878.

Addenda et Corrigenda to *Togail Troi*. (*Ibid.* V. 401—04, 1883.)  
Dated, 9 Crick Road, Oxford, June 1882.

Emendations of "Saltair na Rann". (*Academy* XXIV. 31—2, 1883.)

The Colours of the Winds. (*Ibid.* XXIV. 114, 1883.)

On a passage in *Saltair na Rann*. Dated, Carrig Breac, Howth: Aug. 13, 1883.

A Passage in "Troilus and Cressida". (*Ibid.* XXIV. 351, 1883.)  
Dated, Leipzig, Nov. 18, 1883.

Celtic Calendars. (*Ibid.* XXIV. 435, 1883.)

On the Carlsruhe Bede Calendar. Dated, Queen Anne's Mansions, Dec. 20, 1883.

D'Arbois' Catalogue of Irish MSS. (*Ibid.* XXIV. 435—6, 1883.)  
A notice of *Essai d'un Catalogue de la Littérature épique d'Irlande*.

The Breton Glosses at Orleans. (*Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* XXVI. 425—97, 1883.)

Dated, Simla, 26th October 1880. A reprint of the Calcutta ed. 1880, with Breton Index only. The following Note is appended. "Since the above was written, Mr. Bradshaw has re-examined the original manuscript, corrected his readings of the glosses respectively numbered 55, 118, 136, 245, 276, and added three fragments. These corrections and additions appear in the paper as now printed. W. S. Oxford, 6th June 1882."

The Irish Passages in the Stowe Missal. (*Ibid.* XXVI. 497—519, 1883.)

Dated, Calcutta, Christmas 1880. Text with translation and commentary. The following note is appended: "Nachschrift der Redaktion. Die vorstehenden beiden abhandlungen sind schon 1880 und 1881 zu Calcutta in einer beschränkten anzahl von exemplaren zu privater vertheilung gedruckt worden (vergl. J. Loth, *Revue Celtique* V. 104—115 und L. Duchesne ebd. 145), wurden jedoch vom herrn verfasser für den abdruck in dieser zeitschrift einer eingehenden revision unterzogen."

#### 1884

The Destruction of Troy. (Irische Texte mit Übersetzung und Wörterbuch herausgegeben von Wh. Stokes und E. Windisch. Zweite Serie. 1. Heft. 8vo, Leipzig, Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1884. p. 1—142.)

The Irish text of *Togail Troi* from H. 2. 17 Trin. Coll. with English translation and notes. Corrigenda in Dritte Serie 1. Heft p. 282.

Extracts from the Franciscan *Liber Hymnorum*. (*Rev. Celt.* VI. 264—66, 1884.)

Preface to *Benedicite opera omnia*. Preface to *Quicumque vult*. Text and translation. Dated, October 1883.

Mythological Notes. (*Ibid.* VI. 267—69, 1884).

XIII. Magonia. XIV. The Hrungrir-Saga. Text and translation of the Combat of Munreimar and Cúrói from Leabar na hUidre. Dated, 3 Jan. 1884.

Étymologies Grecques. (Mém. de la Soc. de Ling. V. 419—21, 1884.)

1. *πέρω*. 2. *αὐλός*.

Hiberno-Greek. (Academy XXV. 12, 1884.)

On a passage in the Karlsruhe codex of Beda's *De Temporum Ratione*. Dated, Queen Anne's Mansions: Dec. 31, 1883.

Latin Etymologies. (*Ibid.* XXV. 32, 1884.)

*Lautia*, *laurus*, *larix*. Dated, Queen Anne's Mansions S. W. Jan. 6, 1884.

"The Sea-blue Bird of March". (*Ibid.* XXV. 114, 1884.)

On a line in *In Memoriam* XCI. Dated, Feb. 6, 1884.

Curiosities of Official Scholarship. (*Ibid.* XXVI. 219. 272, 1884.)

Letters on some errors and mistranslations in (1) "Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other Early Memorials of Scottish History", (2) Gilbert's "Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland".

Man Octipartite. From the Middle-Irish. Cod. Clarend. Mus. Brit. vol. XV. (*Ibid.* XXVI. 236, 1884.)

Verse translation 'Thus sang the sages of the Gael'.

King Ailill's Death. (*Ibid.* XXVI. 375, 1884.)

Verse translation from the Early-Middle-Irish. Book of Leinster fo. 214a (facs. p. 303), col. 2. A "rough draft of this translation appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* for June 1861".

The accentuation of the Old-Irish Verb. (*Ibid.* XXVI. 358—60, 380, 1884.)

Review of Thurneysen's *L'accentuation de l'ancien verbe irlandais* and Zimmer's *Keltische Studien*, 2. Heft: *Über Altirische Betonung und Verskunst*.

Eucharistic usage in the ancient Irish Church. (*Ibid.* XXVI. 394—5, 1884.)

On the mixing of water with wine. Dated London, Nov. 24, 1884.

## 1885

On the Metre *Rinnard* and the Calendar of Oengus as illustrating the Irish Verbal Accent. (Rev. Celt. VI. 273—97, 1885.)

Contains the text of Fiac's Hymn *Genair Patraic in-Nenthur*.

On Irish Metric. (*Ibid.* VI. 298—308, 1885.)

A Critical Notice of "On Irish Metric, an inaugural Lecture on Celtic Philology, delivered March 11th, 1884, in Trinity College, Dublin, by Robert Atkinson, *Dublin*, 1884."

Remarks on Mr. Fitzgerald's Early Celtic History and Mythology. (*Ibid.* VI. 358—70, 1885.)

Contains a criticism of O'Curry's translation of the Calendar of Oengus.

Keltic Etymologies. (Bezenberger's Beiträge IX. 86—92, 1885.)

1. Ir. *dinne* 'fundament'. 2. Ir. *ae* 'nepos'. 3. Ir. *bai*, *bac* 'utilitas'. 4. Ir. *béim* i. *céim* 'a step'. 5. Ir. *bél* 'mouth, lip'. 6. Corn. *bern* (gl. *acervus*). 7. Ir. *brath* i. *milleadh* 'destruction'. 8. Ir. *breg* 'schön'. 9. Ir. *breifeach* i. *slabradh* 'chain'. 10. Ir. *bruinne* 'breast'. 11. Ir. *cacht* 'bondmaid'. 12. Ir. *cái* 'ivit'. 13. W. *ceinach* 'lepus'. 14. Ir. *ceildach* 'fighting or contention'. 15. Ir. *certle* (gl. *glomus*). 16. Ir. *cor* 'wurf, werfen'. 17. Ir. *crúach* 'cumulus'. 18. Ir. *dair* 'quercus'. 19. W. *datlocou* (gl. *fora*). 20. Ir. *de* 'eorum'. 21. Ir. *dénim* 'facio'. 22. Ir. *drúth* 'scurra'. 23. Ir. *duma* 'mound'. 24. Three Irish interjections: *é*, *fe*, *ích*. 25. Ir. *erud* 'fear'. 26. Ir. *fésóc* 'beard'. 27. Ir. *fine* i. *pectha* 'sins'. 28. Ir. *foil* 'astutus'. 29. Ir. *fo-lach* 'verhüllen, verdecken'. 30. Ir. *fracc* i. *ben* 'woman' no *snathat* or 'needle'. 31. Ir. *fulici* (leg. *fulice*) 'swaddling-clothes'. 32. W. *gau*, Ir. *gó* 'false'. 33. Ir. *glaine gáithe* 'stillness of wind'. 34. W. *he-no* 'to-night'. 35. Ir. *iadaim* 'schliesse'. 36. Ir. *lachtoc* 'lactuca'. 37. Ir. *lem* 'elm'. 38. Ir. *lipting* 'taffrail'. 39. *loth* 'flood'. 40. Ir. *mál* 'a noble, prince'. 41. W. *mann geni* 'naevus'. 42. Ir. *martad* 'killing'. 43. Ir. *mescaid* 'plunges'. 44. Ir. *muimne* 'nutrix'. 45. Ir. *muin* 'affection, desire'. 46. Ir. *náthar* gen. dual of 'nos'. 47. Ir. *onn* 'a stone'. 48. W. *periglor* 'a priest'. 49. Ir. *salland* 'to sing'. 50. Ir. *sar* gen. of *si* 'vos'. 51. Ir. *serrcend*, *seirgend*. 52. Ir. *sním* 'spinning'. 53. Ir. *storgan*, *sturgan* 'a pipe'. 54. Ir. *tir* 'dry'. 55. Ir. *tocad* i. *tecmang* 'prosperity'. 56. Ir. *tomm* 'a bush'. 57. Ir. *tuáre* 'food'. 58. Ir. *uamond* 'skin'. 59. Ir. *uide* 'reise, journey'. Dated, September 1883.

Gaul. *amella*. (*Ibid.* IX. 194, 1885.)

A note.

The Old-Irish Verb Substantive. (Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XXVIII. 55—109. 216, 1885.)

Dated, London, S. W. 15 Grenville Place, Nov. 20, 1884. Appeared under title 'The Neo-Celtic Verb Substantive' in Philological Soc. Trans. 1885—7. Dated, October, 1885. See 1886.

Valerius Flaccus. (Academy XXVII. 11—12, 1885.)

On a passage in the Book of Armagh founded on a verse of Valerius Flaccus. Dated, London, Dec. 24, 1884.

A Translation. Quatrains from Omar Khayyám. (*Ibid.* XXVII. 44, 1885.)

Verse. 1. Death. 2. God. 3. Conduct. 4. Consolation.

Parting Lovers. A Translation [in verse]. From the Servian. (*Ibid.* XXVII. 116, 1885.)

Lament for King Ivor. (*Ibid.* XXVII. 205, 1885.)

An original poem.

On a "Bhaumayantra". (*Ibid.* XXVII. 245, 1885.)

Description of a *yantra* in the writer's possession.

Windisch's Irish Texts. (*Ibid.* XXVII. 262—3. 349, 1885.)

On a Review of above by Prof. Rhys, together with some corrigenda.

The Old-Irish Glosses on the St. Gall Priscian. (*Ibid.* XXVII. 370, 1885.)

Glosses omitted by Ascoli in his edition, together with some corrigenda. Dated, Leipzig: 27 April 1885.

Irish Lexicography. (*Ibid.* XXVIII. 138, 1885.)

Dated, London, Aug. 21, 1885 on Atkinson's "Irish Lexicography", 1884.

Sitting Dharna. (*Ibid.* XXVIII. 169, 1885.)

Comparison of the Indian and Irish practice of fasting upon a person.

Dated, London, Sep. 6, 1885.

Curiosities of Official Scholarship. (*Ibid.* XXVIII. 204—05, 1885.)

A criticism of the edition of the Crith Gablach in Ancient Laws of Ireland Vol. IV. Dated, London: Sept. 11, 1885.

The Galatian "Imbrehton". (*Ibid.* XXVIII. 226, 1885.)

On ἑμβρεκτόν (Hesychius). Dated, London, Sept. 15, 1888.

Cairn-Burial. (*Ibid.* XXVIII. 257, 1885.)

Dated, London, Oct. 8, 1885.

On the Text of the Senchas Már. (*Ibid.* XXVIII. 376—8, 1885.)

A criticism of Vol. I of the Ancient Laws of Ireland, with list of Corrigenda. Dated, London, Nov. 22, 1885.

The Abbots of Bangor. (*Ibid.* XXVIII. 412—13, 1885.)

The Latin text of the Hymn "In Memoriam Abbatum Nostrorum" from the Antiphony of Bangor, with commentary. Dated, London, Dec. 6, 1885.

A Collation of Ascoli's edition of the Old-Irish Glosses at St. Gall.

(Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissensch., Berichte, Philol.-Hist. Classe, 1885, p. 175—188.)

On the Priscian Glosses. Communicated by Ernst Windisch.

Parallels between the Old-Norse and the Irish literatures and traditions. (Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi II. 1885.)

On the Corpus Poeticum Boreale ed. Vigfusson and Powell, Oxford 1883. Reprinted in Academy XXVII. 298, 1885.

## 1886

Celtic Declension. By Whitley Stokes, D. C. L., Hon. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and Correspondent of the Institute

of France (Académie des Inscriptions). (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1885-7, 97—201, 1886.)

Old-Irish Declension. British Declension. Old-Celtic Inscriptions. Gaulish Coin-Legends. Endlicher's Glossary. Ogam Inscriptions. Vocalic Declension. Desinential Changes. Protoceltic Paradigms. Numerals. Pronominal Declension.

[The Same.] (Bezenberger's Beiträge XI. 64—175. 333, 1886.)

Reprinted, with many additions, some corrections and one or two omissions, from the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1885. Dated, 15 Grenville Place, London S. W., August 1885.

The Neo-Celtic Verb Substantive. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1885—7, 202—259, 1886.)

Dated, October 1885. Read June 4, 1886. See The Old-Irish Verb Substantive, 1885.

Irish feminine stems in *i* and *u*, and neuter stems in *s*. (Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XXVIII. 289—94, 1886.)

Dated, 15 Grenville Place, London S. W., August 1885.

Find and the Phantoms. (Rev. Celt. VII. 289—307, 1886.)

Poem from the Book of Leinster, beginning Oenach indiu luid in ri. Text and translation, with notes. Dated, 2 April 1886.

Early Middle Irish Glosses from Rawlinson B. 502. (*Ibid.* VII. 374—5, 1886.)

Dated, 16 April 1886.

The Ancient Laws of Ireland. (Academy XXIX. 27—28, 1886.)

A criticism of Prof. Atkinson's appointment as Editor of above, and of his "Contents" of the Book of Leinster, and "Irish Lexicography", with corrigenda.

The Société de Linguistique. (*Ibid.* XXIX. 151—2, 1886.)

Review of the Mémoires tom. VI. fasc. 1.

The Gaulish "Arcantodan(os)" and "Rodanos". (*Ibid.* XXX. 43, 1886.)

Dated, London, July 7, 1886.

The Ancient Laws of Ireland. (*Ibid.* XXX. 58—9. 328—9, 1886.)

On a collation of portions of Vol. II and Vol. IV of the above, with Rawlinson B. 606, B. 487, and Egerton 88, with lists of corrigenda. Dated, London, July 19, 1886, Nov. 1, 1886.

Saving Love. (*Ibid.* XXX. 72, 1886.)

An original poem.

Review of Kuno Meyer's "Merugud Ulilix maicc Leirtis". (*Ibid.* XXX. 108—09, 1886.)

Notes of a Philological Tour. (*Ibid.* XXX. 209—10. 227—8. 246—7, 384, 1886.)

I. France. II. Switzerland. III. Belgium. The Communications are dated Paris, Aug. 2, St. Germain, Aug. 3, Orléans, Aug. 7, Schaffhausen, Aug. 14, St. Gallen, Aug. 16, Zurich, Aug. 18, Berne, Aug. 22, Brussels, Sept. 2, London, Sept. 8.

The following MSS. etc. are referred to, and glosses, collations, etc. given: Bibl. Nat. Eutychiuss; Bibl. Nat. MS. Celt. et B. No. 1; Inscriptions on the altars in the Musée de Cluny, on the Dijon patera *Deo Alisanu*; the Breton Glosses at Orleans, and the inscription on the Neuvy-en-Sullias Horse, etc.; the Schaffhausen Codex of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba; the St. Gall Incantations and Priscian; the Hiberno-Latin fragments at Zurich; the Breton Glosses at Berne (five new glosses given); the Irish Glosses in MS. 363; several Irish MS. in the Bibl. Royale Brussels; The Story of Senán and the maiden Canair, translated from MS. 2324—40.

A paper with this title was read by Stokes at the Phil. Soc. Nov. 19, 1886, and an abstract of it is given in the Proceedings for 1886, p. 111.

Notes on Curtius's Greek Etymology 1879 (Phil. Soc. Proceedings 1885-6, p. ix—x).

Short abstract of a paper read before the Philological Society on Feb. 5 1886, but not published in the Transactions.

## 1887

The Breton Glosses at Orleans. By Whitley Stokes, D. C. L., Hon. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and Correspondent of the Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions). (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1886-87, 539—618, 1887.)

A new edition, with Breton Index. Dated, September 1886.

The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with other documents relating to that Saint. Edited with translations and indexes by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L., LL. D., Hon. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; Correspondent of the Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions); Hon. Member of the German Oriental Society. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. 8vo, *London*. Part I. cxcix + 267 [8] pp., facs. Part II. p. 269—676, 1887.

The Introduction (I—CXCIX) includes a catalogue of the contents of MS. Rawlinson B. 512 and Egerton 93, from which the Tripartite Life is edited, a grammatical analysis of the Irish lives, and a chapter on the Social Condition of the early Irish. In addition to the documents concerning St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh, etc., the Irish texts, with translations, are given of: Secundinus' Hymn, Fiacc's Hymn, and Niníne's Prayer from the Franciscan Liber Hymnorum, the Homily on St. Patrick from the Leabar Brecc (24b—29b), the Litany of the B. Virgin



(L. Brecc 74a), the tract on Ecclesiastical Vestments (L. Brecc 108a, b), the Annals from the Book of Leinster 24a—26b, Gilla Cóemáin's Chronological Poem (*ibid.* 130b—131b), the Chronological Tract in the L. Brecc 220a, the stories of Patrick and his Leper, the Michaelmas Sheep from Rawl. B. 512, Loegaire's Conversion and Death from the Lebor na hUidre 117a, etc. The Indexes include an Index of Irish, and Hiberno-Latin words.

The Old-Irish Glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe. Edited with a Translation and Glossarial Index, by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L., Correspondent of the Institute of France, and Honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. Part I. The Glosses and Translation.

*In antiquis est sapientia.* — Job. XII. 12.

8vo, viii + 352 pp. Printed for the Philological Societies of London and Cambridge, by Stephen Austin & Sons, Hertford, 1887.

Preface dated 15, Grenville Place, London, S. W., July 20, 1887. "The whole of the text (pp. 1—236) of the glosses . . . went to the printer in April, 1885. The printing of the text was finished on January 28, 1886." Only Part I issued.

The Death of the Sons of Uisnech. (Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch, herausgegeben von Wh. Stokes und E. Windisch. Zweite Serie. 2. Heft. 8vo, *Leipzig*, S. Hirzel, 1887, p. 109—84.)

The Irish text of *Oided mac nUisnig* from the Glenn Masáin MS. Edinb., with introduction, English translation, and notes. Dated, London, 24 April 1886. Corrigenda in III. Serie, 1. Heft, p. 283.

The Siege of Howth. (Rev. Celt. VIII. 47—64, 1887.)

Irish text (Incipit *Talland Etair*) from the Book of Leinster, with translation and notes.

The Irish verses, notes and glosses in Harl. 1802. (*Ibid.* VIII. 346—69, 1887.)

Contains the text of the poems beginning *Aurilius humilis árd; Becca na delba acht delb dé*, On the appearance of Christ and his apostles, with corresponding pieces in the Book of Ballymote and Leabar Breac, and *Eól dam aidid crist na cet*, On the deaths of Christ and his apostles, with translation. Dated, 17 April 1887.

Irish Glosses and Notes on Chalcidius. (Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XXIX. 372—8, 1887.)

Text, with Commentary, of the glosses on Chalcidius' transl. and commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato. Bodleian Codex Auct. F. 3. 15. Dated, 15th April 1887.

Irish stems in s. (*Ibid.* XXIX. 379—80, 1887.)

Dated, London, 17 Febr. 1887.

The Ancient Laws of Ireland. (Academy XXXI. 44, 1887.)

A further collation of the *Senchas Már*, Ancient Laws of Ireland Vol. I, with the original MS. Harleian 432. Dated, London, Jan. 1, 1887.

The Irish Glosses and Notes in the Bodleian Chalcidius. (*Ibid.* XXXI. 275—6, 1887.)

Dated, London, March 17, 1887.

One of the sources of the 'Historia Britonum'. (*Ibid.* XXXI. 326, 1887.)

Parallel passages [Latin] in the Book of Armagh. Dated, London, April 10, 1887.

The Société de Linguistique de Paris. (*Ibid.* XXXI. 399, 1887.)

Review of Tome VI. fasc 2 of the *Mémoires*.

The Stowe Missal. (*Ibid.* XXXI. 237—9; XXXII. 26—27, 41—2, 204—5, 1887.)

A criticism of Dr. Mac Carthy's edition (R. I. A. Trans.), with lists of corrigenda.

Dr. Mac Carthy's "Fragmenta Hibernica". (*Ibid.* XXXII. 72—3, 1887.)

Criticism with Corrigenda of some Middle-Irish tracts published in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record VIII. Dated, London, July 16, 1887.

Prof. Zimmer and Find mac Cumail. (*Ibid.* XXXII. 253—4, 1887.)

Criticism of a paper by Z. in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, March 1, 1887. Dated, London, Oct. 8, 1887.

The Old-Irish Glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe. (*Ibid.* XXXII. 340, 1887.)

Corrigenda to his edition of the above. Dated, London, Nov. 12, 1887.

The Anglo-Indian Codes. Edited by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L. Of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Correspondent of the Institute of France, and late Law-Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India. Vol. I. Substantive Law. *Oxford*, at the Clarendon Press. 8vo, xxxiv + 1035 pp., 1887.

"Dedicated to Sir Henry Sumner Maine, K.C.S.I. Member of the Council of India in gratitude for wise teaching, friendly encouragement and official support." See also under 1888, 1889, 1891.

## 1888

The Anglo Indian Codes. Edited by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L. Vol. II. Adjective Law. 8vo, 1224 pp., *Oxford*, at the Clarendon Press, 1888.

The Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla. (Rev. Celt. IX. 14—25, 1888.)

Text of the Imram Snedhghusa 7 Mic Riagla from the Yellow Book of Lecan (11b—13b), with translation. Dated, 16 Sept. 1887.

Zimmeriana. (*Ibid.* IX. 97—104, 1888.)

A criticism of some recent publications of Zimmer.

Corrections of a recent edition of the Würzburg Glosses. (*Ibid.* IX. 104—08, 1888.)

Letter addressed to the Director of the *Revue Celtique*. The edition is that of Stokes published by the Philological Society 1887.

On the Materia Medica of the Mediaeval Irish. (*Ibid.* IX. 224—44, 1888.)

Lists of terms mostly in Latin and Irish from the Brit. Mus. MS. Additional 15, 403, and H. 2. 17 Trin. Coll. Dublin, with commentary and translation.

Note on the personal appearance and death of Christ, His apostles and others. (*Ibid.* IX. 364, 1888.)

Text from the Yellow Book of Lecan. Supplement to Rev. Celt. VIII. 362—3. Dated, London, 8 Nov. 1887.

Notes on the Würzburg Glosses. (*Ibid.* IX. 364—70, 1888.)

Supplement to Rev. Celt. IX. 104—08. Consists of textual emendations and corrections of the translation, 'for the most part due to the Rev. Edmund Hogan, S. J.' Dated, 30 January 1888.

The Voyage of Mael Duin. (*Ibid.* IX. 447—495, 1888; X. 50—95, 264, 1889.)

Text and translation of the prose version of *Imram Curaig Mál-duin*, edited from the Lebor na hUidre and Yellow Book of Lecan, with variants from Harleian 5280 and Egerton 1782.

On S-Stems in the Celtic Languages. By Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1888-90, 100—111, 1888.)

Rawlinson B. 512 and the Tripartite Life of S. Patrick. (Academy XXXIII. 191—2, 1888.)

Corrigenda to the Catalogue of the above MS. prefixed to his edition of the Tripartite Life. "For these I am indebted to the learning and palaeographical skill of Mr. S. H. O'Grady." Dated, London, March 6, 1888.

The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. (*Ibid.* XXXIII. 447; XXXIV. 10—11, 354—5, 1888.)

Replies to R. Dunlop's Review in Academy p. 424, and Dr. Mac Carthy's criticisms. The last is entitled "Celtic Latinity and the Tripartite Life." Dated June 23, July 2, Nov. 4, 1888.

St. Patrick's Doctrines. (*Ibid.* XXXIV. 26, 54, 104, 1888.)

Correspondence with Rev. F. E. Warren and Canon G. T. Stokes.  
Dated, London, July 10, 21, Oxford, August 14, 1888.

Two Glossaries in the British Museum. (*Ibid.* XXXIV. 120, 1888.)

The Latin Glossaries in MS. Cotton, Julius A. 11 and Vesp. A. 14.  
Dated, London, July 17, 1888.

The Legend of the oldest Animals. (*Ibid.* XXXIV. 241—2, 1888.)

Passage from the Book of Lismore (fo. 151 b 2) cited. Dated, Oxford,  
Sept. 30, 1888.

### 1889

A Supplement to the Anglo-Indian Codes 1887, 1888. By Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. 8vo, [4] + 61 pp., Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1889.

Preface dated July 15, 1889.

The Old-Irish Glosses in Regina Nr. 215. (Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XXX. 555—61, 1889.)

Text of the Glosses from the Vatican MS. with Commentary. Contains text with translation of the Dinnsenchus of *Fid nGabli* from Book of Leinster p. 159 a 50. Dated, London, 4 Febr. 1889.

Spicilegium Vaticanum. (Academy XXXV. 26—27, 1889.)

Letter, dated Rome, December 20, 1888, on Hiberno-Latin MSS. in the Vatican, with some new Old-Irish Glosses, also collations of Zimmer's editions of glosses from Vatican 5755, Palatine 830, and Greith's ed. of Ottob. 1474.

Latin Etymologies. (*Ibid.* XXXV. 97, 1889.)

1 *andabata*, 2 *caprunculum*, 3 *cerritus*, *cerritulus*, 4 *ferctum*, 5 *frivola*, 6 *mango*, 7 *plebes*, 8 *subucula*, 9 *supernus*, 10 *sūra*, 11 *ura*, 12 *vallescit*.

Irish Items. (*Ibid.* XXXV. 238—9, 256, corr. 1889.)

Dated, London, March 30, 1889. On some errors committed by S. H. O'Grady in his "Irish Items", Academy p. 221.

The Old-Irish Glosses in Palatine 68. (*Ibid.* XXXV. 361—2, 1889.)

Dated, London, May 19, 1889.

Folklore in the "Divina Commedia". (*Ibid.* XXXV. 396, 1889.)

Dated, London, May 26, 1889.

The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. (*Ibid.* XXXVI. 88, 1889.)

Further correspondence with Dr. Mac Carthy. Dated, Oxford, July 29, 1889.

Notes on the Annals of Ulster. (*Ibid.* XXXVI. 207—08, 223—5, 240—1, 1889.)

Criticism of Hennessy's edition Vol. I, with corrigenda.

On Professor Atkinson's Edition of the Passions and Homilies in the Lebar Brecc. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1888-1890, p. 203—34, 1891 [1889].)

## 1890

[The same.] (Bezenberger's Beitr. XVI. 29—64, 1890.)

"Reprinted, with many additions, from the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1889."

Anecdota Oxoniensia. Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore. Edited with a translation, notes, and indices by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. 4to, cxx + 411 pp., collot. facs., Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1890. (Anecdota Oxoniensia. Mediaeval and Modern Ser. Part V.)

The Preface contains (1) a Catalogue of the Book of Lismore, with various extracts, text and translation, including the *Story of the Three Clerics* (42b), the *Story of the Two Clerics* (43a), the *Story of Brenainn maccu Allai and the young Harper* (43b), the *Story of the Two Children* (69b), *How King Diarmait slew his son Bresal* (94b); (2) a chapter on the language of the Lives with grammatical analysis and list of loan-words; (3) Nature and social life as reflected in the Lives. The following Lives are given: Patrick, Columcille, Brigit, Senán, Findian of Clonard, Findchua of Brigown, Brénainn son of Finnluigh, Ciarán of Clonmacnois, Mochua of Balla. The following texts, with translations, are printed in the Notes: The Origin of the name Colum cille (Lebar Brecc 236b); *Story of Cummine Fota*, Guaire of Aidue and Caimine (Lebor na hUidre 116); the *Death of Aed Slane* (Aed mac Ainmerech) from Book of Leinster, 303b; the *Liberation of Scannlan* by Columcille, from Edinburgh MS. fol. 22b. The indexes include a Glossary of Irish words.

On the Linguistic value of the Irish Annals. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1888-1890, 365—433, [1890] 1891.)

Read. June 6th, 1890. 1 Irish words etymologically interesting. 2 Low-Latin words. Irish loans from Latin. Irish loans from Old-French. 3 Cymric names. Irish loans from Welsh. 4 Pictish names and other words. 5 Old-Norse names and other words. Irish loans from Old-Norse. 6 Anglo-Saxon names. Irish loans from Anglo-Saxon. Irish loans from Middle-English. See 1892.

Hibernica. (Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XXXI. 232—55, 1890.)

I The Glosses in Palatine [Vatican] 68 [with Commentary]. II The Glosses in the Book of Armagh, [with Commentary]. III The Note in Würzburg codex Mp. th. f. 61. IV The fragments found in the Reichenau Beda. V Extracts from Palatine No. 830. (a) List of Irish kings. (b) Poem, with translation, on Adam's head etc. beginning *Cenn ard Adaim étrocht ráid*. (c) Poem, with translation, on Adam's 124 children

beginning *Cethror cóic fichit iarftr.* (d) Poem, with translation, on the war between the tribe of Benjamin and the other children of Israel, beginning *Ben romarbsat fir gaba.* (e) Dialogue between Patrick and Brigit, beginning *A Brighit a nāmhingen,* text and translation. VI The Glosses in Bodleian 70. VII The Notes in Laud 460.

Dated, London, December 1889.

Addenda et Corrigenda in Band XXXII. 319—20, 1891. Dated, 12 July 1891.

A Note about Fiacha Muillethan. (Rev. Celt. XI. 41—45, 1890.)

The story of Fiacha's birth. Text from the Book of Lecan with translation. Dated, London, 19 Sept. 1889.

Glosses from Turin and the Vatican. (Academy XXXVII. 46—7, 65, 1890.)

1 Old-Irish. 2 Old-Breton. 3 Anglo-Saxon. 4 Old-High-German. 5 Mediaeval Latin. Dated, Turin, Dec. 19, 1889.

A Legend of Abraham. (*Ibid.* XXXVII. 207, 1890.)

On the Talmudic legend and its mention by Muirchu.

Irish Items. (*Ibid.* XXXVII. 303—04, 321, 1890.)

Reply to S. H. O'Grady's criticisms of his edition of the Lismore Lives, Acad. p. 286. Dated, London, April 26, 1890.

An inscribed Gaulish Menhir. (*Ibid.* XXXVII. 392, 1890.)

On the Inscription of Vieux-Poitiers. Signed W. S.

Notes from Rennes. (*Ibid.* XXXVIII. 73, 1890.)

Contains corrigenda to Description of the Rennes 15th cent. Irish MS. published in R. I. A. Irish MSS. Ser. vol. 1. pp. 66—81, and a note on "The Evernew Tongue", etc. Dated, London, July 12, 1890.

The Ogam Stones in the Isle of Man. (*Ibid.* XXXVIII. 154, 1890.)

On a reading of Rhŷs's in Acad. p. 134.

Old-Norse names in the Irish Annals. (*Ibid.* XXXVIII. 248—9, 1890.)

Dated, Seaton, Devon, Sept. 6, 1890.

## 1891

A Second Supplement to the Anglo-Indian Codes. By Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. 8vo, viii + 115 pp., Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1891.

Preface dated, September 11, 1891.

The Irish Ordeals, Cormac's Adventure in the Land of Promise, and the Decision as to Cormac's Sword. By Wh. Stokes. (Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch, herausgegeben von Wh. Stokes und E. Windisch. Dritte Serie. 1. Heft. 8vo, Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1891. p. 183—229, 283.)

The Irish text of [*Scél na Fir-Flatha*], *Echtra Cormaic i Tír Tairn-giri ocus Ceart Claidib Cormaic* from Book of Ballymote (260b) with variants from Yellow Book of Lecan, English translation, and notes. Dated, London, 29 September 1890.

The Second Battle of Moytura. (*Rev. Celt.* XII. 52—130, 306—08, 1891.)

The Irish text of the *Cath Maige Tured ocus Genemain Bres meic Elathain ocus a Ríge* from Harleian 5280, fo. 63a—70b (Brit. Mus.), with translation, index of the rarer words, index of names. Dated, Aug. 1890.

Life of S. Féchin of Fore. (*Ibid.* XII. 318—53, 1891.)

The Irish text of Betha Féchin Fabair from the Phillips MS. No. 9194 ff. 1a—8b, Cheltenham, with translation. Dated, London, 13 September 1890. Corrigenda in *Rev. Celt.* XIII. 299, 1892.

Adamnan's Second Vision. (*Ibid.* XII. 420—43, 1891.)

The Irish text from Lebar Brecc 258b—259b, with translation, notes, and Index verborum. Dated, London, 7 March 1891.

Glosses from Turin and Rome. (Bezzenger's Beitr. XVII. 133—46, 1891.)

1 The Old-Irish Glosses in Turin. 2 The Old-Irish Glosses in Rome. 3 The Old-Breton Glosses in Rome. 4 The Anglosaxon Prose and Glosses in Rome. 5 Old-High German Glosses (Vat. MS. lat. 1347 [Canons]). Dated, London, 10 Dec. 1890.

Glosses from Rome and Paris. (*Academy* XXXIX. 64—5, 1891.)

1 Latin Glosses, Vat. Lat. 1339 (Canons). 2 Old-High-German Glosses, Vat. Lat. 1347. 3 Old-Breton Glosses, Vat. Lat. 1974, Lat. 1480. 4 Old-Irish Glosses, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 7960, on *Bucolics* and *Georgics*. Dated, Rome, Dec. 3, 1890.

The etymology of "fiann" and "fène". (*Ibid.* XXXIX. 210—1, 1891.)

Dated, London, Feb. 16, 1891.

Indian Codification. (*Ibid.* XXXIX. 394, 1891.)

Unsigned.

A Hymn from Harleian 7653. (*Ibid.* XXXIX. 514, 1891.)

Text of the Latin Hymn "In pace Christi dormiam", from Lebar Brecc and Harl. Dated, Freshwater Bay, I. W., May 21, 1891.

John Boxwell. (*Ibid.* XXXIX. 585—86, 1891.)

An obituary notice. Signed W. S.

On the etymology of "Letum". (*Ibid.* XXXIX. 588—89, 1891.)

Dated, London, June 13, 1891.

"Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore". (*Ibid.* XXXIX. 138—9, 305, 1891.)

Reply to Rev. Dr. Mac Carthy's criticisms. Dated Feb. 2, March 16, 1891.

The Celtic etymologies in Fick's Comparative Dictionary. Vol. I. (*Ibid.* XL. 339—40, 1891.)

Dated, Alum Bay, Isle of Wight, Sept. 7 1891.

The Ogham inscriptions at Ballyknock. (*Ibid.* XL. 459, 1891.)

Dated, London, Nov. 17, 1891.

## 1892

Sir Henry Maine. A brief Memoir of his Life by the Rt. Hon. Sir M. E. Grant Duff, G. C. S. I. With some of his Indian Speeches and Minutes selected and edited by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. 8vo, London, John Murray, 1892.

On the linguistic value of the Irish annals. (Bezzenger's Beitr. XVIII. 56—132, 1892.)

"Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from the Proceedings of the Philological Society, for 1890." Dated, Rome, November 1890.

The Bodleian Dinnsheanas. (Folk-Lore III. 467—516, 1892.)

The Irish text from Rawlinson B. 506 (fol. 11—15), with translation, notes, and Index of Places. Corrigenda and Addenda in vol. IV. p. 496, 1893. Issued separately with title: The Bodleian Dinnsheanas. Edited by Whitley Stokes, C. S. I., C. I. E., D. C. L., LL. D. Reprinted from Folk-Lore, Vol. III, 1892. London, D. Nutt, Price Three Shillings. 8vo, 50 pp. n. d.

The Boroma. (Rev. Celt. XIII. 32—124, 299, 1892.)

The Irish text from the Book of Leinster, with variants from Book of Lecan, translation, and list of verba rariora. Dated, London, 29 July 1891.

The Battle of Mag Mucrime. (*Ibid.* XIII. 426—74, 1892.)

The Irish text from the Book of Leinster, with translation and Index Verborum. Dated, March 1892.

Prof. Zimmer again. (Academy XLI. 15—16, 1892.)

Reply to a criticism of Zimmer's in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII. 229—30.

The Marriage of Sir Gawain. (*Ibid.* XLI. 399, 1892.)

The story of the Five Lugaids from the C  ir Anmann, edited with translation, from Book of Ballymote, as a parallel to above. Dated, London, April 12, 1892.

On the Newton Stone. (*Ibid.* XLI. 542—4, 566, 592—3, XLII. 14, 1892.)

New readings and interpretation. Dated, May 16, June 13, 1892.



An ancient form of submission. (*Ibid.* XLI. 470, 1892.)

The Hunza practice of grovelling on the ground in act of submission compared with a similar custom in mediaeval Spain and Ireland. Dated, London, May 7, 1892.

On a Mediaeval Cryptogram. (*Ibid.* XLII. 71—2, 1892.)

The text, with commentary, of a Latin letter written by one Caunchobrach to Colgu in Ireland, sending a Greek cryptogram, from the Bamberg 10th cent. codex H. J. IV. 11. Dated, London, July 18, 1892.

The Cryptogram in the Cambridge Juvenius. (*Ibid.* XLII. 215, 1892.)

Dated, Paramé, Ille et Vilaine, Sept. 2, 1892.

### 1893

On the Metrical Glossaries of the Mediaeval Irish. By Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, p. 1—103, 1893.)

Read April 17, 1891. A short summary appeared in Academy XXXIX. 398—9, 1891.

Text of (I) the *Fornus Focal* ascr. to Ó Dubhagán from Bk. of Leinster p. 395, Stowe MS. III. R. I. A. fo. 95a, H. 2. 12, T. C. D. p. 7; (II) the *Derbhíur* Glossary from 23 L 21, R. I. A. p. 9, and (III) the Egerton 90 Glossary, fo. 17a, with Suppl. from Bk. of Lecan 155a. Glossarial Index and commentary.

[Same.] (Bezenberger's Beitr. XIX. 1—120, 1893.)

"Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1891."

On the Bodleian fragment of Cormac's Glossary. By Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, 149—206, 1893.)

Text, translation, and glossary.

The Edinburgh Dinnshenchas. (Folk-Lore IV. 471—97, 1893.)

The Irish text of 22 articles from the Kilbride MS. XVI. and 3 articles from Egerton 1781 (Brit. Mus.) not contained in the Bodleian MS., with translation, notes, and Index of Places.

Issued separately with title: The Edinburgh Dinnshenchas. Edited by Whitley Stokes, C. S. I., C. I. E., D. C. L., LL. D. Reprinted from Folk-Lore, Vol. IV., 1893. London: D. Nutt. Price Half-a-Crown. 8vo, p. [53]—79. n. d.

Hibernica [Fortsetzung]. (Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XXXIII. 62—86, 1893.)

VIII. The Glosses on the Bucolics. Text from the Laurentian Codex, with Commentary. IX. The Glosses in the Book of Armagh [Corrigenda to Band XXXI. 236—45, 1890]. X. An ancient poem on Cúchulainn. The Dindsenchus of Srub Brain. Text from H. 3. 3, with glosses, and variants. Poem begins *Tathus drecht dron-amhnus*. Dated, London, 19 July 1892.

Old-Irish Glosses on the Bucolics. (*Ibid.* XXXIII. 313—5, 1893.)

Corrigenda to above. Dated, London, 2 May 1893.

On the assimilation of pretonic *n* in Celtic suffixes. (Indogerm. Forsch. II. 167—73, 1893.)

Forty-three etymologies, exemplifying this theory. Signed Cowes. Whitley Stokes.

[The same.] (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, 297—307, 1893.)

A revised and enlarged edition of above, containing sixty-three etymologies. Dated, Nervi, near Genoa, 30th January, 1893.

The Voyage of the Húi Corra. (Rev. Celt. XIV. 22—69, 1893.)

The Irish text of the *Imram Churaig Hua Corra* from the Book of Fermoy 170a—177 (the opening paragraphs from R. I. A. 23 M. 50) with variants from 23 M. 10, translation, and Glossary. Dated, 22 September 1892.

Old-Irish Glosses on the Bucolics from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale. (*Ibid.* XIV. 226—37, 1893.)

The glosses on Philargyrius' Commentary in MS. Lat. 7960, with commentary and index.

The Violent Deaths of Goll and Garb. (*Ibid.* XIV. 396—449, 1893.)

The Irish text of *Aided Guill maic Carbada ocus Aided Gairb Glinne Rige* from the Book of Leinster, with variants from the Edinb. MS. Kilbride XL., translation, and glossary of the rarer words.

Ailill Bare-Ear's Poisonous Tooth. (Academy XLIII. 14, 1893.)

Extract from the *Cóir Anmann* (H. 3. 18) with translation. Dated, Nervi, near Genoa, Dec. 31, 1892.

The Old-Irish Glosses on the Bucolics. (*Ibid.* XLIII. 327, 1893.)

Supplement to his edition of the Laurentinian glosses in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* XXXIII. 62, 1893. Dated, London, April 4, 1893.

The Todd Memorial Lectures. (*Ibid.* XLIV. 31—2, 52—3, 73, 1893.)

Reviews of (1) Mesca Ulad, ed. Hennessy, (2) The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus No. 830, by MacCarthy, (3) Cath Ruís na Ríg, ed. Hogan.

On the supposed Old-Irish version of Horatian Odes. (*Ibid.* XLIV. 193, 1893.)

A misconception of Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindictus*, p. 89 n.

The Legend of Paraçurâma. (*Ibid.* XLIV. 439, 1893.)

The Dindsenchus of *Tráig Tuirbe* from the Rennes MS. with translation. Dated, London, Nov. 4, 1893.

## 1894

Urkeltischer Sprachschatz von Whitley Stokes. Übersetzt, überarbeitet und herausgegeben von Adalbert Bezzenberger. 8vo, viii + 337 pp., *Göttingen*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1894.

Forms Part II. of Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen von August Fick. Vierte Auflage bearbeitet von Adalb. Bezzenberger, Aug. Fick und Whitley Stokes. Zweiter Theil. Wortschatz der Keltischen Spracheinheit von Whitley Stokes und Adalbert Bezzenberger.

The German translation was made from the Author's MS. which was not published in the original.

On an ancient posture of Prayer. (*Academy* XLV. 125—6, 1894.)

On the Irish *crois-figill* 'cross-vigil'. Dated, London, Jan. 21, 1894.

Old-Irish Glosses on the first Georgic. (*Ibid.* XLVI. 50, 1894.)

Glosses from the Laurentinian Plut. XLV. Cod. 14. Dated, London, July 14, 1894.

On an ancient method of computing losses in War. (*Ibid.* XLVI. 134—5, 1894.)

The Irish and Scottish practice of making a cairn of stones before a battle. Dated, Oxford, Aug. 14, 1894.

The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas. (*Rev. Celt.* XV. 272—336. 418—84, 1894.)

The Irish text from the Rennes MS. ff. 90—125, and supplementary articles from the Book of Lecan and Book of Leinster, with variants from the Book of Leinster, Book of Ballymote, H. 3. 3, T. C. D., Book of Lecan, Rawlinson B. 406, Kilbride XL. Edinb., translation, indexes, and notes.

## 1895

The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas contd. (*Ibid.* XVI. 31—83, 135—167, 269—312, 1895.)

Féilire Húi Gormáin. The Martyrology of Gorman. Edited from a Manuscript in the Royal Library, Brussels, with a Preface, translation, notes and indices. By Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. Foreign Associate of the Institute of France. 8vo, lii + 411 pp., facs. of MS. p. 4—5, *London*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. IX., 1895.

The Preface contains a list of the contents of the MS. 5100—4, which is almost wholly in the hand of Michael O'Clery, also discusses the authorship, language and metre, contents, etc.

On the division of syllables in Latin and Irish. (Academy XLVII. 193—4, 1895.)

Dated, London, Feb. 16, 1895.

On the Kalendar in Galba A XVIII. (*Ibid.* XLVII. 545—6, 1895.)

Showing the Irish origin of the Kalendar. Dated, London, May 30, 1895.

A Celtic Leechbook. (*Ibid.* XLVIII. 299—300, 320, 1895.)

Description of the Medical treatise in the University Library Leiden, subsequently published in *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* I. 1897. See under 1897. Dated, London, Sept. 30, 1895.

The Annals of Tigernach. (Rev. Celt. XVI. 374—419, 1895.)

I. The Fragment in Rawlinson B. 502. Text and translation. Dated, London, 17 July 1895.

## 1896

The Annals of Tigernach. (Rev. Celt. XVII. 6—33, 116—263, 337—420, 1896.)

Second Fragment. A. D. 143—361 (Rawlinson B. 488 fo. 4a2). Third Fragment. A. D. 489—766 (*ibid.* fo. 7a1—14b2). Fourth Fragment. A. D. 973—1088 (*ibid.* fo. 15a—19a2). Text and translation. See also 1897.

A Celtic Leechbook. (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* I. 17—25, 1896.)

From a MS. in the University Library at Leiden. Text with Glossary. "The principal value of this Leechbook lies in its Old-Breton names for trees, plants, etc."

Cuimmin's Poem on the Saints of Ireland. (*Ibid.* I. 59—73, 1896.)

The text ed. from a copy in the handwriting of Michael O' Clery, in the Royal Library, Brussels, No. 2324—40, with translation and glossary.

Celtic Etymologies. (Bezzenger's Beitr. XXI. 122—137, 1896.)

Addenda and Corrigenda to his "Urkeltischer Sprachschatz, 1894." Dated, London, April 1895.

On Infant Baptism and Folklore. (Academy XLIX. 137—8, 1896.)

On baptism as a rite of purification, with passages cited and translated from Middle-Irish literature, etc. Dated, London, Jan. 30, 1896.

On a pair of Gaulish deities. (*Ibid.* XLIX. 263, 307, 1896.)

Sucellus and Nantosvelta. Dated, London, March 19, April 4, 1896.

On Lord Crawford's Irish Medical MS. (*Ibid.* XLIX. 405—07, 1896.)

The Latin headings of the chapters, with Irish Glosses, are given. Dated, London, April 29, 1896.

On the employment of Bees in War. (*Ibid.* L. 13—14, 1896.)

An incident in the siege of Themiscyra by Lucullus compared with an Irish passage describing the siege of Chester by the Danes and Norwegians. Dated, London, June 20, 1896.

A Note on the Book of Mulling. (*Ibid.* L. 82, 1896.)

The Old-Irish phrases in the Book of M. Dated, Bray, Co. Dublin, July 12, 1896.

On the compulsory fasting of cattle. (*Ibid.* L. 115, 1896.)

Various passages cited from Middle-Irish literature. Dated, Oxford Aug. 8, 1896.

The Annals of Ulster. (*Ibid.* L. 182—3, 223—4, 1896.)

A criticism, with lists of corrigenda, of Vol. III. ed. Rev. B. MacCarthy.

On the effect of crime upon earth. (*Ibid.* L. 264, 1896.)

Instances of the sterilising of land and crops, through murder and parricide. Dated, London, Sept. 22, 1896.

## 1897

The Gaelic abridgment of the Book of Ser Marco Polo. (*Zeitschrift f. celt. Phil.* I. 245—273, 1896; 362—438, 603, 1897.)

The text from the Book of Lismore, with translation and glossary. Corrigenda to above in Band II. 222—3, 1898.

Cóir Anmann. 'Fitness of Names'. (Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch, herausgegeben von Wh. Stokes und E. Windisch. Dritte Serie. 2. Heft. 8vo, *Leipzig*, S. Hirzel, 1897. p. 285—444, 557.)

The Irish text from H. 3. 18 (565a) Trin. Coll. with English translation, notes, indexes, including index of words. Dated, London, June 30, 1895.

The Annals of Tigernach. (Rev. Celt. XVIII. 9—59, 150—303, 374—91, 1897.)

The Continuation. A. D. 1088—1178 (Rawlinson B. 488 19a 2—26 b 2). The Dublin Fragment. A. D. c. 34—378 (H. 1. 8, 12a—14b). Text and translation.

The Annals of Ulster. (*Ibid.* XVIII. 74—86, 1897.)

A criticism of Rev. Dr. B. MacCarthy's edition. I. The Text of Vol. II. II. The Translation of Vol. II. and III.

Celtic Etymologies. (Bezzenger's Beitr. XXIII. 41—65, 321, 1897.)

'A second supplement to my *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz*, Göttingen 1894.' With Postscript replying to Thurneysen's review of the same work in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Anzeiger VI. 193—6, 1896. See also 1896.

Hibernica. [Fortsetzung von K. Z. XXXIII. 62—86.] (Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XXXV. 150—3, 1897.)

XI. *athlítech*. XII. A gloss in Regina no. 255. XIII. *bruiden* and Goth. *baúrd*. XIV. *uag* and Goth. *augþ*. XV. *aesc* and Lat. *aesculus*. Dated, London, 21 Nov. 1896.

## 1898

The Gaelic Maundeville. (Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil. II. 1—63, 226—312, 603—04, 1898.)

Irish translation of the Buke of John Maundeville, by Fingin O'Mahony, made in 1475. The text from the Rennes MS., completed from Egerton 1781, with translation and Index Verborum. Corrigenda p. 603—04 appeared in 1899.

The Irish Version of Fierabras. (Rev. Celt. XIX. 14—57, 118—167, 252—91, 364—93, 1898.)

The Irish text from Egerton 1781 Brit. Mus. with variants from Laud 610, H. 2. 7, translation, and glossary.

A List of Welsh Plantnames. From a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum (Addl. 14, 912). (Archiv f. celt. Lexikographie I. 37—49, 1898.)

Dated, London, December 1896.

The Lecan Glossary. (*Ibid.* I. 50—100, 324, 1898.)

Text from the Book of Lecan with Index, also text of the abridged copy in the Book of Hy Many. Dated, London, April 1897.

A Glossary to the Cornish Drama *Beunans Meriasek*. (*Ibid.* I. 101—42, 1898.)

Dated, London, April 1897.

A Collation of the Cartulary of Quimperlé. (*Ibid.* I. 143—50, 1898.)

The edition of Léon Maitre and Paul de Berthou, Paris 1896, collated with the Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton 2802. Dated, London, 28 April 1897.

A Collation of Norris' *Ancient Cornish Drama*. (*Ibid.* I. 161—74, 1898.)

The Oxford ed. 1859 collated with the Bodleian MS. 791. Dated, London, 7 October 1897.

O' Mulconry's Glossary. (*Ibid.* I. 232—324, 473—81, 629, 1898-9.)

Text from the Yellow Book of Lecan, with Index.

Hibernica [Fortsetzung]. (Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XXXV. 587—596, 1898.)

XVI. The glosses on *Entychius, de discernendis coniugationibus*. 1 Codex *Entychii Vindobonensis*. 2 Bibl. Nat. MS. Latin 10, 400. 3 Bibl. Nat. MS. Latin 11, 411. XVII. Etymologies. 1 *abacc* 'dwarf'. 2 *agen*.

3 *dir* 'night' in *irrdair*, *arrdair*. 4 *asse* 'lateness'. 5 *aur-dorn* 'the forehead of a horse'. 6 *cla* (gl. *oculorum*). 7 *cuthach* 'madness'. 8 *fuidell* 'remainder, leavings of a feast'. 9 *gar* 'happy'. 10 *gelt* i. *gerrad* 'a cutting'. 11 *icht* 'busen'? 12 *less* 'hüfte, hanke'. 13 *lethchenn* *húizqaipa*, *leithbeo* 'semivivus', *lethmarb* 'emortuus'. 14 *liac* 'vitulorum'. 15 *liaig* 'arzt'. 16 *móit* 'gelübde, wunsch'. 17 *ndair* 'night' in *tiugndair* 'matins'. 18 *óil* 'cheek'. 19 *orc* 'salmon'. 20 *ré* 'moon'. 21 *rug*- intensive prefix. 22 *sechur* = Lat. *sequor*. 23 *selige* (gl. *testudo*). 24 *sligim* 'ich schlage'. 25 *uinche* i. *cath* 'kampf'. Dated, London, 26 Nov. 1897.

## 1899

The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille. (Rev. Celt. XX. 31—55, 132—183, 248—89, 400—37, 1899; Corrections and Additions XXI. 133—6, 1900.)

The Irish text of the Eulogy of Columcille, ascribed to Dallán, from Rawlinson B. 502 (54 a—59 b) with readings from Lebor na hUidre, Trin. Coll. Liber Hymnorum, Yellow Bk. of Lecan, Lebor Brecc, Egerton 1782, Stowe 3, 2, and translation; also Appendix containing the following pieces, text and transl.: *Scandlän Mor's Captivity* and The oppressiveness of the Poets (Eg. 1782, 1 b), *The Dispute about the Dálriadans* (YBL. cols. 683, 684), *Conall's Rudeness and Domnall's courtesy* (YBL. col. 682), *Story of an apostate priest* (Eg. 1782 11 b), *Story of Labraid and Moriath's harper* (YBL. col. 689), *St. Columba's Battles* (Eg. 1782, 13 b), *Dallan's Death and Burial* (*ibid.* 1 a).

Fifty Irish Etymologies. (Bezzenberger's Beitr. XXV. 252—58, 1899.)

1 *dir* (*der*) 'satire'. 2 *ag* 'cow'. 3 *aisne* 'gain'. 4 *alchaing* 'a rack for hanging up arms'. 5 *amdaín* 'only'. 6 *amarc* 'sehkraft, gesicht'. 7 *anna* gl. *ἄγκυον* 'cubitus'. 8 *asglang* 'a load on the shoulder'. 9 *blog* 'bruchstück'. 10 *cen* 'ohne'. 11 *cerbaim* 'schneide'. 12 *cert* 'stone'. 13 *clen* 'wille'. 14 *cnúas* 'sammeln, sammlung'. 15 *crod* 'vieh, reichthum'. 16 *cuintgim* 'peto'. 17 *currech* 'rennbahn'. 18 *deir* gl. *erpeta* i. e. *ἐρπητης*. 19 *diait* in *tene diait* 'lightning'. 20 *dias* 'zweiheit von personen'. 21 *don* 'erde, land'. 22 *draige* 'roughness, rudeness'. 23 *drochta* 'fals, tonne, kufe'. 24 *druchtach* 'dewy'. 25 *ert* 'land'. 26 *fo-benat* 'sub-veniunt'. 27 *for-fiun* gl. *ancto*. 28 *fuil* 'blood'. 29 *gael* 'kin, family'. 30 *gell* 'pfand'. 31 *glése* 'bright'. 32 *hé* in *ind-hé* 'heri'. 33 *iall* 'flock, herd'. 34 *ilach* 'pacan'. 35 *maistir* 'urine'. 36 *maistre* 'butterfals'. 37 *meinbligim* gl. *scato*. 38 *melaid* Féil Oeng. July 12. 39 *mer* 'hell, glänzend'. 40 *nóidiu* 'an infant'. 41 *od* 'music'. 42 *refed* 'cord'. 43 *riar* 'a musical note, a song'. 44 *serrack* 'füllen'. 45 *sntim* 'flechte'. 46 *so-lam* 'schnell, bereit'. 47 *técht* 'geronnen'. 48 *tenc* 'thing'. 49 *trú* 'elend'. 50 *uall* 'klage'.

Dated, London, 26 July 1898.

Notes on the St. Gallen Glosses. (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* II. 473—9, 1899.)

The Destruction of Dind Rig. (*Ibid.* III. 1—14, 225, 1899.)

The text from the Book of Leinster, with variants from Rawlinson B. 502 and the Yellow Book of Lecan, and translation.

A List of Ancient Irish authors. (*Ibid.* III. 15—16, 1899.)

The text from Book of Ballymote, 308b12.

Three Irish Medical Glossaries. (*Archiv f. celt. Lexikogr.* I. 325—347, 1899.)

(a) H. 3. 15 p. 47 col. 2. (b) H. 3. 15 p. 49a. (c) Lord Crawford's Irish Medical Manuscript. Irish text and Index.

Dated, London, July 1898.

A Collation of the Second edition of O'Clery's Irish Glossary. (*Ibid.* I. 348—59, 1899.)

The edition of A. W. K. Miller (*Rev. Celt.* IV. 1879). Collated with the original, Lobbáin 1643.

Dated, London, 21 July 1898.

Hibernica. (*Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* XXXVI. 273—6, 1899.)

XVIII. A sandhi-rule. XIX. The sound-groups *apn*, *epn*, *ipn*, *opn*, *upn*. XX. Vowel-flanked *p*. XXI. Enclisis after interrogative particles. XXII. Two prepositional prefixes [*arn*-, *eb*-]. XXIII. *merbligim* 'wimmele'.

Dated, London, 20 February 1899.

## 1900

Acallamh na Senórach. Edited by Wh. Stokes. (*Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch, herausgegeben von Wh. Stokes und E. Windisch. Vierte Serie. 1. Heft. 8vo, Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1900, XIV + 438 pp.*)

The Irish text from the Book of Lismore (fo. 159) and Laud 610 (fo. 123), with translations of parts omitted in Silva Gadelica ed. S. H. O'Grady, notes, Index of Things, Persons, Places, and Glossarial Index. Preface dated, Cowes, Isle of Wight, September 1900.

The Battle of Carn Conaill. (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* III. 203—219, 1900.)

The text ed. from the Lebor na hUidre, with translation, and variants from Book of Leinster, Egerton 1782, and the Yellow Book of Lecan versions.

Amra Senáin. (*Ibid.* III. 220—25, 1900.)

The Eulogy of S. Senán of Inis Cathaig, ascribed to Dallán. The text and glosses ed. from H. 3. 17, with variants from the Lebor Brecc facsimile. The Irish preface is translated.



Da Choca's Hostel. (Rev. Celt. XXI. 149—65, 312—27, 388—402, 1900).

The Irish text of *Bruiden da Chocae* from H. 3. 18, Trin. Coll., with variants from H. 1. 17, translation, and notes.

### 1901

*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*. A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose, and Verse. Edited by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. Foreign Associate of the Institute of France and John Strachan, LL.D. Professor of Greek in the Victoria University. Vol. I. Biblical Glosses and Scholia. *Cambridge*: At the University Press, 1901. Large 8vo. xxviii + 727 pp.

Dedication: *Piae Memoriae Roberti A. Neil Sacrum*. Preface dated September 1901.

The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel. (Rev. Celt. XXII. 9—61, 165—215, 282—329, 390—437, 1901.)

The Irish text of *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* from Lebor na hUidre 83a—99a, and Yellow Book of Lecan 91a, with variants from Yellow Book of L., Book of Fermoy, H. 2. 17, Stowe D. 4. 2 (R. I. A.), Egerton 1782, Egerton 92, translation, and glossarial Index. Dated, Cowes, October 1900. Corrigenda and Addenda in Rev. Celt. XXIII. 88, 1902.

Issued as a separate work in 1902 with portrait of the editor, and preface by H. d'Arbois de Jubainville: *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*. The Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel. Edited with translation and glossarial Index by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. Foreign associate of the Institute of France. Fellow of the British Academy for promoting historical, philosophical and philological Studies. 8vo, XI + 200 pp., Paris (2e), Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1902.

The Lebar Brecc tractate on the consecration of a church. (*Miscellanea Linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli* p. 363—87. 4to. *Torino*, Ermanno Loescher, 1901.)

Text with translation and Glossary of the rarer words.

Irish Etymologies. (*Indogerm. Forsch.* XII. 185—95, 1901.)

*adcuaid* 'he has related'. *blicht* 'radiancy'. *bruth* 'weight, mass'. *clú* 'body'. *coll* 'head, chief'. *cundrad* 'bargain'. *déac* 'ten'. *do-chumm* 'to, towards'. *don* 'ground, place'. *éssi* 'reins'. *faíl* 'bad'. *fié* = Lat. *vires*. *follintar* 'suppletur'. *forca* 'fenced'. *go* 'sea'. *gúr* 'keen, bitter'. *ind* 'vertex, end'. *óa* 'liver', *ae* 'liver', *inchair* 'spawn'. *sail* 'accompanying'. *teol* 'thief'. *topp*, *tob* 'flame'. *úar* 'outer'. *úaran* 'a springwell'.

Irish Etymologies. (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* III. 467—73, 1901.)

1 *búrim* 'I strike'. 2 *canim* 'I sing', 'I make'. 3 *cét* 'a blow'. 4 *dega* 'stag-beetle'. 5 *drochta* 'tub', *drochat*, *droichet* 'bridge'. 6 *inboth* 'wedding'. 7 *múr* 'mire'. 8 *mess* 'fosterling'. 9 no particle

in a relative function. 10 *rogait* 'rock' (distaff). 11 The verbal particle *ror*. 12 *selc* (*seilc*?) 'spying'. 13 *suaitrech* 'soldier'. 14 *swart-lech* 'a Scandinavian warrior'. 15 *tovc* 'boar'.

On a passage in *Cath Cairn Chonaill*. (*Ibid.* III. 572—3, 1901.)  
Hibernica. (Kuhn's *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* XXXVII. 250—61, 1901.)

XXIV. The passive pres. indic. sg. 3 in *-thiar*. XXV. Two glosses in the Milan codex. XXVI. Etymologies: 1 *adfenar* 'is paid'. 2 *adraim do* 'I cleave to, trust to'. 3 *abéis* 'the sea'. 4 *alach* 'quick'. 5 *apur* .i. a puero. 6 *arbor* 'corn'. 7 *arn-* prefix. 8 *bebais* 'he went, i. e. died'. 9 *bochna* 'sea'. 10 *brinn* 'vision'. 11 *caech* 'blind of an eye', 'squinting'. 12 *cáin* 'tribute'. 13 *cir* 'jet'. 14 *coícthigis* 'fortnight'. 15 *demess* 'scheere'. 16 *deóin* 'pleasure, will, consent'. 17 *do-riuth* 'accuro'. 18 *debraing* Fel. Oeng. 19 *echlach* 'messenger'. 20 *echla* Acc. Sen. 789. 21 *enecland* 'honour-price'. 22 *erc* 'cow'. 23 *forngaíre* 'befeht'. 24 *ide* 'torch'. 25 *lâe, lãa, lãithe* 'day'. 26 *laine* 'axe'. 27 *lécim* 'ich lasse los'. 28 *lés* 'bladder'. 29 *luchtar* 'skiff'. 30 *mbriathar* 'word'. 31 *meis* 'bad'. 32 *Moen* id est a moenia murorum aedificia. 33 *mole* 'fire'. 34 *mugart* 'hog'. 35 *muirbell* 'giddiness'. 36 *obid* 'Ovid'. 37 *ol* 'inquit'. 38 *plac, blai* 'a green'. 39 *riasc* 'a marsh'. 40 *sífs* .i. selfa 'will pour'. 41 *siubul* 'a walking, marching'. 42 *umal* 'enkel'.

Dated, Cowes, Isle of Wight, December 11, 1899.

## 1902

Notes on the Martyrology of Oengus. (Rev. Celt. XXIII. 83—87, 1902.)

Dated, 13 January 1902.

On the Deaths of some Irish Heroes. (*Ibid.* XXIII. 303—348, 438, 1902.)

The Irish text of Cinaeth húa Artacáin's poem *Aideda forni do huaistlib Ereann*, beginning 'Fianna batar i nEmain', the versions from (1) Book of Leinster 31 a 32, (2) Laud 610, fo. 74 a—74 b, (3) Egerton 1782, fo. 52 a, with glosses, translation, notes, and index of persons and places.

Dated, Camberley, 8 July 1902. Corrigenda in Rev. Celt. XXVII. 202, 1906.

The Death of Muirchertach mac Erca. (*Ibid.* XXIII. 395—437, 1902.)

The Irish text of *Aided Muirchertaig maic Erca*, from the Yellow Book of Lecan (col. 310—320; facs. p. 313—318), with translation and Glossarial Index. Corrigenda XXIV. 349, 1903.

A collation of Skene's edition of the Book of Aneurin. (Archiv f. celt. Lexikogr. II. 132—5, 1902.)

Dated, London, 2 June, 1902.

On the Copenhagen fragments of the Brehon Laws. (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* IV. 221—33, 1902.)

Extracts from a MS. in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, with translations.

[Notice of] Glossary to volumes I—V of the Ancient Laws of Ireland. Compiled by Robert Atkinson, LL. D. Dublin, 1901. (*Ibid.* IV. 347—76, 1902.)

### 1903

A criticism on Dr. Atkinson's Glossary to volumes I—V of the Ancient Laws of Ireland, by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. Foreign Associate of the Institute of France. 8vo, 49 pp., London, David Nutt, 1903.

An enlarged edition of the Review published in the *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* IV. Dated 15, Grenville Place, London, S. W. May 1903.

*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*. A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose, and Verse. Edited by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. Foreign Associate of the Institute of France and John Strachan, LL. D. Professor of Greek in the Victoria University of Manchester. Vol. II. Non-Biblical Glosses and Scholia, Old-Irish Prose, Names of Persons and Places, Inscriptions, Verse, Indexes. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1903. Large 8vo, xl + 422 pp.

Preface dated, October 1903.

Contains the following Colophon: Taibred cachóen légfás in leborso bendachtain for anmain R. A. Néill ocus for arnanmanani fanisin. W. S. érennach 7 J. S. albanach.

The Battle of Allen. (*Rev. Celt.* XXIV. 41—70, 1903).

The Irish text of *Cath Almaine* from the Yellow Book of Lecan (col. 439—42, facs. 206—07), with variants from the Book of Fermoy, Brussels MS. 5301—20, translation, and Glossarial Index. Dated, Camberley, December 1902.

The Death of Crimthann son of Fidach, and the Adventures of the sons of Eochaid Muigmedón. (*Ibid.* XXIV. 172—207, 1903.)

The Irish text of the *Aidid Crimthaind maic Fídaig 7 tri mac Echach Muigmedón .i. Brian, Ailill 7 Fiachra*, from the Yellow Book of Lecan (col. 898—906, facs. 186a—190a), with variants from the Book of Ballymote, translation, and Glossarial Index. Dated Camberley, April 19, 1903.

The Wooing of Luaine and Death of Athirne. (*Ibid.* XXIV. 270—87, 1903.)

The Irish text of *Tochmarc Luaine 7 Aidedh Aithairne* from the Yellow Book of Lecan (col. 880—885, facs. p. 177—179), with variants from the Book of Ballymote, translation, and Glossary of the rarer words. Dated, London, June 1903.

On Dr. Atkinson's Glossary to volumes I—V of the Ancient Laws of Ireland. (*Ibid.* XXIV. 404—7, 1903.)

Dated, Camberley, 11 September 1903.

Irish Etymologies. (*Mélanges Kern.* 4to, Leide 1903, p. 51—2.)

*dl* 'timid'. *án* 'splendid', *án* 'swift'. *apaig* 'ripe'. *bláithe* 'blossoms', *druine* 'embroidery'. *cennchossach* 'heads and feet'. *labar* 'arrogant, hasty in speech'. *lap* 'mire'. *mleith* 'tending cattle'. *oibne*, *uibne* 'a small drinking-vessel'. *on* 'blemish'. *or* 'plea, prayer'. Dated Camberley, Surrey, 11 December 1902.

Hibernica [Fortsetzung]. (*Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* XXXVIII. 458—72, 1903.)

XXVII. Etymologies: *agen*, *aigen* 'frying-pan'; *aige* 'a chief'; *airmnech*; *anair* 'from the east'; *andracht* 'dark'; *asse* 'possible'; *auchaide* 'audi'; *ben imtha* 'concubine'; *brathre* 'of brothers'; *caile* 'spot'; *com-* 'with'; *conammelt*, *conamailt* 'fricuit'; *corr* 'dwarf'; *dau* 'servant'; *deurb*; *dorochol* 'foramen'; *droch* 'bad'; *ecc* 'sin'? *engach*; *ess* 'food'; Midd.-Ir. *fochraib* 'near'; *fogérim* 'I warm, I heat'; *fuasait* 'development'; *góet* 'wound'; *grúad* 'cheek'; *-id-* 'eam'; *immar* 'as'; *indiad* 'let me say'; *lelap* 'child'; *liuss* 'loathing, disgust'; *melg* 'milk'; *menb* 'small'; *morrígain*; *-mm*, *-mimo* 'my'; *od* as a perfective prefix; *opond*, *oponn* 'sudden'; *ro ordustar* 'dixit'; *ottrach* 'dung'; *ror* verbal prefix; *sethar* 'gland'; *sneíd* 'little'; *tarb-lénc*; *uall* 'pride'. Dated, London, 15 May, 1902.

## 1904

O'Davoren's Glossary. (*Archiv f. celt. Lexikogr.* II. 197—232, 233—504. 501, 1903-04.)

The text ed. from Egerton 88 Brit. Mus. with translation, commentary, and index. Dated Camberley, April 1904.

Corrigenda in Band III. 55. Pages 197—232, appeared in 1903.

The Songs of Buchet's House. (*Rev. Celt.* XXV. 18—38, 225—7, 1904).

*The Esnada tige Buchet.* The Irish texts from the Book of Leinster and Rawlinson B. 502, with variants from Yellow Book of Lecan, Rawl. B. 512, and H. 2. 17 T. C. D., translation, and Glossarial Index. Dated Camberley, December 1903. Note, 1 April 1904.

Tidings of the Resurrection. (*Ibid.* XXV. 232—59, 1904.)

The Irish text of *Scéla na hÉsérge* from the *Lebor na hUidre*, with translation and Glossarial Index. Dated London, April 1904.

The Life of Fursa. (*Ibid.* XXV. 385—404, 1904.)

The Irish text from Bibl. Royale MS. 2324—40 at Brussels, with translation and Glossary. Dated, London, April 1904.

Hibernica [Fortsetzung]. (Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XXXIX. 255—8, 1904.)

XXVIII. Relative forms in the passive. Dated, Camberley, October 1903.

Irish Riddles. (Celtic Review I. 132—5, 1904.)

The Irish text, with translation, from the Book of Fermoy (p. 179).

## 1905

Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé. The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee. Critically edited from ten Manuscripts, with a Preface, translation, notes, and indices. By Whitley Stokes, D. C. L., Foreign Associate of the Institute of France, and Fellow of the British Academy. 8vo, lii + 474 pp., London, Henry Bradshaw Society Vol. XXIX, 1905.

The critical text and translation in parallel columns, with the readings of Brussels MS. 5100—4, Cheltenham MS., Egerton 88 Brit. Mus., Franciscan MS. Dubl., H. 3. 18 T. C. D., Laud 610 Bodl., Lebar Brecc, 23 P 3 R. I. A., Rawlinson B 505, and Rawlinson B 512, Bodl. The text of the Notes in this edition is mainly from the Rawlinson and Laud MSS. not that of the Lebar Brecc printed in the 1880 ed. The Preface discusses the MSS., language and metre, contents, etc. There is a full Glossarial Index. Dated, 15, Grenville Place, London S. W., October 16, 1905.

Addenda and Corrigenda in Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil. VI. 235—42, 1907.

The Colloquy of the Two Sages. (Rev. Celt. XXVI. 4—64, 1905.)

The Irish text of the *Immacallam in dá Thuarad*, from the Book of Leinster (186 a—188), and Rawlinson B 502 (62 a), with variants from Rawlinson B 502, and the Yellow Book of Lecan, translation and Glossary. Dated, Camberley, 25 January 1905.

Issued separately with title: The Colloquy of the Two Sages. By Whitley Stokes, D. C. L. Foreign Associate of the Institute of France. Fellow of the British Academy for promoting historical, philosophical and philological Studies. 8vo, 64 pp., Paris, Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1905.

The Adventure of St. Columba's Clerics. (*Ibid.* XXVI. 130—170, 1905.)

The Irish text of the *Echtra Clérech Choluim Cille* from the Yellow Book of Lecan, with translation and Glossarial Index.

Three Legends from the Brussels Manuscript 5100—4. (*Ibid.* XXVI. 360—77, 1905.)

I Coirpre Crom and Maeléchlainn's Soul. II Coirpre Crom and S. Ciaran. III Colman mac Duach and Guaire. The Irish text with translation. Corrigenda in Rev. Celt. XXVII. 203, 1906.

The Eulogy of Cúrói. Amra Chonrói. (Ériu II. 1—14, 1905.)

The text and glosses from H. 3. 18, Trin. Coll., with variants from Egerton 88 and the Yellow Book of Lecan, together with a glossarial index.

The Evernew Tongue. (*Ibid.* II. 96—162, 1905.)

The *Tenga Bithnua*. Text from the Book of Lismore, with translation and glossarial index. Dated, London, October 1905.

Notes and Corrigenda in Ériu III. 34—5, 1907.

The Irish Abridgment of the 'Expugnatio Hibernica'. (English Hist. Review XX. 77—115, 1905.)

Text from H. 2. 7 T. C. D. with translation, indexes and glossary.

Glossed extracts from the Tripartite Life of S. Patrick. H. 3. 18 p. 520—28. (Archiv f. celt. Lexikogr. III. 8—38. 56, 1905.)

The text, with translation and index verborum. "These extracts were edited from a photograph in the Tripartite Life of Patrick, London 1887, pp. xlvii—lvii. . . . The present edition is made from the original MS. . . ."

Irish Etyma. (Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XL. 243—50, 1905.)

*admat* 'timber'; *allabair* 'echo'; *alt* 'joint, poem'; *att* 'a swelling'; *ataim* 'I swell'; *baid* 'durable'; *bech(\$)amain* (*beth(\$)amain*?) 'a swarm of bees'; *búar* 'flux, diarrhoea'; *cathir* 'city'; *cengim*, *cingim* 'I step'; *centhain*, Thes. Pal.-bib. II. 294, l. 10; *ceol* 'music, melody'; *cin* 'love'; *colba* 'love'; \**cor* 'sword'; *cronn* a river-name; *cuilche* 'mantle'; *cummal* 'cup'; *des* 'arrangement'; *feil*, *fil* 'is'; *goirt* 'bitter'; *iriu* 'land'; *luan* 'manna'; *mugh* 'bad'; *mur* 'abundance'; *✓ reg* 'to distend'; *✓ seq* 'to see'; *sim* 'chain'; *sol*, *fol* 'floor'; *tescim* 'I cut'; *torathar* 'a monster'; *ussarb* 'death'.

Dated, London, April 3, 1905.

Celtica. (Bezenberger's Beitr. XXIX. 169—73, 1905.)

I Gaulish lemmata: *nectos* murus, *ambi-osas* circulos, *caddos* sanctus, *glebra* arator, *melinus* color nigrus, *orge* occide, *ontac* genus marmoris, *vehiegorum* genus fluvialium navium. II Irish Etymologies: *adsóim* 'I kindle', *bebais* 'ivit', *bruach* 'ventriosus', *cert* 'stone', *duar* i. imat, *duil* i. lebur 'book', *to* prepositional prefix. III Cornish Etymologies: *ahas* 'hateful', *chons* 'chance', *degenow* = *de genow*, *hanas* 'whisper', *lawethan* 'Leviathan', *maghteth* 'a virgin, maid', *much* gl. filia, *trem* 'lamentation', *tryher* OM. 1235, *whas*, in *yn whas* 'bene'.

Dated, Camberley, Surrey, September 15, 1903.

## 1906

The Glossary in Egerton 158. (*Archiv f. celt. Lexikogr.* III. 145—214. 247—8. 290, 1906-07.)

The text with glossarial Index, and Notes (p. 247—8. 290, 1907).

Irish Etymologies. (*Rev. Celt.* XXVII. 85—92, 1906.)

*bair* 'heavy'; *bech*, *beth* 'bee'; *blinn* 'spittle'; \**boccaim* 'I boast'; *cerbaim* 'I cut'; *Cisel*, a name for the Devil; *codal* 'skin, hide'; *cuile* 'store-room, cellar'; *darb* 'slave-girl'; *dé* 'smoke'; *dedól* 'twilight'; *fithnem* 'wide heaven'; *fogamur* 'autumn'; *tadaim* 'I close, confine'; *tall* 'flock, swarm'; *im* 'so'; *immaire*, *indra* 'ridge of land'; *lethiter* 'half-side'; *melg* 'death'; *óib* 'semblance, likeness'; *regar* 'is seen'; *tuathach* 'lord'.

Dated, London, December 1905.

The Birth and Life of St. Moling. (*Ibid.* XXVII. 257—312, 1906.)

The Irish text of *Geinemain Molling ocus a Bhethæ* from the Brussels MS. 1490—4200 ff. 43a—65b, with variants from the Liber Flavius, translation, and glossarial index. Dated, London, May 1906.

Re-issued separately with title: The Birth and Life of St. Moling par Whitley Stokes. 8vo, 56 pp., Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1906. See also 1907.

## 1907

Notes on the Birth and Life of St. Moling. (*Rev. Celt.* XXVIII. 70—2, 1907.)

Addenda and Corrigenda. Dated, London, 10 Dec. 1906.

The Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday. (*Ibid.* XXVIII. 308—26. 432, 1907.)

The Irish text of *Airdena inna cóic lá ndéc ria mbrdth*, from Brit. Mus. Addl. 30, 512 (fo. 95a), the so-called *Leabhar úi Maolchonaire*, translation and Glossarial Index. A List of the contents of the MS. is given. Dated, London, May 1, 1907.

Specimens of Middle-Irish Literature. No. I. The Birth\* and Life of St. Moling. Edited from a manuscript in the Royal Library, Brussels, with a translation and glossary, by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L., Foreign Associate of the Institute of France and Fellow of the British Academy. 8vo, 68 pp. One hundred copies privately printed. London, 1907. [Imprint on Wrapper: Harrison and Sons, St. Martin's Lane, W. C. Printers in Ordinary to His Majesty.]

A revised edition.

The Stowe Glossaries. (*Archiv f. celt. Lexikogr.* III. 268—89, 1907.)

The text ed. from Stowe MS. C. I. 2 R. I. A. with glossarial Index. Dated London, February 1907.

Notes on the Second Edition of the Martyrology of Oengus,  
London 1905. (*Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* VI. 235—42, 1907.)

A list of Addenda and Corrigenda.

On two Irish expressions for 'Right hand' and 'Left hand'.  
(*Ériu* III. 11—12, 1907.)

Note on *lám bennachtan* and *lám soscéli*.

Notes on the Evernew Tongue. (*Ibid.* III. 34—5, 1907.)

Corrigenda and Addenda.

Irish Etyma. (Kuhn's *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* XLI. 381—90,  
1907.)

*acrann* 'clothing, shoe'. *ad-gládur* 'alloquor'. *dí* 'swan'. *airghe*  
'a drove of cattle'. *barc* 'abundance'. *blosc* 'noise, sound'. *boccad*  
1 'boasting', 2 *boccad* 'shaking'. *brannar* 'fallow-field'. *céllud*  
'coitus'. *cétne* 'same'. *cimas* 'border, fringe'. *ciúldn* 'murmur'.  
*clútdad*, *clútdugud* 'act of covering'. *cnap* 'button'. *colum* 'skin, hide'.  
*commairge* 'security'. *condúala* 'Gravierkunst'. *cúäch* 'cup'. *dadumh*  
'atom'. *dellrad* 'brightness'. *deogaire* 'sooth sayer'. *dése* 'crowds,  
troops'. *dumacha* 'mists'. *echlach* 'a night-owl?'. *éna* 'act of  
eating'. *éne* 'salmon'. *fescor* 1 'separation', 2 *fescor* 'evening'.  
*fine* 'sin'. *fonn* 'pleasure, desirous'. *gres* 'guest'. *guas* 'danger'.  
*iarfaiged* 1 'enquiry', 2 *iarfaiged* 'protection'. *istad*, *instud* 'place,  
stead'. *maige* 'great'. *olor*, *olar* 'oil'. *olart* 'hone'. *onfaís* 'diving'.  
*ror* verbal prefix. *scripad* 'act of scraping'. *slachtha* 'stricken'. *slípad*  
'act of polishing'. *sríthide fola* 'rills of blood'. *tócht* 'stench'. *uallib*  
'restless, fickle'. *uámond* 'skin'. *ulchabhchán*, *tulchabhchán* 'owl'.  
Dated, London, 23 July 1907.

## 1908

The Training of Cúchulainn. (Rev. Celt. XXIX. 109—52. 312—14,  
1908.)

- \* The Irish text from Egerton 106 Brit. Mus., with translation and  
Glossarial Index. Dated, London, April 1908.

Old-Irish Glosses at Laon. (*Ibid.* XXIX. 269—70, 1908.)

Dated, Laon, 31. Aug. 1908.

Tidings of Conchobar mac Nessa. (*Ériu* IV. 18—38, 1908.)

The text from Book of Leinster, with translation and glossarial  
Index. Dated, London, January 1908.

Poems ascribed to S. Moling. From the Brussels MS. 5100—4,  
pp. 50—67. (Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts III. 20—41,  
1908.)

The Irish text of twenty-three poems ascr. to Moling and one ascr.  
to Columcille.



s-Presents in Irish. (Indogerm. Forsch. XXII. 335—6, 1908.)

1 *essim* 'I ask, seek'. 2 *géssim* 'I cry'. 3 *léssaim* 'I beat violently'.

### 1909

Gaelic Glosses. (Celtic Review V. 291—4, 1909.)

From a MS. in Advocates' Library Edinb. No. XXXVIII.

In Cath Catharda. The Civil War of the Romans. An Irish version of Lucan's Pharsalia. Edited and translated [with Glossarial Index and Indices of Persons and Places] by Whitley Stokes. 8vo. ix + 581 pp., *Leipzig*, S. Hirzel, 1909.

Forms Heft 2 Vierte Serie of "Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch herausgegeben von Wh. Stokes und E. Windisch". The Editor's Preface breaks off abruptly, death having intervened. It is continued and signed by E. Windisch, Leipzig, im Oktober 1909.

### 1910

A Supplement to Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus. Vol. I. 1901.

Vol. II. 1903. By Whitley Stokes. 8vo, [4] + 82 pp., *Halle a. S.*, Max Niemeyer, 1910.

'Happy are they that hear their detractions and can put them to mending'. Benedick, *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act 2, scene 3.

Preface signed Maive Stokes. "The manuscript of this Supplement, written during the last year of his life, was found complete among my father's papers. It is now printed exactly as he left it, with no alterations or additions, and has been seen through the press by Dr. Kuno Meyer . . . 15 Grenville Place London S. W. March 10th 1910."

This volume consists of corrigenda and additional notes, with Appendix IV. (p. 81): The Signatures in the Laon MS. No. 444, and Appendix V. (p. 82): The Glosses in the Laon MS. No. 55.

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Abraham, Legend of 1890.

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*Acallamh na Senórach* 1900.

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— poem on 1884, 1890 (Hibernica).

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— Second Vision of 1891.

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Aed Slane, Death of 1890 (Lism. Lives).

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*Amra Chonrói* 1905.

*Amra Choluimbchille* 1872 (Goidelica).

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 — Contents of Book of Leinster 1886.  
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1883

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Dublin, June 5, 1911.

R. I. BEST.





## A FRAGMENT OF AN OLD WELSH COMPUTUS.

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A few months ago the fragment of Old Welsh printed below passed into the possession of the Cambridge University Library. The facsimile here given represents the exact size of the original. On the reverse are two faint diagrams, one of which Dr. M. R. James and Mr. Jenkinson identified as the Sphere of Pythagoras, for which see the latter's edition of the *Hisperica Famina* p. 31. Accompanying this vellum fragment is another scrap identical in size, which evidently formed part of the same volume. The two have been beheaded to the extent of about ten lines. The other fragment consists of a portion of a calendar giving the years in cycles of 19 with the dates of moveable feasts. The first year is 922, the end of the cycle being 930. The next cycle (931—949) reaches to the foot of the page. But on the reverse the first year is 960, the last 987. At the year 938 a different hand has entered *hic adelsta(n)*. It would appear then that these 23 lines of Old Welsh may have formed part of a 10th century computus. The subject-matter resembles the instructions given in Bede's *Ephemeris* as to the use of the regular page, which will be found in Migne vol. 90 p. 757-8, as well as in the older editions of Bede's works. But the column of letters in the calendar referred to in the Welsh text, without which the regular page cannot be worked, is only to be found in the Cologne edition of Bede's works (1537). It forms the fifth vertical column of capital letters accompanying the various months. P and Q against Jan. 29 and 31 are a mistake. They have come in from col. 3. Old Welsh documents are unfortunately very scanty and the lack of other material renders the translation of a highly technical fragment like the present one a matter of extreme difficulty. I desire gratefully to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Loth for assistance generously given, though he is not in any way to be held responsible for my rendering. My best thanks are also due to Mr. Jenkinson for allowing me to publish the fragment and for help of various kinds.

### Text of the fragment.

guidaur . is mod . cephitor . did . hanaud . In ir tritid urd .i. In trited retec . retit loyr . . guorhir seraul . circhl . ir ir tri ui . aur . is did ciman . haci . . Or bissei pan diconetent ir . oith aur hinnith pa sserenn . pigurthet . loyr in pan aedbid . ad ir loc . guac . issi . in triti urd . Oraur . ni hois . ir loc guac hinnith . in pāg rēgl-nit . abruid ir serenn . hai bu in arcimeir .o. is gur tum tarnetor ir loc guac haibid *post* .o. haccet . nitegid . di . a . hit niritarnher ir did hinnuith .i. ir loc quac habid *post* .o. Ir nidibid ir loyr di . a . hit niri tarnher rann . ir bissei . . Hacet is gurth . ir serenn hai bid in eir cimeir .o. retit loyr ir did . hinnuith cen nit boi loc guac *inter* o . et a . in pāg regulā . Is aries isid in arcimeir aries . hithou tra nos in errcimeir loc guac .i. ii kl- Iañ . . Cinnit hoys ir loc guac hinnuith In pāg rēg . . *post* .e. issem ir .e. hinnuith issid diguedham oll in pāg rēg . . hac in ir gueleri . gurt trichiti nacgenei . bihit . dirterni ir loc guac hai bid in ir gueleri nitegid ad serenn árall aries ithou guar kl- iañ bichet panu petguarid . did di aries . . Sic solvendum *est* Salt emmiguollig hinnith ir bloidin hunnuith . ir hatbid oit guor mod in ir salt . Ceis in ir loyr ha chepi . hinn in guir . ir ni deruid hinn . hou nit bloidin salt hai bid im guarphenn circhl nauncant.

### Notes to the translation.

<sup>1)</sup> According to Bede's Ephemeris the moon stays for 11 days 6 hours and two-thirds (*bisse*) in each constellation.

<sup>2)</sup> i.e. it is a whole day which the moon gains thereby. Or *bissei* perhaps means 'from, as a result of the b.'

<sup>3)</sup> From *dy-gynnyddu*. The ending is perhaps to be compared with O. W. forms in *-int*, cp. Strachan, Introduction p. 83.

<sup>4)</sup> For *pa . . . pi* v. Loth, RC. XXXI, 327.

<sup>5)</sup> *gurthet* I take to be from *gurth* + *hed*. In Bede 'peruolare' occurs in similar passages. Otherwise it might be = *gurthyd*, 'what constellation is it that the moon rejects, leaves behind?'

## Translation.

it is known, it is a manner in which a difficult day is found. In the third row, i. e. in the third circuit the moon travels on the zodiac for the thrice six hours.<sup>1)</sup> It is a whole day with it<sup>2)</sup> (the moon). As regards the *bisse* when those eight hours increase<sup>3)</sup> what constellation is it to which<sup>4)</sup> the moon flies<sup>5)</sup> when it comes to it,<sup>6)</sup> the vacant space which is in the third row. When<sup>7)</sup> that vacant space is not<sup>8)</sup> in the regular page the constellation which was opposite o is not entangled.<sup>9)</sup> It is in excess<sup>10)</sup> that the vacant space which is after o is absorbed.<sup>11)</sup> And yet it does not pass<sup>12)</sup> from a in order that that day may not be absorbed, i. e. the vacant space which is after o. For the moon does not pass from a in order that a part, the *bisse*, be not absorbed. And yet<sup>13)</sup> it is towards the constellation which is opposite o that the moon runs that day, since<sup>14)</sup> there cannot be<sup>15)</sup> a vacant space between o and a in the regular page. It is aries which is opposite . . . aries itself<sup>16)</sup> . . . opposite a vacant space, i. e. 2 Cal. Jan. Although that vacant space is not in the regular page after e, that is, that e which is last of all in the regular page and in the calendar . . . . .<sup>17)</sup> until thou absorb the vacant space which is in the calendar it does not move to another constellation. It is aries itself on Cal. Jan. until it is the fourth day of aries. *Sic solvendum est.* It is the *saltus* that releases<sup>18)</sup> (disturbs?) this this year. For there are eight too many in the *saltus*.<sup>19)</sup> Seek in the (table of the) moon and thou shalt find this true. For this does not fail. Is it not a *saltus* year which is at the end of a nineteen year cycle?<sup>20)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> *aedbid* = *a* + *e* + *d(i)bid*, where *e* is the infixed pronoun. This is contrary to later usage, as *pan* is regularly preceded by *y*, when a pronoun is infixed (Strachan p. 35). For the form *triti* see the instances given by Loth, RC. XXXI, 320.

<sup>2)</sup> *Or aur* perhaps means 'from the time that'.

<sup>3)</sup> It is interesting to find that there are two instances in this fragment of the use of *oes* with a definite subject, cp. Strachan p. 101.

<sup>4)</sup> *abruid* apparently = *afwydd*.

<sup>5)</sup> = *guor twf*?

<sup>6)</sup> This verb occurs four times in the fragment (*tarnher* twice, *di-terni*). Prof. Loth compares Bret. *tarna*, 'to sweep'; *tarner*, 'dish-cloth'. He informs me that the verb occurs elsewhere meaning 'to absorb, dry up'.

<sup>13</sup>) I can offer no satisfactory explanation of this form which occurs once again. The absolute form *egid* is out of the question. Prof. Loth writes: 'à propos de *tegid*, je me souviens d'avoir entendu employer couramment à Carnarvon: *tynghyd* dans le sens de 'fuir', par exemple pour un bateau s'enfuyant devant la tempête. *g* intervocalique est souvent pour *ng*, rarement, il est vrai, pour *nc*.'

<sup>13</sup>) = *ac cyd*?

<sup>14</sup>) *cen nit* = 'since not' for *can nyd*? This seems to suit the sense better than *cyny*.

<sup>15</sup>) *boi* = *buy*?

<sup>16</sup>) *hithou* = *hitheu* fem. referring to *serenn*? A few lines later it is written *ithou*.

<sup>17</sup>) *gurt trichiti*, cp. *gwrthrychu*, *gwrthddrychu*, 'to place in view, design'?

<sup>18</sup>) Apparently from *ymollwg*. It is natural to think of O. Irish relative forms such as *imne-rādi*. Prof. Loth also suggested this explanation, but he holds that -i- may represent an ordinary infix pronoun, the verb having the usual reflexive force.

<sup>19</sup>) I do not understand the purport of this.

<sup>20</sup>) *naunecant* evidently renders Lat. *decemnouennalis*. Cp. Bret. *naondec*. But what is the latter part? W. *cant* means 'a rim, hoop, periphery' etc.

Cambridge.

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## NOTES ON THE LAUD GENEALOGIES.

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The genealogical tract printed above p. 291 ff. appears to throw some light on the composition of the more extensive genealogical compilations which may be studied in LL, BB, and Rawl. B 502. The Laud tract, in the department of origin-legends, draws on early material not represented, or only partially represented, in these other collections. Especially to be noted are: the unrhymed poem by Lucreth moccu Chiara<sup>1)</sup> (p. 306), to whom is also here ascribed the rhymed poem 'Ba mol Midend midlaige' (p. 308);<sup>2)</sup> a fuller version (but apparently with incorporated glosses) of this latter poem than that in BB 169 b; the story of Mošaulum etc. (see note, p. 309); the version of 'Cath Mucrama', p. 309; the origin-story of the Eoganachta,<sup>3)</sup> p. 312; the origin-story of Dál Cuinn, p. 313, indicating an early form of the legend of Mil, ancestor here not of all the Gaedhil but only of the race of Conn, who conquered the Picts, with whom his ancestors had shared the sovereignty; the stories of Conall Corc and of the Déisi migration, p. 315, note 1 — the latter story dating from c. 750.

The Laud tract is based in part on eighth century materials. It is a transcript from a source now lost, but some of the history

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<sup>1)</sup> Author of a rhymed genealogical poem on the Eoganachta, 'Cú cen máthair maith in chland', BB 173 a, Rawl. B 502. Internal evidence shows this poem to date not earlier than the opening years of the eighth century, and the surname-formula moccu Chiara can hardly be of later date than 750, if it can be so late. Lucreth = Luguqritos, see Macalister, *Ir. Epigraphy*, vol. III, p. 53.

<sup>2)</sup> On p. 307, l. 34 we should read: Midend profetaunit diluunum hoc, ut Lucreth cecinit.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. my argument as to their relatively late Gaulish origin, *Irish Population-Groups*, Proc. R. I. A., XXIX C 4, p. 73 note 5 and § 101.

of which can be traced, and from which LL and BB derived much of their parallel matter.

Of all the genealogical groups treated in Laud 610, only those belonging to Middle and Eastern Ulster, a region of which Armagh is the centre, are elaborated into 'cráeba coibniusa.'<sup>1</sup>) The late pedigrees also are exclusively confined to this region. The first and largest place (pp. 291—301), but without pedigrees, is given to Cenél nEogain. This sept, extending its control eastward and southward from Ailech, dominated the region of the Airgialla, including Armagh, from an early date in the ninth century until the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>)

The Airgialla are treated in copious genealogical detail, with many late pedigrees, pp. 320—324. Pages 325 to 337 are devoted to the genealogical history of the East-Ulster dynasties, Dál Araidi and Dál Fiatach, also with late pedigrees.

A brief section (300 l. 30—301 l. 17) is given to Cenél Conaill; much less to Sil nAeda Sláine, 302, and to Cenél Maini, p. 324. The other Ui Néill septs and those of Connacht are not represented. The Lagen also are excluded, and Munster is represented only by origin-stories and anecdotes.

The following dates for pedigrees etc. are derived from the Annals of Ulster, which give special prominence to the affairs of Middle and Eastern Ulster.

P. 294 l. 21. 'Finit' denotes the latest point to which the Cenél nEogain dynasty of Ailech is traced. Dubgall mac Donnchada † 979. Niall mac Máilsechnaill † 1061. Murchad hua Flaithbertaig † 973.

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<sup>1</sup>) The Irish genealogical lore comprises three chief classes of matter: (1) origin-legends; (2) the downward tracing of kindreds from a common ancestor — this part is called variously 'cráeba coibniusa', 'dúile sloindte', 'minugud senchasa', or 'cráebscáiliud senchasa' (hence the modern word 'craobhscaoilead' = exposition etc.); (3) 'genelaige', pedigrees, in which the descent of an individual is traced backwards in a single line of male ancestors. Groups 1 and 2 are jointly called 'senchas', in Latin 'peritia'. The pedigrees are (1) those of the contemporary chiefs of septs at the time of original compilation, and (2) those of notable chiefs or ecclesiastics of some earlier time. The first class supplies the dating criteria. To all this matter are frequently added poems and verses, as in the annals; regnal-lists and battle-lists; and anecdotal matter with reference to individual names.

<sup>2</sup>) See *Irish Population-Groups* § 166.

P. 300 l. 19. 'Finit' marks an original ending of the Cenél nEogain section. Between this and Cenél Conaill, a later redactor has inserted (l. 20—29) some particulars of the family of Ua Brolcháin (see l. 5). This insertion is copied in the same order in BB 69 a 46. The surname Ua Brolcháin (anglicized to Bradley) is still frequent in a district in the south of Derry county, nearly midway between the ancient ecclesiastical cities of Derry and Armagh. The family gave two abbots to Derry, a bishop to Armagh and a prior to Iona. Máel Brigde, 'primsaer Ereann', † 1029. Máel Ísu, the religious poet, † 1086. It is perhaps worth noting that Máel Choluim Ua Brolcháin was bishop in Armagh (1107—1122) about the time of the latest items that can be dated in this tract. Mór, daughter of Dub Inse (l. 26) gave birth to Máel Muire in 963 (AU 962). Máel Muire, abbot of Armagh 1001—1020, was father of Dub Da Leithe, abbot of Armagh 1049—1060 or 1064, to whom O'Curry ascribes the lost Book of Dub Da Leithe. The Annals of Ulster quote this Book three times: at 962, where also they enter (from the same source?) the birth of abbot Máel Muire; at 1003 (see editor's note, p. 512); and at 1021; each time in reference to the affairs of Cenél nEogain, the Airgialla, the Ulaid, and Dál Araidi, whose genealogies form nearly all the more fully and lately developed portions of the Laud tract. The insertion of the Ua Brolcháin section after the 'Finit' of the Cenél nEogain section, to which Muintir Brolcháin belongs, may reasonably be ascribed to Dub Da Leithe, who would thus have recorded his own descent, through his grandmother Mór, from kings of Ailech and of Ireland.

P. 301, Cenél Conaill: Murchad mac Flaithbertaig, 'king of Cenél Conaill', † 766. Mael Doraid floruit c. 900 or earlier, see AU 961 and note. 'Muintir Máil Doraid' is of course some generations later.

P. 302, Sil nAeda Sláne: Donnchad mac Donnchada † 1012.

P. 322, Ui Bressail Macha: Cumuscach, comarba Patric, m. Domnaill m. Cuinn m. Eredain, BB 144 col. 2, = Cumuscach hua hErodan, rival of Dub Da Leithe for the abbacy of Armagh 1060, † 1074. Allowing a generation to elapse, his brother's grandson, Flaithbertach of the pedigree, floruit c. 1100—1140.

P. 322, Ui Niallái: Flaithbertach hua hAnluain, ri Hua Niallái, † 983.



P. 322, Cland Chernaig: Cernach mac Suibne, equonimus [œconomus] Airdd Machae, † 783; Cumuscach mac Cernaig, equonimus Airdd Machae, † 816; Ailill mac Cumuscaig, rex Locha Cal, † 848; Cumuscach mac Aillello, equonimus Airdd Macha, † 908. Hence Cumuscach mac Cernaig, the younger, floruit probably c. 1100. Cland Chernaig thus appears to have been the dynastic sept of a small territory quite close to Armagh — 'Loughgall' is about five miles northeast from Armagh — and to have held the succession to the office of œconomus at Armagh.

P. 323, Ui Echach Airgiall: The first pedigree belongs to the subsept Ui Sinaig, who held the succession to the abbacy of Armagh for many generations.<sup>1)</sup> Dub Da Leithi mac Sinaich, abbas Aird Machae, † 792. Mael Muire mac Eochada, comarba Patraic, † 1020. Amalgaid † 1049. (Dub Da Leithi mac Mael Muire, comarba Patraic, † 1064.) Mael Isu (mac Amalgada 1064) comarba Patraic † 1091. Aed mac Mail Isu .i. mac comarba Patraic † 1095. Cellach (mac Aeda LL 334, BB 113 col. 2) comarba Patraic † 1129; (born 1080, brother of Echaid mac Aeda).

P. 323, Genelach Fernmaige: Donnacan mac Fogertaig, king of Fernmag, † 881. The date of Lethlobor should be c. 1050.

P. 323, Sil nDaimén[i]: Bécc mac Cumuscaig † 782. Mac Léigind mac Cairill, king of Airgialla, † 1022.

P. 324: Mathgamain mac Laidgnén, ri Fernmuigi, † 1022.

P. 324, Sil Colla Uais (race of Fiachra Tort = Ui Tuirtri): Conchobar hua Domnallain, king of Ui Tuirtri, † 1016. Muiredach hua Flainn, ri Hua Tuirtre (= Muiredach m. Muirchertaig m. Floind, BB 113 a 44), † 1059, (brother to Muirecán the younger, l. 17).

P. 324, Fir Thethbai<sup>2)</sup>: Bécc mac Conlai, ri Tethbae † 770.

<sup>1)</sup> St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy, who visited him at Clairvaux in 1139 and died at Clairvaux in 1148, denounces the Ui Sinaig succession, which, he says, lasted for about fifteen generations, and included 'eight married men, without orders, but learned'. He gives many interesting particulars about the last three abbots of this line, Celsus (Cellach), Mauricius (Muirchertach), and Nigellus (Niall); all based on the statements of St. Malachy and other visitors from Ireland, contemporaries of these men.

<sup>2)</sup> This section is misplaced. It belongs to the Ui Néill. We may perhaps suppose that a scribe, directed to insert here the Ui Maini of Connacht, who were held to be a branch of the Airgialla, inserted Cenél Maini m. Néill by mistake.

(Tadgán, four generations later, c. 900.) Lachtnán mac Máil Ciarain, rex Tethbai, † 893.

P. 329, l. 20, Dál Fiatach: Congal Cennfota mac Dunchado, rex Uloth, † 673. (Demmán, two generations later, c. 700—750.)

P. 330, l. 14: Bécc Bairche † 717; his sons, Dubthach † 711, Oengus † 729.

The Latin note, l. 18, must have arisen from two distinct marginal glosses, of which the second 'vel quinque filii' belongs to the following passage. In BB (166 b 26) the two glosses are run together as here. There, however, the first gloss is far separated from its text, which ends at 166 a 38. The intervening matter is not in the Laud tract. Clearly then, the mixing of the glosses occurred in a MS. which was a source common to BB and Laud 610. A later MS., from which the BB tract is derived, carried on the genealogy from the sons of Bécc Boirche (l. 18 = BB 166 a 38) down to 'Madadan mac Aeda, athair Ard-gail, (is uada sen in rigraid' (166 b 26). Cp. p. 336, l. 26. The BB added text here speaks of the dynasty descended from Matudán, and probably dates from not long before 1177, when De Courcy overthrew the kingdom of the Ulaid. The added portion was inserted above the twofold gloss, which the scribe took as referring altogether to the succeeding sentence. In BB as in Laud 610, the two glosses, incorporated in the text, are followed by 'Ceithri maic Feic' etc.

P. 335, l. 12 [Dál Araidi]: Donnchad hua Loingsig, king of Dál Araidi, † 1003. P. 336, l. 1: Iugulatio Cathusaig filii Ailello, regis Cruithne, 748. Read 'm. Dúnlainge (cuius filius Cū Chūa-rāin) m. Scandail (cuius filius Congal Cæch) m. Becce' etc. (see LL 332 a, AU 627, 645).

P. 336, Ui Echach Cobo: Mael Bresail mac Ailello, rex Cobo, † 824. Cernach mac Maele Bresail, rex Cobo, † 852. (Congalach = c. 1000.) Bécc Baile mac Echach † 748. Aed hua hAtid, ri Hua nEchach, † 966. Echmilid hua Atid, ri Hua nEchach, † 1005. (Thence may be dated the floruit of Flaithbertach.)

P. 336, l. 26 [Ulaid, or Dál Fiatach]: Ardgar mac Matudain, ri Ulad, † 969. Eochaid (sic) mac Ardgar, ri Ulad, † 1003.<sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> From Bécc Bairche † 717 to Eochu mac Ardgar † 1003, nine generations = 286 years.

The terminal dates fall into four main groups:

1. An early, chiefly eighth century, group, corresponding to the older narrative matter.
2. A group about 975—1000.
3. A small group about 1050.
4. A small group about 1100—1125.

Groups 1 and 2 may be regarded as forming the main original text, drawn up about the close of the tenth century. Groups 3 and 4 do not indicate a fresh compilation, and are sufficiently accounted for, if we suppose them to represent matter inserted in the MS. of the older text, or in a transcript. Group 4 comprises *Ui Bressail Macha* and *Cland Chernaig*, p. 322, and *Ui Echach Airgiall*, p. 323. They are almost consecutive, and the foregoing notes show that they are intimately associated with the ecclesiastical affairs of Armagh. The frequent use of Latin bespeaks an ecclesiastical redactor, rather than a genealogist of the secular school of filid.

To sum up, the general indications are that from a genealogical compilation drawn up at the close of the tenth century and embodying transcripts from much older sources, a selection was made at Armagh of the portions of greatest local interest. The time of this selection would be that of group 3, which represents additions then made. The MS. into which this selection was transcribed was most probably the Book of Dub Da Leithe. Group 4 would represent later and purely local additions made in the MS., which was preserved at Armagh. The MS., with these additions, was the source of the Laud tract. It was also one of the sources of the genealogical tracts in LL and BB, as will be evident from the following table.

Comparative Table of the Pedigrees.

Laud 610	BB	LL
322 Lorcán	113 col. 2, 13. End different.	334. End same.
Flaithbertach	114 col. 4, 1. End same.	"
m. Aeda		
Garbid	115 col. 2, 25. End same.	"
Gillacrist	Omitted.	"
Dub Emna	"	"
Cinaed	"	"

	Laud 610	BB	LL
	Flaithbertach	114 col. 2. End same.	End same.
	m. Diarmata		
	Cummascach	115 col. 3. Different.	"
323	Echaid m. Aeda	113 col. 2. Cellach m. Aeda.	As in BB.
	Murchad	" End same.	End same.
	m. Ruadri		
	Orcnechán	Omitted.	"
	Domnallán	"	"
	Lethlobor	113 b 7. End same.	"
	Becc	114 col. 4. Different.	"
	Flandgus	114 col. 1. End same.	"
	Mac Léigind	"	"
324	Dondacán	"	"
	Mathgamain	"	"
	Eochaid	"	"
	Gilla Coluim	115 b. Different.	338. "
	Conchobar	Omitted.	Omitted.
	Muirecán	113 a 43. Different.	"
	Maelruanaid	Omitted.	"
	Tadgán	82 b, col. 1. Different.	"
	Lachtnán	Omitted.	335. End same.
334	Cu Allaid	"	331. "
335	Donnchad	167 b. End same.	332. "
336	Cathassach	168 a. "	"
	Congalach	"	"
	Niall	"	"
	Bec Baile	"	"
	Flaithbertach	Different.	"
	Aed	End same.	"
	Eochu	167 b. "	335. Different.

P. 329, l. 9, Domongart mac Predae = Domangort mac Proede BB 165 b 39. For the second name cp. 'Seacht meic Fergusa meic Enna .i. Cathbad espoc ocus Praed (etc.)'; 'secht meic Praedae'; BB 167 a 37, 43. This name, found in East-Ulster genealogies, is probably Pictish or British. It seems to survive in the surname 'O'Prey' which I have met from the Dál Fiatach district, the maritime parts of the county Down. Cp. Coisenmech nepos Predeni rex nepotum Echdach Ulaith (*sic* = Echach

Uloth), AU 783; Artur filius Bicoir Pretene, *Imram Brain*, p. 84; *Predene* or *Prædene*, BB 167 b 1, 2 (grandson of Domongart mac Pr[o]jedae).<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> 'Secht maic Domanguirt, cui Ronan Laech filius est demediae (*sic*) parte, pars vero altera Monannan mac Lir fuit similis, nam pt [t over p] illis duobus Ronan .i. a leath o c[h]inn go bonn la ceachtar nai, des re Domangort, tuas ri Manannan. Findtan ingen Findcain maic Faithgin de Uib Cronain di Conaillib a mathair Ronain, cui dixit Manannan:

Tofil in matin n-uairgloin  
diambiat fir man armaig  
isé Manannan mac Lir  
comai[n]m in fir dotarlaig.

Tri (*sic*) maic Ronain .i. Fingin Faelbe Maelduin Predene Fiachra.' BB 167 a 46. Cp. *Imram Brain*, p. 43. Ronan's date should be c. 600. His greatgrand-daughter Hoiriu was the wife of Ailill Ardae, king of the Ciannachta of Glenn Gemin († 702 AU). Their daughter Ailbene was wife of Domnall, king of Ireland 742–762. Her son Donnchad, king of Ireland 769–797, was born in 733. BB 167 b 9, 12 (cp. 286 a 4, 5).

Dublin.

JOHN MAC NEILL.

I take this opportunity of correcting the following mistakes in the text printed above pp. 291–338, to many of which John Mac Neill has drawn my attention.

- P. 291, l. 20, Findsail, *sic* MS., as if 'White-heel'; but the name is rather Find Fáil.
- P. 296, l. 20, *instead of* Láréin *Rawl. 502, p. 89b has* Laisreán.
- P. 301, l. 5, *read* Lugaid Cuingi[d],
- l. 6, *read* Colum, Doi
- l. 21, *read* Tec[h]tmair, derbrátha[i]r
- l. 26, *for* Aess *read* tess
- l. 34, *read* Mosenóc Mognai
- P. 302, l. 8, *read* Diarmait Ruanaid
- P. 303, l. 29, *read* Ailella, mac dō Fiachu
- l. 32, *read* (Läre), Fidach
- P. 304, l. 19, *read* dēc domonnai ('secular').

- P. 305, l. 18, *for* 7 Húi Neill (sic MS.) *read* i. Húi Neill  
 l. 19, *read* senathar. Rogabsat
- P. 307, l. 34, *read* dilunium hoc, ut Lucreth .cc.
- P. 308, l. 7, *for* dilegad (sic MS.) *read* dílgud  
 l. 27, *read* Ba moo dicridu Eochu &c.  
 l. 38, *read* märe[h]athu
- P. 319, l. 14, *for* 7 hUí Neill (sic MS.) *read* i. hUí Neill  
 l. 20, *for* [Dubruig] *read* [Dub]
- P. 320, l. 29, *before* Locha Febail *insert* [Cáirthinn]
- P. 322, l. 16, *for* Ciaridir LL *has* Ciaroduir
- P. 323, l. 3, *for* Landacáin Rawl. *has* Flannacán
- P. 324, l. 13, *for* Duibfianaig Rawl. *has* Duibsinaig
- P. 330, l. 2, *read*:  
 Mælcoba [i] cassail [chró] crochis Congal Cendfota,  
 7 ba cosmail a dath ri brat roros do Dunchad.
- P. 331, l. 4, *for* Duib *read* d'Uib
- P. 333, l. 15, *read*:  
 Batar cadain for clár cliu, clár ndess, geisi for suidiu
- P. 334, l. 32, *read* d' [F]othardaib Fē
- P. 336, l. 2, *for* Bæthāin Rawl. *has* Baetán  
 l. 6, *for* Certaig Rawl. *and* LL *have* Écertaig
- P. 337, l. 1, *for* credit *read* cre[di]dit

K. M.

### Berichtigungen.

S. 286, Strophe 1 u. 2: Für *hilaraib* lies *ilaraib*.

Anmerkung 1 zu *Columb*: Tilge „*Fiadcholum* — vereinzelt“ und füge hinzu: *Columb* war schon um 700 zu *Colum* geworden; die Schreibung *Columb* erhielt sich jedoch noch durch viele Jahrhunderte.

S. 286, Strophe 1 u. S. 287, Strophe 4 u. 5: Für *Columb*, *Coluimb* lies *Colum(b)*, *Coluim(b)*.

S. 288, Zeile 8: Für „Gerechtigkeit, die . . .“ lies „Gerechtigkeit des Herrn, die . . .“

JULIUS POKORNY.

## THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA AND ST. COLUMBAN ON THE PSALMS.<sup>1)</sup>

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It has been nearly two decades since Theodore of Mopsuestia was first brought to the notice of students of English literature as source of an Anglo-Saxon version of the psalms.<sup>2)</sup> Theodore, who was Bishop of Mopsuestia in southeastern Asia Minor, lived about 350—428, and wrote his Commentary on the Psalter, of which the original Greek has survived only in fragments, probably between 368 and 392. *The West-Saxon Psalms*, as the translation is called in the latest edition<sup>3)</sup> is the prose version of the first fifty psalms in the West-Saxon dialect of

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<sup>1)</sup> For the opportunity of pursuing the investigation reported in this paper and the succeeding one upon 'Theodore of Mopsuestia in England and Ireland', the writer is indebted to the bestowal of a Johnston Research Scholarship (1909—1911) by the Johns Hopkins University. The investigation was suggested by Professor J. W. Bright, to whose direction and collaboration in its earlier stages, and to whose unfailing kindness in advice and criticism during the preparation of these articles, any results of value which they may contain are very largely due. Besides this general acknowledgment, certain specific obligations to him and to others who gave assistance will be mentioned in the footnotes.

<sup>2)</sup> J. Douglas Bruce, 'The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Book of Psalms commonly known as the Paris Psalter'. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* IX (1894), 43—164. (Also reprinted, with a preface, as a Johns Hopkins University Dissertation, Baltimore, 1894.)

<sup>3)</sup> *Liber Psalmorum: The West-Saxon Psalms, being the prose portion, or the first fifty, of the so-called Paris Psalter*. Edited by James W. Bright and Robert L. Ramsay; Boston and London, D. C. Heath & Co., 1907. The title was chosen to distinguish this translation from the 'Anglian Psalms' in the same manuscript, a metrical version in the Northern dialect of pss. li—cl.



Old English, preserved in the celebrated manuscript known as the 'Paris Psalter'. Its authorship has been attributed, but without sufficient reason, to Alfred the Great, and it was possibly not written till a century after his time.

The dependence of a translation made in England in the ninth or tenth century upon a fourth century production of the remote East was itself a sufficiently interesting discovery, but its significance is heightened when the remarkable character of both works is taken into consideration. *The West-Saxon Psalms*, even though not made by Alfred, is a version of which the great king need not have been ashamed. It is true that there are in it many mistranslations and crude misconceptions which stamp its author as hardly up to the level even of the scholarship of ninth and tenth century England, — mistakes which a well grounded ecclesiastic such as Alfric, for example, would scarcely have committed. But Alfric would assuredly have avoided also that in the version which chiefly makes it notable; for its interest to us lies precisely in its unlikeness to what might have been expected from the ordinary orthodox commentator of the day. In place of the eternal straining at allegory and double meanings of the ordinary medieval exegete, we find in this translation a refreshing spirit of originality and freedom and a distinct anti-mystical bias. Compared with modern standards, to be sure, there is still present a large element of the fanciful and allegorical, derived from standard medieval sources such as the commentaries on the psalter of Augustine and Cassiodorus. But a fairer comparison, for instance with such a version as the Old High German one of Notker, which follows orthodox models blindly and exclusively,<sup>1)</sup> will reveal at least a preference for the literal and commonsense method of interpretation, and an attitude at times almost modern.

The most striking manifestation of this modern note in the version is to be found in the brief Anglo-Saxon heading or Introduction which is prefixed to each psalm. It consists in what Dr. Bruce has called the 'second historical' interpretation, given, in addition to characteristic medieval interpretations of David, of Christ, or of every man, in thirty of the forty-nine Introductions preserved. These thirty interpretations refer their

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<sup>1)</sup> See E. Henrici, *Die Quellen von Notker's Psalmen*, 1878.

psalms to later Jewish history, connecting eighteen of them with the reign of Hezekiah, particularly at the time when he was besieged by the Assyrians, one with the neighboring reign of Ahaz, nine with the period of the exile, and two with the Maccabean period. This way of explaining the psalms, which calls to mind critical methods usually associated with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was quite unknown to orthodox exegetes in the Middle Ages, and indeed to all medieval commentators on the psalms outside the limited group which we shall proceed to discuss.

The mystery of these peculiar interpretations, as well as of the numerous similar touches in the text itself, and of the general freedom of spirit of the whole translation, was solved by Dr. Bruce's discovery of its Theodorean source. The influence of the great Syrian exegete and heretic is quite enough to account for all that is unusual or un-medieval in the Old English version. Theodore's views upon theological and exegetical questions were so much opposed to the current that finally prevailed in the Church, that they led after his death to a prolonged and bitter struggle, which finally resulted in the secession of the Nestorian Church and the subsequent anathematization of Theodore at the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553. The condemnation expressly included passages from his commentary on the psalms. In consequence, this as well as the great mass of his other exegetical works disappeared, and it is only as some of them in fragmentary or translated form have come to light in recent times that his true greatness has begun to be appreciated. An extraordinarily high estimate has been placed upon his work by such critics as Renan, Cheyne, and Baethgen,<sup>1)</sup> who do not hesitate to accord him the rank, long claimed for him by the Nestorian Church, of the greatest Interpreter of the early Church. His remarkable adherence to a system of literal and historical interpretation, his resolute avoidance of the allegorical and mystical methods practised by almost all other medieval exegetes, and his anticipation of many modern views upon the authorship and dating of Biblical writings, go far to explain both the condemnation of the Fifth Council and the appreciation of the present day.

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<sup>1)</sup> Bruce, pp. 95, 96.

It was of course very unlikely that the Anglo-Saxon translator consulted Theodore's work in the original, and indeed highly improbable that he even knew the real source of the views that he adopted or their heretical nature. Besides the fact of ultimate dependance on Theodore, Dr. Bruce discovered one of the most important intermediate works that served as a channel for the safe communication of Theodorean views. This was the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*,<sup>1)</sup> a commentary on the psalms ascribed to Bede. In the *Argumenta* which stand at the head of each psalm in this commentary are found in abbreviated form the distinctive interpretations from Theodore; and these *Argumenta*, as Dr. Bruce established, were the principal source for the Anglo-Saxon Introductions.

During the seventeen years that have elapsed since the appearance of Dr. Bruce's article, much added light has been thrown upon Theodore's lost work, and upon the question of its transmission. Although the commentary as a whole still eludes discovery, such a number of fragments, both isolated and continuous, have been found, that we are now able to form a fairly adequate idea of its character. Even more interesting are the numerous versions and adaptations, in many tongues, with which we are now acquainted; for through them we can trace the transmission and modification of Theodorean opinion for many centuries and in widely distant lands. Not one, but at least three and perhaps even four successive intermediaries can now be shown to have lain between the great Eastern heretic and his remote Anglo-Saxon follower. Two additional Latin versions, one covering the entire psalter, have been identified by the Italian scholar, Dr. Giovanni Mercati. A fairly large fragment of the original commentary, running from ps. xxxii to ps. lx, has been discovered by Dr. H. Lietzmann. Besides the two Syrian adaptations which Dr. Bruce knew and used, four other Syriac commentaries that were influenced by Theodore, one at least being the earliest yet found, have been pointed out by Dr. Dietrich. Finally, two works on the psalter written in Old Irish, in which I have been fortunate enough to detect the same Theodorean influence, demonstrate, as I hope to make clear in the following pages, that Irish scholars were acquainted

<sup>1)</sup> Migne, *P. L.*, XCIII.

with the Theodorean views, and that the immediate source of the Anglo-Saxon translation was not improbably an Irish one.

It is the purpose of this and the succeeding paper to outline the history which these fresh discoveries have revealed, and to study the problems raised by the relations to each other of the different versions and adaptations in the East, in Italy, in England, and in Ireland. Beginning with a survey of the characteristic features of the original commentary, as the sources now accessible reveal it to us, and following with a brief account of the Syriac versions found among the two schismatic Eastern communions, the Nestorian and the Jacobite, we shall come to a discussion of the two Latin versions associated with the monastery of Bobbio and the name of St. Columban. In the following article I wish to discuss first the adaptation made from Columban's commentary by Bede and the problems connected with the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*, next the two Old Irish works on the psalms which borrowed, through Bede, some Theodorean ideas, and finally the Anglo-Saxon version in the light of all that we now know to have come between it and its ultimate fourth century source.

It may be well to begin by giving a bibliography of recent articles upon Theodore's commentary and its various versions; and following this a classified list of fragments, versions, and adaptations already known or to be made known in the following pages.

Friedrich Baethgen, 'Der Psalmencommentar des Theodor von Mopsuestia in syrischer Bearbeitung', *Z. f. d. alttest. Wiss.* V (1885), 53—101; 'Siebzehn makkabäische Psalmen nach Theodor von Mopsuestia', vol. VI (1886), 261—288, and VII (1887), 1—60.

J. Douglas Bruce, 1894 (cited above).

Dom. Germain Morin, 'Notes sur plusieurs écrits attribués à Bède le Vénéérable', *Rev. Bénédictine*, XI (1894), 289—295.

A. Ceriani, *Rend. di R. Istituto Lombardo*, XXIX (1896), 406—408; G. Mercati, *Riv. Bibl. Ital.*, I (May 25, 1896), 95, and *Atti di R. Accad. di Scienze di Torino*, XXXI (1896), 655—676; S. R. Driver, *The Academy*, L, 82 (Aug. 1, 1896); Jos. Offord, Jr., *The Academy*, L, 100 (Aug. 8, 1896).

H. Lietzmann, *Catenen: Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 1897.

G. Mercati, *Rend. di R. Ist. Lomb.*, XXXI (1898), 1046—1052. The two articles of Mercati have been reprinted, with a few additional notes, in 'Varia Sacra', fasc. iii, p. 91 f., *Studi e Testi*, no. 11 (1903), Rome.

B. Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum imprimis messianicorum apud Syros Nestorianos, e codice usque adhuc inedito illustrata*, Rheine, 1899.

G. Diettrich, *Beihefte zur Z. f. d. alttest. Wiss.*, V (1901) and VI (1902).

H. Lietzmann, *Sb. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. z. Berlin*, 1902, 1. Halbbd., 334—346; see also 'Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus', by G. Karo and H. Lietzmann, *Nachrichten d. k. Ges. d. W. zu Göttingen*, 1902, pp. 1—60, 299—350, 559—620.

F. Nau, *Rev. de l'Orient Chrétien*, 2me série, I (1906), 313—317.

A. Scher, *Journal Asiatique*, 10me série, X (1907), 331—362.

J. W. Bright and R. L. Ramsay, *West-Saxon Psalms*, 1907 (cited above).

J. H. G. Grattan, *Mod. Lang. Review*, IV (1909), 185—189; J. W. Bright, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV (1909), 77, 78.

P. L. Mariés, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1910, pp. 542—548.

On the basis of the discoveries announced in these articles, with a few additions which will be described later in this paper, a tentative list may be drawn up of the sources now available for a knowledge of Theodore's lost commentary. These may be divided, chiefly according to the languages in which they are found, into six groups. First, and most authentic, but few in number, are the citations in Greek or Latin in contemporary documents or writings of the two centuries following the writing of the commentary; and second, the very numerous Greek fragments identified in the *catenae*. Following these come the versions, adaptations, and borrowings in other languages, including (3) Syriac, (4) Latin, (5) Old Irish, and (6) Anglo-Saxon.

#### 1. Contemporary Citations.

Leontius of Byzantium, *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*, Lib. III; a bit of the commentary upon ps. viii. Leontius's attack, written between 529 and 544, may be found, but with the citation from Theodore omitted, in Migne, *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 1, 1385; the citation is given separately in *P. G.*, LXVI, 1005.

Facundus of Hermiane, *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum*, Lib. IX, cap. 1; extracts from the commentary upon ps. xlv, 1, 5, 7, 8, translated into Latin. This defence by Facundus of Theodore was written between 540 and 551. Migne, *P. L.*, LXVII, 737—742.

Pope Vigilius, *Constitutum de Tribus Capitulis*; chaps. 20, 22, 25, cite passages from ps. viii, hypothesis; xv. 10; xxi. 15, 16; lxviii. 22, in Latin. The proclamation of Vigilius, issued on the eve of the Council of 553, is to be found in Labbé and Mansi, *Sacrorum Consiliorum . . . Collectio*, 1763, t. 9, 61—108.

*Acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople*, 553; coll. IV, cap. 19, 21—24, cite the same passages as those in the *Constitutum* of Vigilius. The *Acts* have come down only in Latin; see *ibid.* 202—230.

## 2. Greek Catenae Fragments. (a) In MS.

MS. Coislinianus 12, Bibl. Nat., Paris, 13th century. A *catena* with an unbroken section of the commentary from ps. xxxii—lx, with fragments from ps. lxii, lxiii, lxiv, lxvii, lxx, lxxii. Of this ps. xlvii is published by Lietzmann (1902).

MS. C. 98 sup., Ambrosian Library, Milan, 12th century. A *catena* on the psalms with numerous fragments from Theodore, ascribed to 'Anastasius'. The hypotheses to ps. xliii, cvii, cxvi, cxx, cxxxvi, cxliii, and a comment on ps. liii, are published by Mercati (1898).

MS. Monacensis 12, Bibl. Nat., Paris. A number of brief extracts. Lietzmann (1902) gives a part of the hypothesis to ps. xlvii.

MS. Gr. 1422, Vatican Library, Rome. Some fragments ascribed to 'Hesychius'. For a description see Lietzmann's *Catenen*, p. 52. The hypothesis to ps. cxvi and comments from ps. cxviii may be found in Pitra's *Analecta Sacra*, III (1883), 239, 514; see Mercati (1898). Lietzmann in 1902 printed the hypothesis to ps. xlvii.

## (b) Published.

Daniello Barbaro, *Aurea in L Davidicos Psalmos Catena*, Venice, 1569. Contains copious extracts on ps. i—1; for description see Mercati (1898).

Balth. Corderius, *Expositio Patrum Græcorum in Psalmos*, 3 vols, Antwerp, 1643—46. A *catena* with many fragments of Theodore, some of which are incorrectly assigned or anonymous. Most of those assigned to Theodore are reprinted in Migne, *P. L.*, LXVI; Baethgen made many fresh identifications, and cites a large number of the hypotheses; these are reprinted by Bruce with a few additions.

Angelo Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, Rome, vol. III (1845) and VII (1854); for pages see Index. This contains a good number of extracts from two Vatican MSS. All are reprinted in Migne, *P. L.*, LXVI (1864), 647—696.

## 3. Syriac.

An anonymous commentary (written between the 5th and 9th centuries) found in MS. Sachan 215, Royal Library of Berlin. The commentary is taken from Theodore, but much epitomized. Baethgen gives a translation of the whole series of headings. Another MS. with the same text is described by Nau (1906). Still another MS. with a revised and considerably augmented text is published, with a translation of several psalms, by Vandenhoff (1899).

Isô'dâdh (fl. about 852); a commentary on the psalter found in MSS. Or. 4524, British Museum, and Koikulides 19, Jerusalem. Largely taken from Theodore, with modification and mixture. Diettrich (1902) publishes the text and translation of ps. xv, xxi, xlvii, lxviii, lxxi.

Bar Hebraeus (12th century). A commentary on the psalter, ed. by Paul de Lagarde, *Prætermissorum libri duo*, 1879. Baethgen gives the headings, which are usually identical with those of the Sachan MS.

An anonymous commentary (12th century), found in MS. Harris 65, British Museum. Described by Diettrich (1901) as adopting 72 of the Theodorean headings given by Bar Hebraeus.

A psalter of the 12th century, MS. 36, Diarbekir. Described by Scher as containing the headings of Theodore in front of each psalm.

A psalter of the 15th century, MS. Poc. X, Bodleian Library. Reported by Diettrich (1901) to contain headings which are partly from Theodore.

#### 4. Latin.

A series of extracts from the commentary on 25 of the psalms (xvii. 1—xl. 13) including about 15 hypotheses, found in MS. F. IV. 1, fasc. 5, University of Turin, and in MS. C. 301 inf., Ambrosian Library, Milan, fol. 4—13. In MS. F. IV. 1, fasc. 6, University of Turin, are found two extracts from ps. xvi. 11—15 and ps. xxxvii. All three are Bobbio MSS. of the 8th or 9th century. The extracts seem to belong to a rather full, tho free and rough, translation of Theodore's commentary. A few citations are given by Mercati (1896).

A complete commentary, perhaps by Saint Columban († 615), found in MS. C. 301 inf., Ambrosian Library, Milan, fol. 14 to the end. Edited by G. I. Ascoli, *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, V (1878). Another copy of ps. xiii. 12—xvi. 11, is found in MS. F. IV. 1, fasc. 6, of Turin. This commentary, which is apparently based on the one above, gives an abbreviated version of Theodore, sometimes considerably modified. For a description, with an edition of the Old Irish glosses in the Milan codex, and in part of the Latin, see Stokes-Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, I (1901).

A *catena* on the psalms, with numerous extracts from Theodore, found in MS. Pal. Lat. 68, Vatican Library, 8th or 9th century. See Stokes-Strachan, I. xiv.

The *Argumenta* from the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis* ascribed to Bede. The 'a-sections' are condensed from the headings in the commentary edited by Ascoli. For manuscripts and editions see the Bibliography in the *West-Saxon Psalms*, pp. 149—151. To the list there given should be added the Irish MS. C. 9, of St. John's College, Cambridge (the 'Southampton Psalter'), which gives a very faulty text of the whole series of *Argumenta* (except for ps. i) and a few of the *Explanations* (for ps. i, x, cxviii), inserted on the margins. The 'Southampton Psalter' was written in the tenth or eleventh century, and probably derived its glosses, including *Argumenta* and *Explanations*, from the Irish sources described below.

The Latin Rubrics in the 'Paris Psalter' found with both the *West-Saxon Psalms* and the *Anglian Psalms*. These are extracted from the *Argumenta*, generally from the 'b-sections', but at times from the 'a-sections' or the 'c-sections'.

The second set (in green ink) of Latin Rubrics in the 'Lambeth Psalter' (MS. 427 of Lambeth Palace Library). The 'Lambeth Psalter' has four sets of Rubrics on its margins in different hands and inks; the second of these, including about seventy Rubrics, is extracted from the *Argumenta*, using all three sections.

The 'Tiberius Psalter' (MS. Cott. Tib. C. 6, of the British Museum) contains nine Latin Rubrics (ps. xxxiii, lii, liii, lix, lxxvii, lxxviii, lxxx, cviii, cxi), and the 'Stowe Psalter' (MS. Stowe 2 of the British Museum) four (ps. lii, lix, lxxvii, cviii), which are taken from the *Argumenta*, including one at least (ps. lii) from the 'a-section'.

## 5. Old Irish.

A commentary on the psalter, of which only a fragment, consisting of the general Introduction and a part of the exposition of ps. i, has been preserved. Edited by Dr. Kuno Meyer, *Hibernica Minora* (1894). This uses the *Argumenta* and probably also another Theodorean source. From it are probably taken the Latin glosses of the 'Southampton Psalter' (see above).

A versified summary of the above, written Dec. 21, 982, by Airbertach mac Coisse of the monastic school of Ross Ailithir. MS. Rawlinson B. 502, Bodleian Library; published by Dr. Kuno Meyer, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* I (1896) 496, 7 and III (1898), 20-22, and in *Rawlinson B. 502*, published in *Facsimile*, Oxford, 1908.

## 6. Anglo-Saxon.

The *West-Saxon Psalms* of the 'Paris Psalter'.

*The original commentary.* — Theodore's commentary is said to have been the first work he produced, although it is unlikely that he composed it so early as his eighteenth year.<sup>1</sup>) It seems, however, to have been more thoroughgoing and uncompromising in its exemplification of the principles of the school of exegetical thought which Theodore was to found than even his later works. If we may judge by the report that it occupied five volumes, it must have been in its original form of great bulk, a circumstance that may have contributed to its loss. But so long as Theodore lived he was able to defend his views against all opponents, and he died in 428 in full communion with the Church. During the two centuries which followed, however, the commentary on the psalms, together with Theodore's later exegetical works, became the storm-center of controversy. The campaign against him which finally led to his condemnation and which is responsible for the loss of his work on the psalms is abundant evidence of the effect which it produced and the extent to which it must have been read; and it has also preserved to us a few fragments cited in the controversial documents of the time. Over a hundred years after his death (between 529 and 544) came the attack upon him by Leontius of Byzantium in his pamphlet *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*, which has preserved a bit of the commentary on psalm viii in the original Greek. The defence which followed, 546-51, by Facundus of Hermiane in his *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum*, has kept for us a few fragments translated into Latin of the commentary on psalm xlv. Last

<sup>1</sup>) Baethgen, V, 55; Swete, *Theodori in Epistolas Commentarii*, I, lx.



are five passages from the four psalms (viii, xv, xxi, lxviii) condemned at the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553, cited in Latin by Pope Vigilius in his *Constitutum* and again in the *Acts* of the Council.

These scanty scraps are the most authentic of all our sources for the original commentary; but although useful touchstones for the identification of fuller extracts and versions, they are nearly valueless for shedding light on the actual character of Theodore's work. Fortunately they are reinforced by the very numerous fragments now made available by the discoveries of Mercati and Lietzmann, and by the versions. The extent to which these will make it possible to reconstruct the lost original will become evident on the publication of the forthcoming edition of Theodorean remains; but the kindness of Dr. Lietzmann and Dr. Mercati in putting copies of their discoveries at my disposal has made it possible even now to become fairly well acquainted with the work.<sup>1)</sup> Of the original hypotheses, besides the thirty recovered in the Coislianus fragment, we have about twenty-five already published from other sources. In the Syriac versions, besides the two complete series given by Baethgen, there are six psalms of the newly discovered Išō'dād̄h that have been printed with a translation by Diettrich. In Latin there is the epitomized version of the whole commentary as edited by Ascoli, and the fuller but fragmentary version of some twenty-five psalms discovered by Mercati in the Ambrosian and Turin manuscripts, beside the complete series of much condensed headings in the *Argumenta* of Bede. Finally the Old Irish commentary supplies, though partially and in much adulterated form, some notion of the nature of Theodore's preface, of which elsewhere nothing else has survived. From all of these, without waiting for the fuller materials of the forthcoming edition, we may learn quite precisely Theodore's opinion upon the proper interpretation of the psalms.

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<sup>1)</sup> Dr. Lietzmann writes that a complete edition of all the fragments of Theodore's commentary is being undertaken in connection with the Göttingen ed. of the Septuagint. I must here express my gratitude to Dr. Lietzmann for kindly sending to Prof. J. W. Bright and me a transcript of the Coislinianus portion of the commentary; and to Dr. Mercati for similarly sending the proof sheets of the new Latin fragments which he found in the Ambrosian and Turin manuscripts.

The general principles of Antiochene exegesis, and the main features of Theodore's application of these principles to the psalter have already been fully discussed.<sup>1)</sup> It is needless to recapitulate how, in strenuous opposition to the methods of Philo and Origen followed by the Alexandrian school and universally practised during the Middle Ages, he insisted everywhere upon the literal or grammatical meaning of the text, dwelt with chief stress upon its historical connections, and strictly limited the number of its direct Messianic predictions. The most remarkable features of his psalm exegesis in particular were of course his entire rejection of the titles; cf. the hypothesis to ps. l, cited by Lietzmann, p. 346: 'εἰ δὲ ἅλλῃ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν εἶναι συμβαίνει, ξενιζέσθω μηδεὶς· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς δουλεύοντες ἐγάρημεν, δεξάμενοι δὲ ταύτας μόνας ὁσας εὐρομεν ἀληθεῖς· εἰρήκαμεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦτον ὅσοι περ ἐχρῆν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ πρὸ τῆς κατὰ λέξιν ἐξηγήσεως,' and his selection of occasions and situations from Jewish history as appropriate for most of the psalms.

The apparent anticipation which is here found of the results of modern criticism, in his assignment of so many psalms to the times of Hezekiah, of the exile, or of the Maccabees, is, however, rather illusory. As has been pointed out by Baethgen and Bruce, Theodore by no means meant to suggest these ages as the actual times of composition for any of the psalms. He held that David was the author of all the psalms without exception, being even more rigid on this point than the orthodox school of commentators (of Baethgen, VI. 266, and Diettrich, 1901, p. 32). What he thought was that David had composed most of his psalms prophetically 'in the persons' of men of various later ages — of Hezekiah, Jeremiah, the People in exile, or the Maccabees. This curious conception of the psalms as a sort of prophetic dramatic monologue receives much illustration from the new hypotheses discovered by Lietzmann. Thus at ps. xxxiv Theodore tells us:

'David prophesies assuming Jeremiah's person and speaking words befitting him. It is David's custom in most of the psalms thus to prophesy

<sup>1)</sup> See F. A. Specht, *Der exeg. Standpunkt des Theodor von Mopsuestia und Theodoret von Kyros*, 1871, p. 16 f.; H. Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, 1880; Baethgen, VI, 261 f.; Bruce, 97 f.; Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, translated by Miller, vol. III (1897), 201.

dramatically (*λίγων ἄπερ ἐκείνοις εἰπεῖν ἀρμόττει περὶ ὧν πεποιήται τὴν προφητείαν*); this differs from his other Exilic psalms only in assuming the person of Jeremiah instead of that of the People. The object, as in many other psalms, is to warn the People of the coming calamity and to lead them to repentance; and also to vindicate God's mercy and justice after they should have failed to take the warning. Why did David choose Jeremiah alone among so many prophets of the exile? Because it was his custom to select an eminent representative as his imaginary mouthpiece for each age about which he prophesied; as e. g. he chooses Hezekiah in connection with the slaughter of the Assyrians.' (This translation is freely condensed, as are those given below, from the heading as given in the Coislian MS.)

In order to prove that this attribution to Jeremiah is correct Theodore makes a detailed comparison of the language of the psalm and the book, finding verses 6, 7, 11, and 12 paralleled in Jeremiah, — a circumstance which he remarks enhances the credit of both David and the prophet. Evidently Theodore supposed David to have been acquainted, by the power of prophecy, not only with Jeremiah's character and fortunes, but also with the book which he was destined to write, to such an extent that he could imitate its style!

Another instructive note on this theory of prophecy is found in the hypothesis to ps. xli. This psalm is said to have been composed by David in the person of the People in captivity in Babylon; and Theodore goes on to remark:

'No wonder if the longing expressed seems almost too intense for those in whose mouths it is put; for the blessed David, foreseeing how they would be cut off from the Promised Land and the People, imagined how he himself would feel in such case, and wrote what he himself would have uttered (*ἔπερ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐφθύξατο*); thus instructing them to exhibit such intensity of grief. For David learned only the facts of future events through the Spirit; the words which he composes come from his own disposition toward God, fitted to their case. Even to-day the just often feel more deeply the misfortunes of the wicked than they do themselves. So David does not predict the words actually to be spoken, but such as should be spoken (*οὐχ ἅπερ ἐκείνοι λέγειν ἡμελλον, . . . ἀλλὰ ἅπερ εἰπεῖν ἐκείνοις ἡρμοσεν*). So the experiences may be credited to those who came to experience them, and the foresight of them to the Spirit, but the piety of expression to the virtue of the author.'

Explicit statements to the same effect are also to be found at pss. xlv, xlvi, xlvii. 1, li, liii, liv, lix. David gives thanks, utters exhortation, confesses sin, or laments misfortune, 'from afar' (*πύρρωθεν*, pss. xlv, xlvii, li, etc.) 'assuming the person of the men of that time' (*ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τῶν τότε*, ps. xlvii), and thus 'plainly prophesying with reference to such matters as

he utters the psalm' (*ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων δηλονότι τὰ ἐσόμενα προσητεύον*, ps. lix).

The view thus set forth of David's method of psalm composition strongly resembles and was not improbably suggested to Theodore by the rhetorical exercises familiar in the schools of his pagan contemporaries. The student of oratory in these was often bidden to compose a speech befitting some character of history or romance at some specified juncture of his fortunes. David was not limited to such imaginary reconstruction of the past, but with his peculiar advantages was enabled to do the same thing for the future.

Thus the historical interpretations which chiefly distinguish Theodore from the Alexandrians and for which he has received so much praise were arrived at in a rather crude and thoroly unhistorical way. A restriction must also be made in the credit which has been assigned him for adhering everywhere to the literal sense of Scripture. Altho he did usually do so, he by no means everywhere denied a double meaning in the psalms. In the case of four psalms, indeed, (ii, viii, xlv, cix) he was inconsistent enough to admit the allegorical interpretation which he so resolutely rejected elsewhere, and to interpret them as directly Messianic. In other cases he substituted for the *ἀλληγορία* of the Alexandrians, which enabled them to see Messianic predictions and allusions practically everywhere, his own theory of 'types' or *θεωρία*. According to this the psalms and other Old Testament prophecies in almost every case relate primarily and directly to events of Old Testament Jewish history, but these historic events themselves may often be taken as shadows or types of the Messianic age; and occasionally words which David used in a metaphorical or hyperbolical way of the events of his own life or of a foreseen political situation, received a second and literal fulfilment in the life of Christ. Perhaps the best statement of this view is a passage quoted by Diettrich from the Syriac commentary of Iṣṓdādāh, which, altho we may not be sure that it was found in the original Theodore, is undoubtedly Theodorean in spirit.

Ps. xv (xvi): 'Auch wenn die Worte zu ihrer Zeit auf das Volk bezogen wurden, so erhalten sie doch die wahre Erfüllung in Christo, wie auch Petrus (Act. ii. 27, 31) bezeugt. Und wie wenn jemand für einen König einen Becher schmückt, oder ein Haus baut, und erst im Laufe der Zeit kommt er in dem

Hause zu wohnen, in der Zwischenzeit aber bewohnen und benutzen auch andere das, was für den König hergestellt ward, so wird auch alles, was in Beziehung auf Christum gesagt ist, in den Zwischenzeiten auch auf andere Personen bezogen, damit er nicht aufgelöst und vergessen werde von der Zeit' usw. (Diettrich, VI, 107).

Room is thus provided, even in Theodore, for a spiritual or mystical sense. But with the exception of the four psalms mentioned above, it is always subordinate and very much restricted in use. I find no fresh examples of the use of the theory of 'types' in the newly discovered material; and it seems accordingly to have been limited, in the original commentary, to the three psalms (xv, xxi, lxviii) condemned at the Fifth Ecumenical Council, with the possible addition of pss. lxxxviii and cxvii. (Baethgen V. 81, 82.) The testimony of the versions is quite unreliable on this point, for practically all of them, and particularly the Syriac commentary of Iṣō'dādh and the Latin commentary ascribed to Columban, are under suspicion of having extended such mystical references and added others.

Another additional sense which is far more frequently given by Theodore, — which in fact he says is to be looked for everywhere, — is the moral or tropological. Some psalms, as Baethgen points out, (V. 83), are said to have been sung by David with an exclusively moral design. But the new hypotheses discovered in Lietzmann's fragment frequently insist that the moral sense, the application to the life of every Christian, must be assumed in addition to the historical or other application, in every psalm. See particularly pss. xxxii, xxxiv, xxxviii:

Ps. xxxii, (cf. P. G. LXVI, 668), 'This in the psalms must be especially noted: that they turn from their particular subjects to edifying exhortation (ἐπὶ κατηχητικὴν παραίνεσιν). This is done in different ways and so as to be useful to the hearers. Hence it is necessary to know the particular subject (τὰς ὑποθέσεις) for a knowledge of the power (δύναμις) of the psalms; but then also to consider what in connection with the subjects may profit the readers.'

Ps. xxxiv, 'Another cause was to instruct the better-minded of each coming generation (τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην γενεάν ὄντας καλοὺς ἐπιστηρίζων).'

Ps. xxxviii, 'The psalm is also tropological (παιδευτικός), in the same way as every other (ἡ περ τις ἕτερος) teaching most forcibly to show patience under misfortune. Speaking of those who live in prosperity and wealth, it says those things are vain and profitless; taking, as usual, the particular subject as a starting point for such remarks (ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως συνήθως τῶν τοιοῦτων λόγων τὴν ἀφορμὴν δεξιόμενος). Thus it teaches all men (παιδεύει πάντας ἀνθρώπους) not to waste great effort on such vain pursuits.'

Similar statements are found at pss. xxxiii, xxxv, xxxix, and xl. These explicit declarations, which are generally omitted or much cut down in the different versions, justify us in assuming that Theodore intended the moral sense to be everywhere understood, even where he omits to mention it.

We thus find in Theodore four possible lines of interpretation for each psalm. There is first the Davidic authorship, second the historical occasion or setting of David's prophecy, third a possible secondary or 'typical' reference to Christ, and fourth a moral application to the life of every man. The first and fourth are to be assumed in every case, although not always explicitly repeated. The historical occasion, which is sometimes from David's own life, sometimes from later periods of Old Testament history, is found in a large majority of the psalms, but it is absent in several smaller groups. The 'typical' reference to Christ, as we have mentioned above, is very rarely given by Theodore, and evidently was by no means considered by him as present everywhere, or even often. These four possible interpretations were thus not in the least present as a fixed scheme in Theodore's mind, but they are latent in his commentary, to be afterwards brought forth and hardened into a mechanical system by his successors.

His own grouping of the psalms, which has fortunately been recovered in one of the newly found hypotheses (ps. xxxvi), is on quite different lines. This classification constitutes one of the most interesting additions to our knowledge of the commentary. It substantially confirms the less authentic division proposed by Baethgen (V. 83 f.) on the basis of a remark by Leontius of Byzantium. The passage reappears, with considerable alterations, in the fragmentary Latin version discovered by Mercati in the Ambrosian and in the Syriac of the Sachau MS. and Bar Hebraeus.

Ps. xxxvi, 'All the psalms of the blessed David look to the profit of men, but not all in one way. Sometimes he makes them dogmatic (*δογματικούς ἐκτίθεται λόγους*), sometimes laudatory (*ὑμνωδίας ἀπὸ τῆς δημιουργίας πλέκει τῷ Θεοπότῃ*). At times he prophesies (*πράγματα ἐσόμενα ἐποτίθεται*), both predicting those events and extracting profitable advice from them, varying the exhortation with the occasion (*ταῦτα παραινῶν ἃ συμβουλευεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως περὶ ἧς ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον ἡγείται κατάλληλον*). At other times he instructs the hearers from his personal experience (*ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν παιδεύει*), teaching how every one should conduct himself in different ex-

periences, both what ought to be said when guilty of sin (*τί προσήκει λέγειν ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ξερογασόμενον*), and what cry should be made in misfortune (*τί προσήκει φθεγγέσθαι ἐν συμφοραῖς καθεστῶτα*). At other times he exhorts without an occasion (*παραινέσεις ἐκτός ὑποθέσεως ποιεῖται*), forbidding what ought to be avoided and advising what ought to be done; such is also this psalm. For many of us are used, when we see the wicked in prosperity, to be aggrieved and to say that there is no profit in righteousness, for most of the righteous suffer misfortune, and that too at the hands of worthless men, which makes the sense of the misfortune much more grievous; whereas wickedness does not injure him who does it, since many worthless men live in wealth and happiness and incur no adversity. To repel this error most of this psalm is therefore devoted.'

The Latin translation discovered by Mercati in the Ambrosian manuscript may be added here for the sake of comparison (from Dr. Mercati's transcript, with certain emendations of my own):

'Omnes quidem psalmos beatus David ad profectum hominem (hominum) utilitatemque scripsit, non tamen omnes ad unum docendum genus (*sic*) formamque conpossuit. Nam hoc (iu?) quibusdam de dogmaticis disputat; in quibusdam uero ipsam diuinorum operum dispositionem ad laudandum Deum materiam sibi proponit et causam. In aliis autem, dum praedicit futura pro rerum ipsarum quas adnuntiat qualitate, quid faciendum, quid cauendum sit, diligenter inculcat. Non numquam etiam sub exemplo suo docet auditores qualiter ea quae euenerint portare conueuiat (conueniat), et quid, si in peccatum lapsi fuerunt, agere, quid debeant dicere in tribulationibus constituti. Sunt etiam alii psalmi in quibusdam (quibus?), sine aliquo hominum argumento, magisterium exortationis induci (inducit?), interdicens omnibus uitiiis, et omnia uirtutem (uirtutum) studia sollicito ac diligenter insinuens (*sic*); qualis est etiam praetens (praesens) psalmus, in quo, quoniam nonnulli consueuimus malorum et nequam hominum prosperitate moderi (moderari), ac dicere quod non prosit probati dare operam atque honestis studiis occupari, quandoquidem multi iustorum in necessitates ultimas, et, quod est grauius, agentibus malis omnibus (*sic*), conruunt (quod quidem amplius sensum doloris exaggerat, dum prauitas operis nihil eis qui ea utuntur officit; multi namque nequam homines in ditiis sunt et rerum omnium habundantia perfuuntur, neque aliud interim patiuntur aduersi), — ad hominum ergo depellendum errorem sermo psalmi huius et oratio inducitur.'

The four Messianic psalms are here clearly meant to form the first group which Theodore calls 'dogmatic', thus differentiating them altogether from his strictly prophetic or historical psalms. The laudatory psalms are those called by Leontius *περὶ προφητείας*; they are also, so far as our evidence allows us to say, but four in number. The third, or prophetic class, forms of course a large majority of the psalms, 113 in all. It is not subdivided by Theodore, but we may distinguish three different historical subjects or ages of Jewish history treated: (a) Hezekiah and his

people, 25 psalms, among which may be placed one (ps. xlv.) which deals with King Ahaz; (b) the exiles, 71 psalms, among which has been included one (ps. xxxiv) assigned to Jeremiah; (c) the Maccabees, 17 psalms. Theodore's fourth class of Personal or Davidic psalms number 19. They are divided by himself into (a) the Penitential, 3 psalms, and (b) the Supplicating, 12 psalms; to which we may add a third sub-group, omitted by Theodore, (c) the Thanksgivings, numbering 4. The fifth group of Purely Moral Psalms, corresponding to those called by Leontius *περὶ ἡθῶν διδασκαλικὰ* number 10 in all. The following table may be useful:<sup>1)</sup>

Theodore's Classification of the Psalms:

1. Dogmatic (4) — ii, viii, xlv, cix.
2. Laudatory or 'Providential' (4) — iv, xviii, ciii, cxlviii.
3. Prophetic (113)
  - a) Hezekian (25) — xiii, xiv, xix, xx, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xl, xlv, xlvii, li, lii, liii, lxxiv, lxxv, lxxxv, lxxxvi, xc, xci, cxv, cxvi.
  - b) Exilic (71) — v, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxx, xxxiv, xxxix, xli, xlii, l, lx, lxii, lxiv, lxv, lxvi, lxx, lxxii, lxxvi, lxxx, lxxxiii, lxxxiv, lxxxvii, lxxxviii, lxxxix, xcii, xciii, xciv, xcv, xcvi, xcvi, xcvi, xcix, c, ci, cii, cv, cvi, cx, cxi, cxiv, cxvii, cxviii, cxix, cxi, cxii, cxiii, cxiv, cxv, cxvi, cxvii, cxviii, cxix, cxx, cxxi, cxxii, cxxiii, cxxiv, cxxv, cxxvi, cxxvii, cxxviii, cxxix, cxxx, cxxxi, cxxxii, cxxxiii, cxxxiv, cxxxv, cxxxvi, cxxxvii, cxxxviii, cxi, cxli, cxlii, cxliv, cxlv, cxvi, cxlvii, cxlix, cl.
  - c) Maccabean (17) — xliii, xlvi, liv, lv, lvi, lvii, lviii, lix, lxi, lxxvii, lxxiii, lxxviii, lxxix, lxxxii, cvii, cviii, cxliii.
4. Personal or Davidic (19)
  - a) Penitential (3) — vi, xii, xxxvii.
  - b) Supplications (12) — iii, x, xv, xvi, xxi, xxxv, xxxviii, lxiii, lxvii, lxix, cxix, cxxxix.
  - c) Thanksgivings (4) — vii, ix, xvii, lxxi.
5. Purely Moral (10) — i, xi, xxxvi, xlviii, xlix, lxxvii, lxxxi, civ, cxii, cxiii.

<sup>1)</sup> The psalm numbers, as throughout this paper, are those of the Septuagint, which Theodore followed, and the Vulgate. The assignment agrees in the main with that proposed by Baethgen (V, 88 f.) on the evidence of the Syriac, with the exception of ps. cx (referred by Baethgen to the People in general) and pss. cxi and cxviii (classed by Baethgen as purely Moral); the



*The Syriac Versions.* — The story of Theodore's fortunes in the East does not bear directly on the problem of the transmission of his views on the psalms to England or Ireland; for it is not suggested that any of the six Syriac versions or adaptations was an intermediary between the original Greek and the Western versions. The Eastern development is parallel, not antecedent to, the Western. But it is not without significance for the student of Theodore's Western disciples, both because it furnishes him with another avenue through which he can determine the exact nature of the lost commentary, and because its similarity in many points helps to make the Western development intelligible. In the East, just as we shall see it was in the West, the radical opinions of the Antiochene school were preserved only by a process of modification and much admixture with orthodox and allegorical interpretations, and by dropping Theodore's name to pass either anonymously or under the sanction of some unsuspected father of the Church. So both in the East and the West we find his views innocently repeated by writers who prided themselves on their orthodoxy and who would doubtless have been horrorstruck had they known themselves so deeply indebted to a work that had been anathematized by a general Council of the Church.

The six Syriac works on the psalter influenced by Theodore are divided between the two schismatic Syrian churches that separated from the Catholic body in the fifth and sixth centuries, the Nestorians and the Jacobites or Monophysites. That the latter communion should have made use of Theodore's work is a surprising circumstance. For while the Nestorians, as we have already mentioned, have always looked up to Theodore with especial reverence, the other Syriac body stood at the opposite pole both in theology and exegesis, and execrated Theodore as the worst of heretics. The Monophysite doctrines had originated from Alexandria, as the Nestorian from Antioch, and the two heretical sects had left the mother church at opposite doors. The Monophysites abhorred both the Antiochene views on Christology and the Antiochene, or Theodorean, methods of literal-historical interpretation, and were extreme partisans of

fuller evidence of the Latin version enabling us to enrol all three of these among the Exilic psalms.

the allegorical or Alexandrian school. Yet we find at least three of their commentaries on the psalms echoing the views of their great adversary. The anomaly finds its explanation in the history of the two conflicting sects.

We know that Theodore's exegetical works, including probably his commentary on the psalms, were translated into Syriac, very shortly after his death, by the Bishop Ibas of Edessa.<sup>1)</sup> Theodore, as we have said, died in full communion with the church, and it was not till after the fourth Council in 451 that the Nestorian schism came to a head. But Ibas was a leader of the party in the orthodox church which inclined toward Nestorius, and was himself afterwards condemned along with Theodore at the Fifth Council. His translation, however, has not survived.

The earliest Syriac work<sup>2)</sup> extant that makes use of Theodore is perhaps the abbreviated commentary on the psalms found in MS. Sachau 215 and in two other manuscripts since discovered (see Vandenhoff and Nau). This is the work of a Nestorian. It claims Theodore as its author, but Baethgen has shown that it is the merest epitome of Theodore's lost work. It reduces the Theodorean hypotheses to single brief sentences, preserving only the most distinctive feature of the lengthy originals, i. e., usually, the historical assignment of the psalm, and sometimes obscuring even that (cf. pss. cx, cxi, cxviii). In the commentary proper it occasionally introduces additional matter which we can detect (Baethgen V. 57). On the whole, however, it preserves the Theodorean views with but slight admixture. The revised edition discovered by Vandenhoff, on the other hand, has inserted a great number of the orthodox Messianic interpretations.

An early contemporary, if not an earlier, Syriac work which makes use of Theodore is the Commentary on the entire Old Testament of Išō'dādāh, discovered by Diettrich in 1902.

<sup>1)</sup> Baethgen, V. 55; R. Duval, *Litterature Syriaque*, 3rd ed. (1907), p. 314.

<sup>2)</sup> Baethgen (V. 101), who knew only the copy in the Sachau manuscript, affirms merely that it was written by one of the Nestorian commentators who lived between Narses († 496) and Bar Hebraeus († 1286). But Vandenhoff's discovery, in a manuscript compiled about 990, of a revised and augmented version attributed to an author of the ninth, or perhaps one of the sixth century, enables us to push back the composition of the original version very close to the time of Theodore himself (see Nau, pp. 314, 315).

Īṣō'dādh was a Nestorian bishop who flourished about 852. As a Nestorian, he naturally looked up to Theodore, and made him on the whole his chief authority. But he did not give him quite the exclusive position which he was assigned in strict Nestorian circles; for we find him often citing as of equal weight the conflicting opinions of such orthodox exegetes as Gregory of Nyssa and Chrysostom. In fact, Īṣō'dādh was not altogether in harmony with the received teaching of his sect upon questions of exegesis. He belonged, says Diettrich (VI. p. lxii) to the 'Reform Movement' in the Nestorian Church, which began in the sixth, and was crushed out only in the ninth century, and which departed to a considerable extent from Theodore, inclining more to allegorical canons of exegesis. These deviations are more apparent, however, in Īṣō'dādh's treatment of the rest of the Old Testament than in the Psalms. Here so far as we can tell he remained faithful on the whole to Theodore, altho Diettrich thinks he probably emphasized and perhaps extended the few admissions of Messianic prophecy, both allegorical and typical, found in Theodore's commentary.

Thus while we cannot rely on him without reserve for Theodore's opinions, he certainly did not depart from Theodore's principles of psalm exegesis, tho he may have made certain new applications of them.

By his compromises with the allegorists, Īṣō'dādh, altho a Nestorian, became the chief source of Syriac Monophysite exegetes during the Middle Ages, and introduced into their commentaries a vast amount of Theodorean opinion. As Diettrich puts it (VI. lxv), Īṣō'dādh was 'the bridge over which Theodore of Mop-suestia passed from the Nestorian into the Monophysite church'. The greatest of these Monophysite commentators, and indeed the greatest, or at least the most prolific of all Syriac writers, was Gregorius Abulfaraj, surnamed Bar Hebraeus, of the twelfth century. Throughout his scholia on the Old Testament, Bar Hebraeus makes copious and wholesale extracts from Īṣō'dādh's commentary (Diettrich VI, xxxiv). In the psalms he uses both Īṣō'dādh's and the other Syriac commentary on the psalms of MS. Sachau 215. The condensed headings and a great part of the commentary proper of the Sachau epitome are appropriated with but minute changes (Baethgen, V. 67, 99) and combined with many remarks from Īṣō'dādh (Diettrich VI, xxxv).

It is hardly possible that Bar Hebraeus was unaware of the ultimate Theodorean source of his material, but he quite fails to acknowledge this, and on the rare occasions when he mentions the great heretic does so only to condemn him.<sup>1)</sup> A contemporary Monophysite commentator, who also made large use of the Theodorean headings, was probably ignorant of their real origin. The commentary on the psalms found in the MS. Harris 65 describes itself as based upon Daniel of Salah and composed with the assistance of Bar Hebraeus (Diettrich V, xv f.). Daniel of Salah was one of the most prominent of Monophysite allegorical exegetes. The assistance of Bar Hebraeus appears in the adoption of 72 of his Theodorean headings. Thus we find here in intimate combination the great exponent of grammatical historical exegesis and one of the leading defenders of the Alexandrian methods.

Diettrich reports (V. xxi) still another Monophysite example of such combination in the headings of a Syriac psalter of the fifteenth century in the Bodleian library (MS. Poc. X). But neither this nor the twelfth century psalter at Diarbêkir, described by M. Scher as containing before each psalm in red letters the introductions of Eusebius, Athanasius, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, has yet been published, and we can only mention them.

The incongruous union of Nestorian and Jacobite views which we have thus seen taking place was brought about, Diettrich thinks (V. xx), by the common sufferings of the two jarring Syrian sects during the centuries of Arabian and Mongolian invasion. But it strangely resembles the admixture to which we shall find Theodore submitted in the West.

*The Bobbio Versions.* — When we turn to the Western Church we naturally do not find so deep an interest in Theodore as in the East, where he was to foe almost as truly as to friend the first among commentators. But here too the recent discoveries of Theodore material have shown the existence of a small but perennial stream of interest and acquaintance with his opinions on the psalms. Out of the orthodox succession of

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<sup>1)</sup> J. Göttsberger, *Barhebraeus und seine Scholien zur Heiligen Schrift*, Biblische Studien hrg. von O. Bardenhewer, V, 4 and 5 Heft, 1900, pp. 160, 177.

psalm commentators as he was, and forced to pass perhaps almost invariably under an assumed name, he yet never vanished entirely, and seems to have exercised a strange fascination for the more original spirits who encountered him. First among the Latin remains come the group connected with the monastery of Bobbio, the great storehouse of theological learning founded by St. Columban in 608. The three manuscripts in question, including the one now at Milan (C. 301 inf. of the Ambrosian Library) and the two fascicles at Turin (F. IV, I, fascs. 5 and 6) are not only known to have come from the Bobbio collection but were almost certainly written in the Bobbio scriptorium.<sup>1)</sup> They furnish us with four series of extracts from Theodore's commentary. The latest in point of composition of the four is manifestly the complete but much abbreviated and revised commentary which occupies the larger part of the Milan codex, and which together with the famous 'Milan glosses' in Old Irish was edited by Ascoli in 1878. At the beginning of the manuscript (fols. 4—13) after three prefaces taken from Jerome's works, there is found a series of fragments from another commentary on the psalter, which contain no Irish glosses and have never yet been published. These extracts treat only about 24 psalms, running from psalm xvii to xl. Mercati (1896) first pointed out that they as well as the complete commentary are derived from Theodore; but the version from which they come was manifestly a much fuller one and much less revised. Both the unpublished and the published commentaries of the Milan codex are also represented at Turin. The two Turin fascicles, which are both imperfect, consisting of but a few folios each, are in similar hands; but as they differ in size they are probably to be regarded as portions of two distinct manuscripts.<sup>2)</sup> Fasc. 5, consisting of 8 folios, furnishes another and a slightly better copy of the partial series (pss. xvii—xl) found at the beginning of the Milan codex. Fasc. 6, a fragment

<sup>1)</sup> W. M. Lindsay, 'The Bobbio Scriptorium: its Early Minuscule Abbreviations', *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, XXVI (1909), 392—396; see also Lindsay's *Early Irish Minuscule Script*, St. Andrews Univ. Publ. no. VI (1910), 70—74.

<sup>2)</sup> A. Reifferscheid, 'Die Universitätsbibliothek in Turin', *Sb. Wien. Akad. LXXVIII* (1871), 488; G. Ottino, *I Codici Bobbiesi nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino indicati e descritti*, 1890; Mercati, 1896; C. Cipolla, *Codici Bobbiesi della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, 1907.

of 6 folios, contains a continuous section running from ps. xiii. 12 to xvi. 15, of which all but the last four verses (ps. xvi. 11—15) is identical with the corresponding part of the published commentary; but these four verses, and a comment on ps. xxxvii added in another hand on the last folio, are of the fuller and unrevised type of the unpublished commentary.

This unpublished and fragmentary commentary which as we have seen is represented in all three of the manuscripts, is invariably much fuller than the other, although where we are able to compare it with the original Greek we find that it too was often considerably condensed. At ps. xxxix, for instance, the original hypothesis of Theodore recovered in the Coislinianus manuscript, although unusually long, is reproduced in the Latin with but few omissions; but the hypotheses to ps. xxxv and xxxvi are somewhat abbreviated. For the heading of ps. xxxvii we have two forms: that in fascicle 6 at Turin is rather full, whereas in fasc. 5 we find it replaced by the words: 'Unum atque idem argumentum est sexti psalmi et praesentis'. A comparison between the original and the translation of the heading of ps. xxxvi (cited above, pp. 435, 436) gives a fairly adequate idea of the general style and method.

Such changes and omissions as are made in this translation seem to be dictated merely by the desire for condensation, and not at all by the wish to remove any of the heretical features of Theodore's work or to reconcile it with orthodox opinion. No reference is made to the Vulgate titles, and many suspicious passages, including, as Mercati (1896, p. 20) has pointed out, even some which were expressly condemned by the Council, are retained. Very different in character is the version edited by Ascoli. Its dominant purpose was evidently to excise the heresy of the original, and to bring it more in accord with the Church's accepted views. At the same time the process of condensation and abbreviation is carried out everywhere much more drastically than in the unpublished fragments. Not only are nearly all the more suspicious passages dispensed with, but most of the longer notes inserted on general topics, such as evidently formed a characteristic feature of the original, are dropped; thus in place of the long discussion of the classification of the psalms given by Theodore as part of his hypothesis for ps. xxxvi (see above p. 435), we have in the commentary of Ascoli only the following:

Ps. xxxvi, 'In finem, pnero Domini, psalmus David. Quoniam plerique mortalium afflictione proborum et impiorum prosperitate turbantur, ut inremuneratas in hac uita uirtutes deserant et uitia consecutentur felicia, ad huiusmodi depellendum errorem iste psalmus componitur' (Ascoli, p. 212).

The process of revision was thus accomplished mainly by excision, and seldom by adding anything not found in the original. An exception to this statement is formed by the Vulgate titles. The reviser began each psalm with the title, which Theodore had rejected, and endeavored to soften the constant disagreements between it and Theodore's interpretation by judicious omissions and the frequent insertion of odd and ingenious little clauses of compromise. For example compare the headings of the two versions for pss. xviii and xxix:

Ps. xviii (unpublished fragments): 'In praesenti psalmo beatus Danid institutae a Deo creaturae ordinem narrat; ipsius etiam creatoris prouidentiam operum adserit testimonio, atque ab elementorum ordinatione opificem nititur adprobare; qui ex hoc ipso multam curam hominum se habere signavit, dum ita elementa componit, ut per ipsa possit agnosci. Manifestum namque est, quod multa procuraverit, ac ne ut studio quodam egerit, qualiter in hominem (hominem) notitiam peruenerit, quidam (sic) humanae scientiae prouidentiam commendat (sic). Errorem contrarii dogmatis amolitur, eorum scilicet qui aut infectum mundum aut ultro exstetisse dicunt, aut nulla extiment (existimant) prouidentia gubernari.'

do., Ascoli, p. 144: 'In finem, psalmus David. Hunc quoque psalmum ad euangelium transferre Apostolus abusus in opportunitate sententiae dixit, "In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum." Caeterum proprium argumentum eius est institutae a Deo creaturae ordinem pandere, aperire causam, per haec adprobare prouidentiam Dei, qui ex hoc ipso multam curam hominum se habere monstravit, dum ita elementa a se creata componit, ut per ipsa possit cognosci'.

With this should be taken the comment of the Irish glossator, who makes the compromise even clearer (from the translation in *The. Palaeoh. I.*, 115): 'i. e., the Apostle applies this psalm to the Gospel; i. e. the *caeli* with him are the apostles of the Gospel, which they set forth concerning it (*sc. gloria Dei*) and the *sonus* with him is the sound of the Gospel; the *eorum* he applies it to the apostles, tho it was not with reference to them that David uttered it'.

Cf. also the Syriac (Baethgen, V, 84), 'Erzählt von den Schöpfungen Gottes und von seiner Fürsorge für den Menschen'.

Ps. xxix (unpublished fragment): 'Interfectis Assiriis, et bello quod instabat cinitati contra omnem spem Dei aditorio disoluto, multo (multum) beato Ezechiae gloriae atque elationis accessit, cunctis illum iure stupentibus, beatusque laudantibus, quod ita in gratiam eius res mirae ac plenae terrore contingerant, elatus est ergo animo ipsa rerum magnitudine ac lande multorum, sicut in Paralipomenis scriptum est, "et conruit Ezechias ab exaltatione cordis

sui". Ob hunc ergo mentis tumorem, ut curaret eum Deus atque ad sanitatem redire compelleret, graui illum malo corporeae infirmitatis implicuit, et passus est usque ad uiciniam mortis accedere, quo ipsa desperatione uitae suae nihil de se superbum sentire doceretur, ac disceret non sibi magnum aliquid, sed Deo, adscribere, per quem ita gloriosus extiterat. Tali igitur curatione medicatus, sanitati eum reddit, et a periculo quoque quod metuebat mortis eripuit. Haec nunc beatus Dauid profetat, sub persona eiusdem Ezechiae agentis gentis (*sic*) gratias, quod fuerit ab errore correctus, et de infirmitate liberatus, et quod ab hostibus erutus; ac pro omnibus studeat gratias referre'.

do., Ascoli, p. 179: 'Psalmus laudis renouationis domus Dauid. Elatus Ezechias victoriae et tam (etiam) gloriosae pro euentu, ut historia Paralipomenon testis est, qua ait, "conruit Ezechias ab exaltatione cordis sui", egrotatione correptus est, ut humanae fragilitatis admonitione didiceret (deponeret? cf. the Argumentum of Bede) adrogantiam. Sub eius deinde persona, ab errore correcti, ab infirmitate saluati, et ab hostibus eruti, gratiarum actio hoc carmine profetatur; et pro conseruatione Templi, tanquam pro dedicatione, cantatur'.

Compare the Irish gloss (Thes. Palaeoh., I, 150):

'10. pro conseruatione; i. e. because the Assyrians were not allowed to destroy it.'

'11. pro dedicatione; i. e., as though for the consecration, i. e. it is thus he reckons that protection, as tho it had been destroyed, and consecrated afterwards.'

Compare also the Syriac (Baethgen, V, 93): 'Gesprochen im Namen Hiskia's als er seine Hoffart bereute; dazu Dank für seine Genesung und die Zurechtweisung seiner Sünde'.

The inserted clauses in the Ascoli commentary, one to reconcile Theodore's interpretation with the New Testament use of ps. xviii (Romans x. 18), the other with the Vulgate title, illustrate the method of compromise adopted. Other examples are to be found at pss. xxi, xxxiv, xlv, l, li, liii, lvi, lviii, lix, and elsewhere, but these are sufficient to show the character of the revision. They show also another important point in the relation of the two versions, namely the direct dependence of the revised version upon the other. On no other supposition could the extensive verbal agreement of the two be explained.

In spite of its condensation and its attempts at compromise, the later commentary in general preserves the Theodorean interpretations accurately. This we can test with the aid of the Syriac headings cited by Baethgen. There are, however, six exceptions: ps. lxxxvii and a group of five psalms near the end of the psalter, cxxxix—cxliii. Theodore's interpretations of these psalms, as demonstrated by the Syriac, and in the case of



ps. cxliii by the new Greek fragment discovered by Mercati,<sup>1)</sup> was as follows: ps. lxxxvii, Exilic; cxxxix, Personal or Davidic; cxl, cxli, cxlii, Exilic; cxliii, Maccabean. In the Ascoli commentary, on the contrary, ps. lxxxvii lacks the historical explanation altogether, replacing it with an uncertain comment on the title; and the five others are all referred to the reign of Hezekiah.

These discrepancies are most naturally to be explained by supposing that pages were lost at the points in the reviser's immediate source, and that he supplied the deficiencies by guess-work. For ps. lxxxvii he simply omitted the usual historical explanation; for the other five he hit upon Hezekiah, who was one of the most common and perhaps the best remembered subject of the genuine headings. The fact that he took this course instead of inserting some allegorical interpretation of the usual medieval sort suggests that in spite of his drastic revising he really liked the strange explanations offered by his unconventional model.

In the two Latin versions from Bobbio, then, we have to do with an earlier translation of Theodore, free and more or less abbreviated but not expurgated, and a later careful reworking. The earlier translation is not preserved to us in complete or even in continuous form, but only in scattered fragments. Perhaps the passages are the very ones that were marked by the later adapter for rejection or alteration.

The probable date and authorship of these two works, the parent translation and its daughter the adapted commentary, remain to be determined. The data are as follows. All three manuscripts are from the eighth or ninth century, and as we have stated above, probably from the scriptorium of Bobbio. The famous Milan codex, however, was plainly copied, both its Latin text and its Irish glosses, from an older manuscript. The Irish glosses must have originally been written about 750,<sup>2)</sup> and when they were entered the Latin text had already been corrupted by copying.<sup>3)</sup> The Latin commentary cannot then have been made later than the early part of the eighth century, and may

<sup>1)</sup> Mercati (1898), p. 1052.

<sup>2)</sup> R. Thurneysen, *Rev. Celtique*, VI (1885), 318.

<sup>3)</sup> *Thes. Palaeoh.*, I, xvi.

well be far older;<sup>1)</sup> and its immediate source, the fuller translation must have been older still.

The cqlophon 'Diarmait scripsit' at the end of the Ascoli commentary probably preserves merely the name of the scribe. The ascription on the front of the manuscript and in the fifteenth century catalogue to Jerome is a late conjecture, based on the occurrence of Jerome's prefaces at the beginning, and is demonstrably false. With much more basis in probability, the work has been attributed<sup>2)</sup> to Saint Columban. The grounds given are an alleged similarity to Columban's style, the fact that Columban is recorded in his youth to have composed a commentary on the psalms, and that in a tenth century list of the manuscripts at Bobbio, and another at St. Gall of the ninth century, occurs the mention of a commentary on the Psalms by St. Columban. On these grounds, Columban's authorship was widely accepted by former Celtic scholars (Vallarsi, Peyron, Hefele, Zeuss, Nigra, G. E. Stokes; but opposed by Krusch). But in announcing his discovery of the Theodorean source, which of course put a new face on the matter, Mercati expressed a decided scepticism about the attribution.<sup>3)</sup> The Latin seemed to him to point, by reason of its vigorous and idiomatic character, to a much earlier date of composition; and he doubted whether a translation of Theodore's Greek commentary could have been

<sup>1)</sup> W. M. Lindsay, 'The Bobbio Scriptorium' (cited above), p. 302.

<sup>2)</sup> See Geo. T. Stokes, 'Columbanus and His Teaching', *Expositor*, X (1889), 136—150; B. Krusch, Intro. to the Vita Columbani of Jonas, *Mon. Germ. hist. Script. rerum Merovingiarum*, IV (1902), 18; E. Martin, *Saint Columban*, 1905, p. 17; M. Esposito, *Hermathena*, no. 36 (1910), 61; L. Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, 1911, p. 258. Other authorities are cited by Mercati (1896), p. 21, and *Thes. Palaeoh.*, I, xv.

<sup>3)</sup> In the reprint of Mercati's article in *Studi e Testi*, XI (1903), p. 101, he modifies his position so far as regards the possibility of Irish authorship; he now considers it possible that the translation was made in Ireland, tho doubtful: 'Ora però dopo il celebre lavoro di H. Zimmer, *Pelagius in Ireland* (1901), e specialmente dopo la sua lunga nota a p. 5 non si può sostenere che il greco fosse poco o punto conosciuto in Irlanda. Però si può sostenere che vi fosse così bene conosciuto e maneggiato il latino come dall'autore della versione nostra? Naturalmente io non parlo di Pelagio, che conosceva il greco, ib. p. 199, e maneggiava assai bene il latino: forse uno studio più accurato del suo stile e della sua lingua, che mi sembra arieggiare un poco a quella del nostro interprete, condurrebbe ad un risultato, che ora non oso formulare'.

made in Ireland in the fifth or the sixth centuries. He was inclined rather to ascribe it to some Pelagian of the fifth century who found himself in sympathy with its doctrinal position. Later writers, accordingly (Esposito, Gougaud) have refrained from sanctioning the ascription to Columban. But the case for Columban, it seems to me, deserves further consideration.

In studying the authorship and date of the translation of the Commentary on the Psalms, it is natural to inquire first about the other exegetical work of Theodore's which we possess in Latin version, the Commentary on the Minor Epistles, edited by Swete.<sup>1)</sup> For this work Swete fixes on either the fifth, sixth, or seventh century as a possible time of composition, and considers that the translator may have belonged either to the Pelagians of the fifth century, many of whom were friends of Theodore's, to the Semi-Pelagians of Gaul in the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries, among whom some of his views were prevalent, to the defenders of the Three Chapters in Africa or Italy in the latter part of the sixth and the seventh centuries, who protested against Theodore's condemnation by the Pope and Emperor, or finally to the Adoptionists of Spain in the seventh century, who shared some of his ideas. Of the four possibilities, Dr. Swete decides on the whole for the third. He thinks the commentary on St. Paul was translated by some one of the party who after the Fifth Council suffered persecution for refusing to accept its anathemas. The indications of origin for the Latin translation of the commentary on the psalms all point in the same direction.

The controversy of the Three Chapters raged equally in Africa and Italy. Dr. Swete thinks the evidence available in regard to the Pauline translation, especially the peculiarities of the Latin, points rather to Africa; and he suggests as its most probable author some such valiant African defender of Theodore as Facundus of Hermiane. For the psalms, on the other hand, we can make out at least as strong a case for Italy and Columban.

The vigorous disapproval aroused by the action of the Fifth Council in condemning Theodore and his two sympathizers Ibas and Theodoret, and by what was considered the weak and craven submission of Pope Vigilius to its decision, took in North

<sup>1)</sup> H. B. Swete, *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii*, 2 vols. Cambridge, 1880; see Intro., p. li f.

Italy the extreme form of a schism. The Schism of Aquileia, which began, three years after the Council, at the Synod of 556, resulted in the withdrawal of the churches of North Italy, under the leadership of Milan and Aquileia, from communion with Rome. The orthodoxy of the successor of Vigilius, Pelagius, was impugned also in Tuscany and in France;<sup>1)</sup> and by the time of Gregory the Great (590—604) there is some evidence that the schism had spread to Ireland.<sup>2)</sup> Gregory made much headway in reconciling the hostile churches by his judicious policy of silence about the Fifth Council. But when Boniface IV (607—615) came to the chair, the independent patriarchate of Aquileia, in the territory of the Lombard king Agilulf, still held aloof.

It was at this juncture, and by way of this schismatic territory, that the great Irish missionary Columban entered Italy (612), and addressed his famous letter to Pope Boniface.<sup>3)</sup> In this letter, while preserving all due respect for the Roman pontiff, he shows unmistakable sympathy with the position of his hosts at the court of Agilulf, and takes sides against the condemnation of the Three Chapters and its acceptance by Pope Vigilius. Cf. *P. L.*, LXXX, 270: 'Vigila itaque, quaeso, Papa, uigila; et iterum dico, Vigila; quia forte non bene uigilauit Vigilius, quem caput scandali isti clamant, qui uobis culpam iniiciunt'.

We have here, in the general historical and personal situation, quite enough to make it likely that Columban knew Theodore and his work, and took a favorable view of both. But another passage in the same letter comes nearer to our specific problem, and suggests a possible reflection of a passage found in the later Latin version of Theodore's Commentary on the Psalms.

In the heading to ps. xviii in the commentary edited by Ascoli, which has been cited above (p. 444), we have seen that

<sup>1)</sup> Hefele, *History of the Councils*, IV, 355.

<sup>2)</sup> Hefele, IV, 361. This is derived from the title 'Ad episcopos Hiberniae' which is borne by one of Gregory's letters addressed to the schismatics. Hefele doubts the authenticity of the title, because Columban's letter of 613—15 declares that he received information of the schism first after coming into Italy and that nothing was known of it in Ireland. But Columban had left Ireland before Gregory's papacy began, and in any case the rhetorical exaggerations of his famous letter should not be taken too literally.

<sup>3)</sup> See Martin, *Saint Columban*, pp. 153 f.

a curious allegorical explanation was inserted which is not to be found in the earlier Latin version or in the Syriac. The insertion is a little unusual, for the reviser's attempts at reconciliation, numerous as they are, are generally confined to cases of disagreement with the Vulgate title. Here it would seem that he had the New Testament reference to the psalm (Romans X, 18) and the orthodox allegorical explanation based thereupon for some reason already in his mind. It is at least suggestive when we find the very same interpretation of the psalm in Columban's letter (*P. L.*, LXXX, 280). The sentence is an oft-quoted one for another reason, because it seems to rank Jerusalem above Rome in point of sanctity and ecclesiastical headship. The preeminence of Rome is due, Columban says, to its possession of the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul; and in this connection he cites ps. xviii, vs. 2 and 6, and gives their interpretation:

'Ex tunc (i. e. from the time when the two apostles were buried at Rome) uos magni estis et clari, et Roma ipsa nobilior et clarior est; et si dici potest, propter Christi geminos apostolos (dico ipsos coelos a Spiritu sancto dictos "Dei gloriam enarrantes" (ps. xviii. 2)), de quibus infertur, "In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae uerba illorum" (xviii. 51), uos prope coelestes estis, et Roma orbis terrarum caput est ecclesiarum, salua loci Dominicae resurrectionis singulari praeogitua.'

The agreement may be no more than a coincidence; but the whole letter breathes the spirit of a man who combined freedom and independence in his theological and ecclesiastical views with an adherence on the whole to the orthodox position. Columban was a man who had certainly heard with favor of Theodore, and might well have been attracted by his unconventional exposition of the psalter, but he would probably have felt it incumbent upon him to tone it down and revise it, adding the rejected titles and correcting any disagreement with them or with the New Testament of which he was aware. Just such a man must have been responsible for the work that comes to us from Columban's monastery.

Of the two Latin versions Columban is thus much more likely to have been concerned with the second. Should his authorship of this be admitted, moreover, Mercati's preference for a fifth century date might still hold good for the first version. Mercati's judgment was based chiefly on the character of the Latin, and we have seen that much of the parent translation was taken over verbally into the revised commentary.

We can hardly fix the composition of either work more nearly. Were it not for the testimony of Columban's biographer Jonas that he made a commentary on the psalter in his youth, before leaving Ireland, — i. e. before 590, — we should have been more inclined to set the probable date of the revised version of Theodore during Columban's residence at Bobbio (613—15) for the last years of his life. But there is nothing impossible in supposing a knowledge and an interest in Theodore's work sufficient for the task to have been found in Ireland in Columban's youth.

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## THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

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In the preceding article<sup>1)</sup> I began to trace the adoption and transmission by later writers of the remarkable interpretations of the psalms first made in the fourth century by Theodore of Mopsuestia. The succession of his disciples was followed down to the revised and abbreviated Latin version of the sixth or seventh centuries which was written probably by St. Columban and possibly in Ireland itself. In the present paper I wish to discuss a further succession of works dependent on Theodore's commentary, all of which were without doubt produced either in England or Ireland. The connection of the English links in the chain, the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*<sup>2)</sup> ascribed to Bede, and the Anglo-Saxon version known as the *West-Saxon Psalms*,<sup>3)</sup> has long been familiar to students of English literature thru Dr. Bruce's dissertation;<sup>3)</sup> but the two Old-Irish works on the psalter, the fragmentary commentary edited by Dr. Kuno Meyer in *Hibernica Minora* and the tenth century poem by Mac Coisse, have not yet been assigned their place in the list. A study of the relations of these four productions, together with one or two others of less importance, will show the extent to which the strangely modern opinions of the great Eastern heretic were known beyond the Channel, and will also reveal a surprising

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<sup>1)</sup> 'Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. Columban on the Psalms', p. 421—451.

<sup>2)</sup> See the bibliographical list given in the preceding article, p. 428, 429.

<sup>3)</sup> *Codices Palatini Latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, ed. H. Stevenson, Jr., 1886, I. 12; B. Güterbock, *K. Z.*, XXXIII (1895), 100, and *Celt. Zeitschr.*, III (1898), 53; *Thes. Palaeoh.*, I. xiv; Gougaud, p. 258. The Irish glosses are published in *Thes. Palaeoh.*, I. 3, the Northumbrian in Napier, *Old English Glosses*, Anecd. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Series, IV, 11 (1900), xxii, 220.

mutual influence and a perhaps unsuspected intellectual commerce between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England.

Preliminary mention may be made of a Latin *catena* on the psalms containing Theodorean matter, which bears evidence of having been used both in England and Ireland. The eighth or ninth century manuscript now in the Vatican Library (Pal. Lat. 68),<sup>1)</sup> which is said to be written in an Irish hand, but transcribed from the work of an Anglo-Saxon, contains a series of extracts from various authors on the psalms, beginning with ps. xxxix. In the manuscript are also found a few scattered glosses in Irish and in the Northumbrian dialect of Anglo-Saxon. Güterbock states that there is frequent agreement between the Latin extracts and the commentary edited by Ascoli; and his testimony is confirmed by a letter that I have received from Dr. Mercati, in which he adds that the extracts are from the works of Hilary, Jerome, and Theodore, together with other commentators on the psalms.

*The 'Liber Bedae in Titulis Psalmorum'.* — A much more important member of the succession next presents itself in the commentary ascribed to Bede and known as the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*.<sup>2)</sup> As we shall see, it is unlikely that Bede is to be held responsible for all the parts of this work; and it will be convenient to reserve the name 'Liber Bedae in Titulis Psalmorum', which is used in certain of the manuscripts, for those sections to which his claim is really well founded. The *Exegesis* falls at each psalm into three sections: a brief *Argumentum* and *Explanatio* dealing with the psalm in general, and a *Commentarius* which discusses the psalm at length both in general and in detail. The third section ceases to be added after ps. cxxi, but the *Argumenta* and *Explanationes* continue to the end of the psalter.

Before attempting to discuss the authorship of these sections, it will be necessary to examine in detail the composition and sources of each of the three. The essential questions here have already been answered by Dr. Bruce, and I shall without further acknowledgment make use of his results, which need to be

<sup>1)</sup> See the bibliographical list given in the preceding article, p. 428, 429.

<sup>2)</sup> Migne, *P. L.*, XCIII. The series of *Argumenta* is also edited in the *West-Saxon Psalms*.



modified only in minor particulars. The most important for our purpose, and the most complex of the three sections, is the series of *Argumenta* which stand first in each psalm. Short as these headings are, they are easily seen to be composite. This composite character is indicated, in the edition of the *Argumenta* included in the *West-Saxon Psalms* (from which all citations are made) by dividing them into sections marked a, b, and c. The (a) section, which is there called the historical explanation, is found in every psalm except no. lxxxvii, and almost invariably stands first. The (b) section combines two elements, altho neither is always present, which have been called the mystical title and the liturgical note. The (b) section is absent in our text in 18 psalms, and among the 132 cases where it occurs there are 127 mystical titles and 33 liturgical notes. The (c) section, or comment, is only occasional, being added, usually at the end, in 22 cases.

The 'historical explanations', or (a) sections, are all Theodorean, and are borrowed directly from the commentary edited by Ascoli, which we have seen was not improbably the work of St. Columban. Their Theodorean origin was amply demonstrated by Bruce, with the aid of the Greek and Syriac fragments then available. The further fact of immediate dependance on Columban's expurgated and doctored commentary becomes evident upon comparison. The 'historical explanations' are more or less condensed from the already condensed headings of Columban, and are often considerably rephrased, especially in the earlier part of the psalter. But in the majority of cases there is unmistakable agreement in wording, amounting in some to identity (cf. pss. xlvii, lx, xcix, cxxxiii).

That this agreement cannot be due to the use of the fuller parent translation which has survived to us only in fragments is clear from three facts. First, out of the dozen older headings preserved in the Ambrosian and Turin manuscripts, I find no cases of agreement with the corresponding *Argumentum* where the common wording is not found also in Columban's version.

A second and more conclusive test lies in the little reconciling phrases which we have seen so often added by Columban to soften the disagreement between Theodore and the Vulgate titles or the New Testament citations of the psalms. Naturally these were commonly dropped in the *Argumenta*,

which strive always to abbreviate; but they are occasionally retained. The *Argumenta* for pss. xviii and xxix, for example, may be compared with the headings of the two Latin versions given in the preceding article (p. 444):

Ps. xviii (*West-Saxon Psalms*, p. 38): '(a) Adprobatur in hoc psalmo prouidentia Dei, qui ex hoc ipso multam hominum curam se habere monstrauit, dum ita elementa a se creata componit, ut per ipsa possit agnosci. (b) Item, propheta de aduentu Christi dicit; in Matthaeum.'

Ps. xxix (*West-Saxon Psalms*, p. 61): '(a) Eleuatus Ezechias uictoriae tam gloriosae prouentu, aegrotatione correptus est, ut, suae fragilitatis admonitione deponeret arrogantiam; sub eius proinde persona, ab errore correpti, ab infirmitate saluati, et ab hostibus eruti, gratiarum actio praedicatur; et pro conseruatione Templi tanquam pro dedicatione cantatur. (b) Aliter, ecclesia orat cum laude.'

In the first case the addition of Columban has been dropped, in the second retained. For other instances of retention see the *Argumenta* of pss. l, li, liii, lix. In these cases the reconciling phrase is more or less attenuated; but in others (as at pss. lxxxv and cvii), it is even fuller than in the commentary edited by Ascoli, a circumstance that suggests that the compiler of the *Argumenta* enjoyed the use of a better and completer text of Columban's work than the very corrupt one that has come down to us.<sup>1)</sup>

In the third place, the six spurious and non-Theodorean headings in Columban's commentary (pss. lxxxvii, cxxxix—cxliii; see the preceding article, p. 445) are also found in the *Argumenta*: at ps. lxxxvii, where Columban fails to give any historical interpretation, the (a) section is omitted in the *Argumentum*, for the only time in the whole series; and the spurious Hezekian interpretations of Columban in the other five cases also reappear in the briefer headings.

The agreement between Columban and the *Argumenta*, however, is not entirely unbroken. Just as we found that Columban had departed from his model in the six cases mentioned, so in a number of other cases the *Argumenta* depart from Columban. The explanation this time is doubtless the same as in the other, a loss of certain pages in the source immediately followed. The accident which befell Columban's model occurred near its end, that which concerned the *Argumenta* near the

<sup>1)</sup> *Theo. Palaeoh.* I. xvi.

beginning.<sup>1)</sup> The spurious *Argumenta*, in addition to the six that, as we have seen, were taken over from Columban, number thirteen in all. They are found at pss. ii—ix, xi, xii, xiv, xv, and xxxvii. Of these the last is susceptible of a simple explanation; it is merely an accidental reflection of the one at ps. vi. As we saw in the preceding article (p. 443), the earlier Latin translation had substituted for Theodore's hypothesis to ps. xxxvii a mere notice that it was identical with ps. vi; this statement was copied in Columban's commentary; and the compiler of the *Argumenta*, having already gone wrong at ps. vi, very naturally carried over his mistake to ps. xxxvii.

The genuine Theodorean interpretations in these thirteen cases, as demonstrated by the agreement of all our other sources, are as follows: ii and viii, Dogmatic; iii, vi, vii, ix, xii, xv, xxxvii, Personal or Davidic; iv, Laudatory; v, Exilic; xi, Purely Moral; xiv, Hezekian. The unfortunate guesses of the compiler of the *Argumenta* are distributed as follows: ii, xi, Personal or Davidic; iii, iv, v, vi, vii, ix, xii, xv, xxxvii, Hezekian; viii, Laudatory; xiv, Exilic. His substitutes, like those of Columban, at least show an understanding of Theodorean methods and a sympathy with them; but he manifested somewhat more originality than Columban, who 'plumped' for Hezekiah.<sup>2)</sup>

To his Theodorean historical explanations, the compiler added in the great majority of cases a mystical title which represents the opposite or orthodox school of interpretation. Perhaps he originally added these mystical titles of the (b) section in every case; for in 8 out of the 23 psalms where it is lacking in our text, we find it supplied by the Latin rubrics on the margin of the Paris Psalter.<sup>3)</sup> These rubrics, as Bruce was the

<sup>1)</sup> Bruce (p. 117) first suggested that an imperfect manuscript probably lay behind the 18 spurious *Argumenta*; the condition of the newly found commentary of Columban compels us to assume two such imperfect manuscripts instead of one. But the assumption is not at all an unlikely one, in view of the common vicissitudes of manuscript history, of which we have in the fragmentary Bobbio manuscripts a pertinent illustration.

<sup>2)</sup> For a discussion in detail of these spurious *Argumenta* and their relation to the Anglo-Saxon Introductions, see the article entitled 'Notes on the Introductions of the West-Saxon Psalms' which is soon to appear in the *Journal of Theological Studies*.

<sup>3)</sup> See the 'Notes' at pss. vii, xxi, and xxiv; and compare the *Argumenta* with the Rubrics also at pss. lviii, cxiii, five of the sub-titles of ps. cxviii,

first to demonstrate, are based, like the Anglo-Saxon Introductions, principally on the *Argumenta*. That they had the advantage of a much better and fuller text is demonstrated not only by their retention of these lost mystical titles, but also by the numerous cases where they retain words and phrases not in our text.<sup>1)</sup>

The mystical titles represent the views of orthodox commentators in general, but they are not so far as can be discovered drawn from any one expounder of the allegorical school. They are more probably taken, as Bruce suggests (p. 122) from some 'Collectio Argumentorum' such as that preserved in the works of Cardinal Thomasius (*Opera Omnia*, II. xlv, Rome, 1747). It is not correct, however, to say, as Bruce does (p. 122), that Thomasius took the titles in his 'Collectio' direct from the *Exegesis*; for altho most of the mystical titles of the *Argumenta* recur in Thomasius, they are often given there in a fuller or an altered form, and cannot possibly have come from the edition of Bede's works that Thomasius used. Probably there were many such 'Collectiones' of allegorical 'Voces' from which compilers and manuscript rubricators might draw, and it was with the aid of one of these that the *Argumenta* were made up. A similar collection was evidently used by the rubricators of other Anglo-Saxon Psalters, as will be shown below.

The mystical titles offer a sharp contrast to the Theodorean interpretations by substituting the New Testament for the Old as a key to the meaning of the psalms. Whereas Theodore chose his appropriate spokesman nearly always from Old Testament history, viz. David himself, Hezekiah, the Exiles, the Maccabees, the mystical titles invariably bring the psalm into the circle of New Testament history, and put it almost always in the mouth either of Christ or of the Church. They use the form 'Vox' or 'Verba Christi', or 'Christus dicit' on the one hand, or 'Vox' or 'Confessio Ecclesiae, credentium, fidei, Apostolorum,

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pss. cxxix, cxli, and cxlii. The Anglo-Saxon Introductions also point at times to the presence of a mystical title absent in our text of the *Argumenta*; cf. the 'Notes' at pss. iii, vii, viii, xxi, xxiv.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. the varying relations between the Rubrics and the *Argumenta* which appear at pss. cxx, cxxx; pss. lxxxi, lxxxiii, lxxxiv, cxii, cxix, cxavi; pss. l, cxvii, cxxiv, cxxix; pss. lxxix, cxviii, cxv, cxvii.

Pauli', and the like, or 'Ecclesia' etc. 'dicit', on the other. But there are two notable points of resemblance between the historical (a) sections and the allegorical (b) sections:<sup>1)</sup> both usually conceive the psalms as dramatic monologs written by David in the character of some future personage discerned by his prophetic vision; and the mystical titles, like the explanations of Theodore, practically ignore the Vulgate titles.

The curious additional clauses found some 33 times in the (b) sections, which we have named the 'liturgical note', e.g. 'Lege ad Esaïam, ad Euangelium Matthaei, ad Lucam' (cf. pss. ii, vi, viii, x, etc.), have been explained in general by Thomasius (II, Ad Lectorem, section xiii; cited by Bruce p. 219), and are dealt with in detail in the 'Notes'. They are all found, some in fuller form, in the 'Collectio' of Thomasius. To be associated with them are the expressions, some of which are obscure, 'post baptismum', ps. xxii; 'ad eos qui primum ingrediuntur in Dominicam', ps. xxvi; 'ad superpositionem', pss. xxviii and cvii; 'per ieiunium', ps. xxxiii; 'ante baptismum ad eos qui fidem sunt consecuturi', ps. xli; 'ad eos qui fidem sunt consecuti', ps. xlii; 'in exomologesim', ps. xliii; 'ante baptismum', ps. lxiv, — most of which refer to ancient liturgical use of the psalms in question (see 'Notes' in each case).

The (c) sections, 22 in number, are in the nature of an occasional comment, mostly either on the Vulgate title or some New Testament use or reference to the psalm. All of them are taken from one of two well-known orthodox commentaries on the psalter: the *Breuiarium in Psalmos* mistakenly ascribed to Jerome (*P. L.*, XXVI), from which come the (c) sections of pss. i, xiii, xxi, xxvii, cxv, cxxv, or the *Commentarii in Psalmos* of Arnobius (*P. L.*, LIII), from which are taken the (c) sections of

<sup>1)</sup> In the three texts collated for the edition of the *Argumenta* in the *West-Saxon Psalms* (see p. viii), the (b) sections are very generally begun with the word 'Aliter'. In the new ms. text which now comes to light, however, in the Southhampton Psalter, we find this word frequently replaced by 'Spiritualiter' (pss. ii, v, etc.) or 'Allegorice' (pss. iii, iv, etc.). Dr. Bright suggests as not unlikely that we have here the original reading in every case, and that 'aliter' arose by a natural confusion of scribal abbreviations. If so, it is an interesting proof that the compiler understood and intended thus formally to indicate the distinction between the two schools of exegesis whose interpretations he brought together.

pss. iv, vi, xi, xiv, xix, xxii, xxviii, xxxiii, xxxix, lv, lvi, lviii, lxix, lxxx, lxxxviii, xcvi.<sup>1</sup>)

We can thus state quite precisely just what works the compiler of the *Argumenta* used. They were four: the Theodorean commentary of Columban, a 'Collectio Argumentorum' similar to the one preserved in Thomasius, and the two orthodox commentaries of pseudo-Jerome and Arnobius. The process of correcting Theodore's two original opinions had been vigorously begun by Columban; but in the *Argumenta* we find them in danger of being swamped altogether by the flood of conventional interpretations attached to them. They still stand out, however, as the forefront and most distinctive part of the series of headings.

A further corrective was supplied in the accompanying series of headings entitled *Explanationes*. These, as Bruce noted, are practically all taken from the standard orthodox commentary of Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium* (P. L., LXX). The process was much like that applied to Columban's headings in the *Argumenta*. Cassiodorus heads each psalm by a paragraph on the title and subject, and a second that he names 'Diuisio psalmi'. In the *Explanationes* the two are boiled down usually into about half the length of one.

Cassiodorus is not, however, the exclusive source of the *Explanationes*. The compiler kept his mind sufficiently open occasionally to replace an explanation of Cassiodorus by one that he preferred from the pseudo-Jerome (cf. pss. vii, ix, xxi, xxvi, xxix, xxxiii, xxxviii, xlvi, and others). It is more noteworthy that at least once he turned to Columban (ps. xxxvi).<sup>2</sup>) The fact is unmistakable, and goes far to prove that *Argumenta* and *Explanationes* were by the same author.

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<sup>1</sup>) The fact that the (c) section of ps. xcvi is merely borrowed, tho as elsewhere not without some adaptation, from Arnobius, disposes of the argument based thereon by Bruce (Note, p. 129) as to a possible contemporary allusion by the author of the *Argumenta*.

<sup>2</sup>) Ascoli, ps. xxxvi: 'Quoniam plerique mortalium afflictione proborum et impiorum prosperitate turbantur, ut inremuneratas in hac uita uirtutes deserant, et uitia consecretur felicia, ad huiusmodi depellendum errorem iste psalmus componitur.' *Explanatio*: 'Hic psalmus hortatur ad fidem, demonstrans Ecclesiae salutem: monet credentes, quoniam plerique mortalium pro afflictione bonorum et impiorum prosperitate turbantur, adeo ut et non remuneratas in

Finally we come to the *Commentarius* proper. It differs greatly in style from the two introductory sections, being as diffuse as they are concise. Nor does it seem to have been intended to follow them, for it generally begins afresh with a discussion of the title and general purpose of the psalm, traversing over again the ground of the two headings, and making no apparent effort to agree with them. The *Argumenta* indeed can hardly have been known to the author of the *Commentarius*, for none of its peculiar historical explanations taken from Theodore are found or even alluded to below. With the *Explanatio* the introductory remarks of the *Commentarius* are usually in agreement; but this is to be accounted for from the fact that both use Cassiodorus as their principal source. Jerome and Augustine are also constantly cited in the *Commentarius*. It is not, however, merely a compilation, as the *Argumenta* and *Explanatio* are; it exhibits as much independence as is likely to be found in a medieval commentary which is a slavish adherent of the orthodox allegorical school.

The ascription of the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis* to Bede has been as much called in question as Columban's authorship of the commentary edited by Ascoli. Most students of Bede have rejected the whole of it from the list of his works, on stylistic and other grounds. The arguments against it are well summed up by Bruce (pp. 118—131), who supported the assignment of it to Ambrose Autpert, a theory that had privately been communicated to him by Dom. Germain Morin. The sole argument on the other side that Dr. Bruce found to answer was the fact of its inclusion, together with a mass of demonstrably spurious matter, in the Basel edition of Bede's collected works (1563), and the following note inserted by the Basel editors at the end of the unfinished *Commentarius* (ps. cxxi; see *P. L.*, XCIII, p. 1089):

'Beda, cum historiam quam Ecclesiasticam uocat scripserat, iam tum annum agebat 60; a discipulis deinde licet saepius rogatus, mysteriorum sacrarumque in Psalmis diuinationum recessus cogitans, explicationem illius libri aggredi volebat; tamen ut quoquo modo suis satisfaceret, Argumenta in

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hac nita uirtutes desiderent et nitia consecretur: ad huiusmodi repellendum errorem psalmus iste componitur, qui finem magis utrorumque considerandum crebra repetitione moneret. Per totum Ecclesiae uox introducitur . . .' The extract from Columban is preceded and followed by sentences from Cassiodorus.

singulos psalmos breui confecit. Auditores nero ipsius cum importuni iterum instarent, tandem eis titulos psalmorem breuissimis Explicationibus illustrauit; quibus absolutis, desideriis propriis plus indulgentes quam praeceptoris senium reuerentes, eo uenerabilem uirum adegerunt, ut etiam integros Commentarios in psalmos scriberet. Quos quidem omnes, morte praeuentus cum iam cxx explicasset, absolueri non potuit; opus tamen inimitabile hoc relinquens.'

Bruce regarded this statement as a wholesale fabrication, constructed on the model of the well-known story of Bede's translation of St. John's Gospel, and designedly fixing the composition of the commentary between Bede's sixtieth year and his death (731—735) because it was omitted in the list of his writings which Bede drew up at the former time.<sup>1)</sup>

Since the manuscripts used by the Basel editors for the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis* are unknown, it was impossible, when Dr. Bruce wrote, to see whether their story had any basis in the evidence before them. But the evidence for attributing at least part of the *Exegesis* to Bede has since been shown to exist in other quarters of which Dr. Bruce was unaware. Dom. Morin called attention, in an article published the same year, to several early manuscript ascriptions.<sup>2)</sup> A tenth century manuscript of the *Argumenta* and *Explanationes* together calls them 'Codex Bedae de Titulis Psalmorum'; and in two eleventh century manuscripts of the *Explanationes* alone we find colophons naming the series 'Interpretatio', 'Expositio', or 'Breuiarium Bedae de Titulis Psalmorum'. There is besides the entry 'Liber Bedae in Titulis Psalmorum' of the tenth century catalogue of Bobbio. Morin still favored the ascription to Autpert of the *Commentarius*, but now thought it possible that Bede had really compiled the two series of headings during the last four years of his life, as related in the Basel story.

This suggestion of an original separation of the *Commentarius* from the other two sections has much to commend it. The *Argumenta* and *Explanationes* are closely bound together by their occurrence together in at least one manuscript,<sup>3)</sup> by

<sup>1)</sup> Dr. Bright suggests as a still closer parallel the story of St. Columba's death while engaged in transcribing the psalter (cf. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1910, I, cxiv).

<sup>2)</sup> See Morin (cited above), p. 292, and the Bibliography in the *West-Saxon Psalms*, p. 149.

<sup>3)</sup> The *Argumenta* are also found on the margins of the 'Southampton Psalter' (MS. C. 9, St. John's College, Cambridge); and since in three cases



the title 'In Titulis' or 'De Titulis Psalmorum', which would certainly not be applied to the *Commentarius*, and by their common use of the pseudo-Jerome and especially of the Theodorean commentary of Columban. The *Commentarius*, on the other hand, by its difference in style, entire absence of Theodorean coloring, and non-inclusion with the other two in any known manuscript, clearly stands by itself. The story given by Bede's first editors was after all not likely to have been entirely without foundation; and the modicum of truth to which the suspicious account of the interrupted *Commentarius* was added may well have been a reliable attribution of *Argumenta* and *Explanationes* to Bede.

But the strongest testimony of all for crediting Bede with the authorship of these two sections of the *Exegesis* is that afforded by the Old Irish commentary edited by Dr. Kuno Meyer in *Hibernica Minora*. This is the next member that we shall discuss of the Theodorean succession; but before taking it up for itself, we may note the evidence that it gives upon the work of Bede. The passage in question, since the exact identification of at least one of the citations is a matter of dispute, had better be quoted here:

*Hib. Min.*, p. 33, ll. 360—73 (Dr. Meyer's translation):

"Question. What is the argument of this psalm? Not difficult. 'In hoc psalmo omnes gentes generaliter hortatur, ad studia uirtutum incitat simul eas, docet quae merces bona, quae poena mala consequatur.'

Question. Why has this psalm no title? Not difficult. 'Ideo primus psalmus non habet titulum, quia titulus omnium psalmorum est.' 'Primus psalmus', says Bede, 'titulum non habet, quia capiti nostro Domino Saluatori de quo absolute loquitur non debuit proponi.' For though the (other) psalms speak of Him, they do not speak of His life as this psalm speaks. 'Nam licet alii psalmi de ipso multa dicunt, nemo tamen de eius conuersatione quae fuit in terris sic loquitur. Hic psalmus caput totius operis ponitur, et ad eum quae dicenda sunt cuncta respiciunt.'

With this compare the *Argumentum*, *Explanatio*, and *Commentarius* as given by Migne for the first psalm:

*West-Saxon Psalms*, p. 1; *P. L.*, XCH, 483:

*Argumentum*. (a) Omnes generaliter ad studia uirtutum incitat, simul adiungens quae merces bona, quae mala gesta sequatur. (c) Tertullianus in

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the *Explanationes* are given also, it is likely that the source from which they are copied contained both series. There is no trace of the *Commentarius*.

libro De Spectaculis adserit hunc psalmum et de Ioseph intelligi qui corpus Domini sepelinit, et de his qui ad spectacula gentium non conveniunt.

*Explanatio.* Primus psalmus ideo non habet titulum, quia capiti nostro Domino Saluatori, de quo absolute dicturus est, nihil debuit praeponi. Nam licet et alii psalmi de ipso multa dicant, nemo tamen de eius qui fuit in terris conuersatione sic loquitur; et quoniam ad hunc quae dicenda sunt caucta respiciunt, merito caput sancti operis ponitur. Nam quidam tituli, quidam praefationis, locum eum tenere dixerunt. Totius psalmi huius propheta referre narratur textus. In prima parte uitam sanctae incarnationis exponit; secunda nero peccatorum nequitias in futuro iudicio debitas recipere commemorat ultiones.

*Commentarius.* Primus psalmus duabus de causis caret titulo, uel quia ipse titulus et principium est aliorum, uel quia uicinius et apertius iuxta quod inter homines conuersatus est, loquitur de illo, id est de Christo, qui secundum diuinam essentiam omni caret principio, et a quo omnia sumunt principium . . .

The mention of Bede by name in the sentence taken from *Explanatio* is noteworthy, for the Irish author might have drawn it directly from its original source Cassiodorus, whom he elsewhere uses and names. The fact that the quotations from *Argumenta* and *Explanations* occur so close together makes it practically certain that he had these two sections before him combined in a text which he knew as Bede's.

But Dr. Meyer finds here also a quotation from the *Commentarius*, in the sentence 'Ideo primus . . . psalmorum est', lying just between those from the *Argumentum* and *Explanatio*. If such be indeed its source, the question we have raised of the original union of the three sections is conclusively answered. But the identification is hardly convincing on close comparison; and in the very next paragraph the Irish writer repeats and continues the sentence in a way totally different from anything in the *Commentarius*:<sup>1)</sup>

*Hib. Min.*, p. 35, ll. 385—88: 'Primus psalmus titulus est omnium psalmorum, quia in eo continentur tres uoces omnium psalmorum, i. e. uox definitionis, uox consolationis, uox increpationis.'

No other quotation in the Irish commentary can be traced to the *Commentarius*;<sup>2)</sup> and its evidence must therefore not be counted on the side of union.

<sup>1)</sup> I have been unable to trace this passage or method of division in any of the psalm commentators; but both recur in the Southampton Psalter. For the origin which is thus suggested see below.

<sup>2)</sup> Dr. Meyer finds three other references in the treatise to the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*, at ll. 5, 158, and 211. Each of these is to the

Since the Irish treatise is dated by its editor, Dr. Meyer, as early as 750,<sup>1)</sup> we have in it a piece of almost contemporary testimony in favor of Bede's authorship of the *Argumenta* and *Explanations*. When this is added to the rest, it becomes hardly possible to doubt longer that the industrious monk did indeed compile the two series and send them forth as a treatise 'Upon the Titles of the Psalms'. The absence of the name in his own list of his works may be due to its brevity and entire lack of originality;<sup>2)</sup> but there is no reason to reject the Basel explanation that it was composed after the list was drawn up in 731. The other part of their story, that which concerns the *Commentarius*, has on the contrary hitherto entirely failed of confirmation; and the balance of probability is clearly against its being a genuine work of Bede's.

The true Theodorean doctrine had become by this time sorely adulterated. In Bede we find Theodore's most distinctive interpretations still kept, but mingled in the orthodox stream that sprang, as far as the Western Church was concerned, from Augustine and Cassiodorus. The union between the two schools was not so difficult as it might appear at first sight. We have seen how Theodore, while emphasizing the two historical lines of interpretation, that is, of David as author and of Jewish history as occasion, did not neglect the moral application to the life of the individual Christian and the Church, and occasionally even admitted the Messianic interpretation. The two latter, i. e. the Messianic or allegorical and the moral, were the aspects

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*Praefatio Altera* (*P. L.*, XCIII, 479—84). But (1) even if this section of the work were known to the Irish writer, we cannot assume therefrom a knowledge of the *Commentarius*, altho the *Praef. Alt.* is undeniably more like the *Commentarius* in style than like the other two sections; (2) the identifications must be considered very doubtful: it is difficult to see any resemblance in the first two cases with the passages cited by Dr. Meyer from the *Praef. Alt.*; and the account at l. 211 of Esdras' restoration of the Psalter is more likely to have come from Hilary (*P. L.*, IX, 258), who is named at l. 44.

<sup>1)</sup> See *Hib. Min.*, p. xiii. The citation from Bede is in fact Dr. Meyer's reason for not putting it even earlier. Cf. also Zimmer's remarks, *Göttinger gelehrte Anz.* (1896), 376—400.

<sup>2)</sup> Bede would have had hardly more reason to include this compilation among his own works than he would the copy of Cassiodorus on the Psalms at Durham which he is traditionally said to have made with his own hand (cf. Plummer, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. xx).

predominantly stressed by the Western Church, but they did not altogether deny, altho they scorned, the literal and historical sense. To a reader unacquainted, as Bede perhaps was, with the fine distinction between the 'typical' and 'allegorical' ways of bringing Christ into the Psalter, — the distinction which had made Theodore a heretic at the Fifth Council, — or prejudiced in his favor as was Columban, the difference between the two schools would seem mainly one of emphasis. Theodore's most glaring fault, his neglect of the original psalm-titles, was easily remedied and his more doubtful passages excised by Columban; and as thus revised, he passed, doubtless under the revered name of the great Irish missionary or some other name equally unexceptionable, into the hands of Bede. Bede seems to have regarded him as a useful complement to the other commentaries with which he was familiar; and in making up his series of extracts, he reduced the difference between the two schools into the difference between a 'Literaliter' and a 'Spiritualiter' or 'Allegorice'. The only genuine Theodorean feature still left, one which could not well be improved away, was the set of references to Jewish history. But the long-suffering heretic was to undergo still another process of change and modification at the hands of an Irish commentator on the Psalms.

*The Irish Interpretation.* — It is a striking fact that every one of the four Latin adaptations of Theodore's commentary that we have studied has intimate Irish connections. The fuller translation, whether or not, as Mercati thinks, it was made by some Pelagian of the fifth century, has reached us only in the fragments preserved in the three Bobbio manuscripts. The revised version, also in a Bobbio manuscript, is furnished with the famous Old Irish glosses, and as we have seen is probably the work of an Irishman. The Vatican catena is in an Irish hand and contains Irish glosses. And even the 'Liber Bedae' was in the Bobbio library by the tenth century, has come down to us in another Irish manuscript with Irish glosses, the 'Southampton Psalter', and as we have seen was known and used by an Irish commentator within a very few years of its composition. It is then not surprising to find the next links in the chain of Theodorean succession formed by works actually written in Old Irish itself.

Unfortunately the Old Irish commentary edited in *Hib. Min.* has reached us only as a fragment. It contains merely the Introduction to the Psalter and a part of the exposition of the first psalm. But what we have is enough to show that the commentary was planned on a large scale, and that if it were ever completed for the whole psalter it must have been a work of rather imposing size and detail. Dr. Meyer thinks it likely that it was continued, and that what has come down is but the first quaternion of a volume the rest of which shared the fate of so many Old Irish books at the hands of the Vikings. The loss is especially regrettable from the linguistic point of view, since as we have seen the character of the language compels the dating of its original composition as early as 750, i. e. as early as the Milan glosses themselves.

According to a usual Irish custom, the commentary is written in the form of a catechism or series of questions and answers on the psalter. These are numerous and searching, and touch on nearly every topic connected with the psalms that had been raised up to the eighth century. The subjects treated, and still more the authorities used and named, give a very flattering impression of the state of Irish learning and Irish libraries at the time. Nearly every Latin commentator on the psalter whom we know to have written before 750 is mentioned and quotations made from his work;<sup>1)</sup> and there are a number of references which can no longer be identified and which perhaps are to books that have perished.

The different authorities are treated in the Introduction rather impartially. When the Commentary proper was begun, however, if we may judge by the portion of one psalm that has come down to us, this impartiality disappeared. Of all his sources, the Irish commentator selected the 'Liber Bedae', i. e.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cf. the list of medieval Latin commentaries given by E. Henrici, *Die Quellen von Nother's Psalmen*, 1878, pp. 3—5. Of the 13 writers on the Psalter listed before 750, the Irish commentator mentions 8, viz. Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Cassiodorus, Gregory, Isidore, and Bede. We find no citation from the important commentaries of pseudo-Jerome and Arnobius, but since these have no general introduction, there was hardly occasion for their use in the part that has come down. The Irish writer also had access to a number of general grammatical and encyclopedic works, such as Isidore's *Etymologies* and others still unidentified.

the *Argumenta* and *Explanationes*, as his chief authority. To Bede he turns in answer to the question, 'What is the argument of this first psalm?' and quotes the (a) section, i.e. the Theodorean part, of the *Argumentum*. If only he had adhered to this practise for the other psalms, we should find practically the whole series of Theodorean interpretations transferred to the Old Irish pages and given the place of honor. And as we shall see when we come to study the 'Southampton Psalter', there is some positive evidence that this was indeed the case.

It seems likely, however, that Bede was not the sole channel by which a knowledge of Theodore reached the Irish writer. In the question and answer just preceding the one for which the *Argumenta* is quoted, a distinctly Theodorean passage occurs which could not have been obtained from the 'Liber Bedae'.

Hib. Min., p.33: 'What is it that makes this psalm precede all the other psalms? Not difficult. Because virtue and morality abound therein. For it is through mercifulness that righteousness and belief are attained. That is conspicuous to us from Cornelius the centurion. For it was the deeds of his mercifulness that brought him to righteousness and belief. Because, however, it is through mercifulness and righteousness that belief is arrived at, it is fit that the psalm in which action and virtue and morality abound should be in front of the psalms.'

Cf. Ascoli, pp.10,11: 'Est ergo moralis psalmus . . . Duo itaque quae faciunt hominem ad beatitudinem peruenire: dogmatis recta sententia, id est ut pie de Deo et integre sentiatur, et morum emendata formatio, per quam honeste sanique uiuatur. Neutrum ad perfectionem ualet sine altero . . . Sed nonnumquam uitae merito ad fidem aditus aperitur; et e diuerso ad perfectam cognitionem eius peccatis obstruitur . . . Unde hanc partem maxime Scripturae diuinae est moris excolere; et ideo etiam in praesenti psalmo ante documenta fidei disciplinae moralis indicitur.'

Cf. also the Irish glosses attached (Thes. Palaeoh., p.12):

'15. ad fidem aditus; i.e. faith is opened through well-doing.

19. i.e. the setting forth that it is thru good works that perfect faith is attained and is opened up to the understanding.'

The agreement is conclusive of a common origin for the two passages, but it is not close enough to warrant us in saying that the Irish writer drew directly from Columban's commentary. As we shall note later, there are some slight indications elsewhere that a still fuller version, perhaps the earlier Latin translation, of Theodore was before him. The most interesting manifestation of Theodorean influence, and also the most distinctive

modification of the Theodorean tradition, that the Irish commentary contains, is found in the paragraph at ll. 312—20:

Hib. Min., p. 31, ll. 312—319: 'There are four things that are necessary in the psalms, to wit, the first story (*stoir*), and the second story, the sense (*siens*) and the morality (*moralus*). The first story refers to David and to Solomon and to the above-mentioned persons, to Saul, to Absalom, to the persecutors besides. The second story to Hezekiah, to the people, to the Maccabees. The meaning (*siens*) to Christ, to the earthly and heavenly church. The morality to every saint.'

In this definitive four-fold scheme we have the final fusion of the two schools of interpretation, the Theodorean and the orthodox. We have seen the two currents mingling, more or less incongruously but ever more intimately, in Columban's revision and the compilation of Bede. But here for the first time the union is consummated and codified. The distinctively Theodorean member of the scheme is of course the 'second story', referring to 'Hezekiah, to the People, to the Maccabees'. The distinctively orthodox member is the 'sense', referring to 'Christ and the church'. Common to both schools of exegetical thought are the 'first story' and the 'morality'.

A formal scheme of different lines of interpretation such as we have here is a characteristic Irish feature. Altho not exactly the four here announced, several similar schemes are to be found elsewhere in Irish expositions of Scripture; and the method seems to have appealed especially to the Irish love of system and schematic regularity of all kinds. Some of these parallels may be cited.

In the Milan glosses are to be found allusions to both a three-fold and a two-fold scheme. For the first compare the following passage from the heading to the first psalm with the glosses attached:

Ascoli, p. 12: 'Quoniam non est nobis propositum latius cuncta persequi, sed summam dictorum omnium sensus adtingere, ut possit lecturis expositionis prima facie relucere, illis relinquentes occasiones maioris intelligentiae, si uoluerint aliqua addere, quae tamen a praemissa interpretatione non discrepent.'

Glosses (*Thes. Palaeoh.*, I, 13):

'7. prima facie, i. e. of the histories, for it is the history (*stoir*) that it is most desirable for us to understand.'

'9. occasiones maioris intelligentiae, i. e. the sense (*sens*) and the morality (*moralus*).'

'10. aliqua addere, i. e. it is thus we shall leave to them the exposition of the sense (*sens*) and the morality (*moralus*), if it be not at variance with the history (*stoir*) that we relate.'

The two-fold system is indicated at two places, pss. viii and xxi. Here we find merely the contrast between the literal and the allegorical, which are called at ps. viii by the Irish words *stoir* and *sens* (Thes. Palaeoh., I, 45), and at ps. xxi by the words *stoir* and *rûin* or *run*, i. e. secret, mystery (Thes. Palaeoh., I, 125).

Additional examples are furnished in abundance by the Old Irish homilies of the *Leabhar Breac*.<sup>1)</sup> Indeed, the accepted formula for an Irish sermon seems to have been the exposition of the passage of Scripture selected in each of the regular modes, taken successively and formally distinguished. Illustrations of the two-fold scheme of the Milan glosses are found in the Homily on the Temptation (pp. 172—181), on the Lord's Supper (pp. 181—90), and on the Day of Pentecost (pp. 190—198); and of the three-fold scheme in the Homily on Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (pp. 163—171), and on the Epiphany (pp. 234 f.). A four-fold scheme, tho not the one of the psalm-commentary, appears in the Third Account of the Passion (p. 131 f.) and the Homily on the Incredulity of Thomas (p. 227 f.).

These different systems may be summed up as follows:

Two-fold: Literal or Historical vs. Spiritual or Allegorical; Irish, *stoir* vs. *sians* (*sens*) or *rûn*. This is the system essentially intended in Bede's *Argumenta*, with their 'Spiritualiter' or 'Allegorice'.

Three-fold: Literal, Mystical or Allegorical, Moral or Tropological; Irish, *stoir*, *sians*, *moralus*.

Four-fold: Literal, Mystical or Allegorical, Moral or Tropological, Anagogical; Irish *stoir*, *sians*, *moralus*, *anagoig*.

The fourth member, the Anagogical (which is about equivalent to the modern term eschatological), seems to be included with the Mystical in the three-fold scheme, and both Anagogical and Moral with the Allegorical in the two-fold scheme.

The medieval student will recognize in these terms the rule of exegesis expressed in the scholastic verse,

<sup>1)</sup> *The Passions and the Homilies from the Leabhar Breac*, Royal Irish Acad., Todd Lecture Series, vol. II, 1887.



'Littera gesta docet; quid credas, allegoria;  
Moralis, quid agas; quid speres, anagogia.'

The system is the one founded by Origen, and the very one which the Antiochene school of Theodore fought against in vain.<sup>1)</sup> Its most famous user in literature was of course Dante, and it became a commonplace of medieval thought, tho hardly anywhere does it appear so formally and so mechanically applied as in the Irish expositions.

But it is not this familiar medieval system that we find in the Irish commentary on the psalms. Its particular four-fold scheme is apparently new. It omits the 'anagogical' interpretation, perhaps including it with the 'allegorical' or 'sians', which it explains as referring 'to Christ, to the earthly *and* heavenly church'. Instead it arrives as the regular number of four in another way by adding the 'second story' or second historical sense taken from Theodore. The compromise was ingenious, altho to one familiar with the historical irreconcilability of the two systems not unlike the compromise of the Roman emperor who admitted Christ into his Pantheon.

Theoretically the scheme here set forth was followed in the exposition of each psalm. For each the question of first story, second story, sense, and morality was raised and answered, doubtless mainly from the *Argumenta* and *Explanationes*, with not infrequent recourse to the other commentaries on the list. Unfortunately we cannot substantiate this theory by a single complete example; but the fragment preserved upon the first psalm certainly seems to start in that direction. Almost at the very end of the pages that have come down to us appears the paragraph that Dr. Meyer has translated as follows:

*Hib. Min.*, p. 37: 'The primary story of the psalms refers to the time of David, the second to Jesus the son of Sirach. He it was that did not abandon him in the time of persecution, though every one else abandoned him.'

'The mention of Jesus the son of Sirach is a decided stumbling-block here; for not only is he unmentioned by any

<sup>1)</sup> For details see Herzog's *Realencyclopaedic*, sub 'Hermeneutik'; the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, sub 'Exegesis'; Plummer's edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, I, lvi—lxii. Cf. also the *Commentaria in Psalmos Davidicos* of Dionysius the Carthusian, Articulus IV, 'De Quadruplici Expositione Sacrae Scripturae', *Opera Omnia* V (1898, Monstrolii), 398.

commentator, but with his presence the passage fails to yield any reasonable sense at all. It is a relief to find that 'Iesu Sirechitis' is a restoration by Dr. Meyer of an obscure and difficult text, which Zimmer in his review of the book<sup>1)</sup> proposes to better as follows:

'The primary story of the psalms refers to the time of David, but this psalm in particular to Hushai the Arkite. He it was, etc.'

Zimmer's brilliant conjecture gives an excellent meaning, for Hushai would be an entirely appropriate person to associate with the description of the righteous man who forsakes the counsel of the ungodly (cf. 2 Sam. XV, 32). It also agrees with the canon laid down above, i. e. that the first story refers to David or any member of his court.

The only objection to the acceptance of Hushai here is the fact that we do not find him connected with the first psalm by any older commentator. His name does not occur, either in the Theodorean treatments of Bede or Columban, or, so far as I can discover, in any of the orthodox commentaries. There is one other appearance of his name in this connection, however, which sheds a decided light on several questions connected with the Irish commentary. This occurs in a Latin gloss on the first page of the 'Southampton Psalter'. In order to understand the significance of the fact, the relation of the Southampton Psalter to our Irish production must now be discussed.

The remarkable manuscript of the Psalms in St. John's College is of uncertain date, probably the end of the tenth or the eleventh century. It is clearly an Irish manuscript and contains a number of scattered Irish glosses which have been edited in the *Thesaurus*. But the Latin glosses, which are very numerous, have apparently not as yet been studied. An examination of them shows not only, as has already been mentioned, that we have here another text of the *Argumenta* of Bede, written on the margin at the head of each psalm, but so many other Latin passages found also in the Irish commentary as to make it practically certain that the Psalter glosses must have been copied from the Commentary or from its immediate source. These agreements are naturally confined to the glosses on the first psalm, found on the first folio of the manuscript. The

<sup>1)</sup> H. Zimmer, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1896), 376—409.

following may be given with references to the corresponding passages of the Irish commentary: <sup>1)</sup>

1. (At the very top of the page) Argumentum: acutae mentis inuentio. (Cf. *Hib. Min.*, p. 28.)

2. Psalmus David de increpatione Absolon qui erat impius et Achithopel, et laudat Cuissai <sup>2)</sup> qui consilium eorum disp[er]didit; aut de Ioseph qui corpus Christi sepeliuit; similiter ad Christum pertinet, ipse est enim perfectus qui numquam abiit in consilium impiorum. Cf. the *Argumentum*.

3. Primus psalmus ideo non habet titulum, quia capiti nostro Domino Saluatori, de quo absolute dicturus est, nihil debuit praeponi. Nam licet alii psalmi de ipso multa dicunt, nemo tamen de eius qui fuit in terris conuersatione sic loquitur; et quoniam ad hunc quae dicenda sunt cuncta respiciunt, merito sancti operis caput ponitur. Nam quidam tituli, quidam praefationis, locum eum tenere dixerunt. Totus psalmi huius textus referente propheta narratur. In prima parte uitam sanctae incarnationis exponit; secunda autem peccatorum nequitias in futuro iudicio debitas recipere ultionis. (Cf. *Hib. Min.*, p. 32, and the *Explanatio*.)

4. Beatus quasi uiuatus, uidelicet uita aeterna fruitur. (Cf. *Hib. Min.*, p. 34.)

5. Beatus quasi bene auctus, habendo quod uelit et nihil patiendo quod nolit; ille est uere beatus qui habet omnia quae uult bene et nihil uult male; ex his enim duobus beatus homo efficitur. (Cf. *Hib. Min.*, p. 34.)

6. Primus psalmus titulus omnium psalmorum est, quia omnis pene sensus omnium in eo continentur. (Cf. *Hib. Min.*, p. 34.)

7. Vox definitionis [before vs. 1]. Vox consolationis [before vs. 3]. Vox increpationis [before vs. 4]. (Cf. *Hib. Min.*, p. 34.)

8. Achithopel et Absolon qui secuti uiam ad a; uel Iudei qui crucifixerunt Christum, quibus non consentit Ioseph; uel beatus omnis sanctus qui non consentit hereticis et uitia [uitiis] et diabulo.

9. Hieronymus [?]. Cur non beatus homo dixit? Quia utramque [utramque] personam tenet. Omnis enim persona qui uirtutem animae habet niri nomine nuncupatur. (Cf. *Hib. Min.*, p. 36.)

The importance of this identification, is the clue that it supplies to the contents of the lost portion of the commentary, both for ps. i and for the rest of the psalter. The two references to Absalom and Achitophel and the one to Hushai put it beyond doubt that the Irish commentator did connect the first psalm with this period of David's life, and make the emendation of Zimmer almost certainly right. These two glosses (nos. 2 and 8)

<sup>1)</sup> For assistance in deciphering these glosses I must express my gratitude to Dr. Bright, Mr. J. H. Hessels, and Mr. R. Flower of the British Museum.

<sup>2)</sup> Or 'aussai'. Mr. Flower thinks it possible that a doubtful gloss just over this word should be read as the Irish word 'feinid', i. e. hero. But there can be no doubt that Hushai is the person intended.

also supply the materials for carrying out the regular scheme of interpretation, beginning with Achitophel and Hushai for the 'first story', Christ and Joseph of Arimathea for the 'sense', and 'every saint who consents not to heretics, vices, and the devil' for the 'morality'; doubtless the 'second story', for which Theodore here had no suggestion, the first psalm being one of his 'Purely Moral' group (see preceding article, p.437), was omitted.

For the remainder of the psalter the scribe is by no means so liberal with his glosses as on the first page, but he continues to take the *Argumentum* for each psalm. Several times he has copied in the *Explanatio* as well (pss. i, x, and the various sub-sections of ps. cxviii), thus demonstrating that both of Bede's two series of headings continued to occupy a prominent place in the Irish commentary. The fact that there is no cessation in his insertion of the *Argumenta* and other glosses is a strong indication that the Irish commentary too went on to the end of the psalter.

The text of the *Argumenta* as given in the Southampton glosses is rather careless. Many omissions, especially of (c) sections, occur. But at two places there are additions, one of which is of some importance (pss. lxxxvi and lxxxvii):

Ps. lxxxvi (fol. 61 b): *Argumentum*. Praedicatur hic de Grecis, de Philistinis, et de Idumis, et de Amalech, et de alis generibus [aliis gentibus?] qui circunagunt regionem Israel. qui obsederunt Hierusalem, non tamen debellare [debellare] potuerunt. Aliter quod, captis decim tribus [decem tribubus], Asiri, quamuis obsidere Hierusalem non tamen debellare potuerunt. Aliter, [nox] apostolica de Ecclesia.

Ps. lxxxvii (fol. 61 b): *Argumentum*. Ex persona populi positi in Babilone ac liberationis desiderantis [liberationem desiderantis] formatur oratio. Aliter, vox Christi de passione sua ad Patrem.

A comparison with the *Argumenta* as edited in the *West-Saxon Psalms* will show that in both cases the initial sentence is added here. The addition at ps. lxxxvi, tho confused, is of the same general import as the (a) section. Perhaps in the commentary it supplied the 'first story', while the (a) section gave the 'second story', and the (b) section the 'sense'. But the new text at ps. lxxxvii supplies the only (a) section that was missing in the entire psalter; and, what is rather puzzling, the interpretation supplied is perfectly correct, as is proved by the Syriac: (Baethgen, V, 95) 'Auf das Volk in Babel, welches

seine Bedrängnisse erzählt und um Erlösung von demselben bittet'. How did the Southampton Psalter come by this missing explanation? It could hardly have been originally present in the *Argumenta*, for as we have seen (p. 455), the loss in Bede's series of the genuine interpretation here and at pss. cxxxix—cxliii corresponds to a similar loss in Bede's source, the commentary of Columban. We must therefore conclude that the Irish commentary, or whatever source the Southampton glosses were copied from, had access to another Theodorean channel, and one fuller even than Columban's version.

Whether this was the fuller version of which only fragments have come down to us, we cannot say, because the fragments do not include this psalm. But the existence of some such unknown Theodorean source we seem bound to accept; and having accepted it, we may perhaps suspect that in this fuller version lay the original mention of Cornelius (cf. *Hib. Min.*, p. 32, cited above) and of Hushai in connection with ps. i. Altho we do not find Hushai or Cornelius in the heading of Columban's commentary, we do find the qualifications of King Joash discussed, and then a note that further discussion is omitted on account of a great desire for brevity. The matter is not of much importance, but it would be interesting to find the Irish commentary preserving genuine Theodorean ideas which have failed to reach us thru any of our other numerous Theodorean channels.

Before leaving the Irish part of our history, we must mention another Irish production which, brief tho it is, shows clearly the Theodorean influence. In the Bodleian Ms. Rawl. B. 502, we find, on fol. 79 b, an Old Irish 'poem of fifty stanzas composed by Mac Coisse on Dec. 21, 982, opening with an invocation of the Godhead, and containing, first, a versified account of the composition of the psalms, based upon the introduction to the Old Irish commentary on the psalter (edited in *Hib. Min.*); then five quatrains on the creation of Adam, and ending with five quatrains on St. Thomas, on whose festival the poem was composed.'<sup>1</sup>)

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<sup>1</sup>) Kuno Meyer, *Rawlinson B. 502, published in Facsimile from the Original MS. in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1909, introd., p. vi; *Zs. f. cell. Phil.*, I (1897), 496, and III (1901), 20—22; Olden, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Acad.*, 1883, p. 219 f.

The indebtedness of the poem to the Old Irish commentary, which Dr. Meyer points out, is shown both in the matter and in repeated verbal agreement.<sup>1)</sup> The Theodorean influence appears in the four stanzas (nos. 9—12 as numbered in vol. III of the *Zeitschrift*) which versify ll. 312—20 of the Commentary (cited above, p. 468):

'Four things in the Psalms (pure course!), the first story (*stair*), the second story, There are found in them (it is no falsehood!) noble sense (*sians*) and morality (*morolus*).

It is with these that the first story is concerned: with David, with Solomon, With the persecutors of the hosts, with Saul, with Absalom.

The second story which is here declared refers to Hezekiah, to the People, To the Kings (excellent the fame!), to Moses, to the Maccabees.

The meaning (*siansa*) of the Psalms, with their divisions, to holy Christ, to the Church;

The morality after that severally to every just one, blessed vigilkeeping.<sup>2)</sup>

The author of this poem, Airbheartach mac Coisse, is also known as author of a long summary in verse of classical geography, which has been published with text and translation for the Royal Irish Academy. He lived and taught in the monastic school of Ross Ailithir, now Ross Carbery in the southwest of County Cork, in the latter part of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries, dying in 1016.<sup>3)</sup> His two productions are thus both school-poems, probably written to fix upon his scholars' memories the leading facts of courses respectively in

<sup>1)</sup> Mr. R. Flower, to whom I am much indebted for his kind assistance in handling the Irish materials of this paper, gives me the following note on this point: 'Stanzas 1—3 correspond to ll. 153 f. of the Commentary; stanza 4 to ll. 175 f.; stanzas 5—6 to ll. 207 f.; stanza 7 to ll. 229 f.; stanzas 9—12 to ll. 312 f.; stanzas 24—26 to ll. 320 f.; stanzas 27—28 to ll. 329 f.; stanzas 30—31 to ll. 88 f. The chronological indications at the end are not represented in the Commentary. The close verbal correspondences throughout make it certain that the author of the poem used the Irish commentary represented by Dr. Meyer's text. He versifies only the introduction and his poem throws no light on the question of the extent of the Irish version.'

<sup>2)</sup> This translation was obligingly made for me by Miss Eleanor Hull, to whom also I must express my thanks for assistance in reading Mac Coisse's poem.

<sup>3)</sup> *Annals of Ulster*, sub 1016: 'Airbheartach mac Coisidobrain, airchinnech of Ros-aillithir, died'. This individual seems quite unconnected with the well-known bard Erard mac Coisse who died in 1023; see Eleanor Hull, *A Text-Book of Irish Literature*, 1906, I, p. 211.

geography and the psalms. We know that the Psalter was the earliest object of study in an Irish school; and this compact summary of Mac Coisse's perhaps represents the irreducible minimum of knowledge about it required. It is interesting to find the characteristic Theodorean method of interpretation included in this minimum. In the peculiar diluted form that it had assumed in the Irish commentary, of the 'four-fold scheme', it had thus become a part of the standard and accepted teaching at Ross Ailithir. We shall meet this apparently Irish formula once again, but this time, strangely enough, in an approximately contemporary Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms.

*The West-Saxon Psalms.* — We have already had several examples in the Theodorean succession of a mutual exchange of Theodorean knowledge between England and Ireland. We have seen how the revised version of Theodore probably prepared by the Irish saint and missionary Columban, about the beginning of the seventh century, was brought to Northumbria and used by the Venerable Bede at the beginning of the eighth century; and then how Bede's compilation in its turn was carried almost immediately to Ireland and given the place of honor, among all the works yet produced by the Western Church on the Psalms, in an Irish commentary. The Vatican catena (Pal. Lat. 68), with its extracts from Theodore, its Northumbrian and Irish glosses, and its Irish hand 'copied from an Anglo-Saxon', has not yet been adequately studied; but when it is, it will surely reveal a similar history of intercommunication between the two countries. If now it can be shown, as I hope to do, that the Old Irish commentary was the nearest, and perhaps the only, source of the Anglo-Saxon version of the psalms produced in the south of England in the ninth or tenth century, the balance of obligation, otherwise fairly even, will incline distinctly in favor of Ireland.

The abstract possibility, even of so marked a case of dependence of an Anglo-Saxon on an Irish writer, will hardly be called in question by students familiar with the two fields. Altho little investigation has yet been made into the relations between Old-Irish and Old-English literature, signs are not wanting that much exists to be discovered in this direction. In

a recent article, Professor C. F. Brown<sup>1)</sup> has shown the likelihood of Irish or Irish-Latin influence on the Cynewulfian poems, particularly the *Elene*. This influence betrays itself in two ways, by the Irish orthography used in certain proper names, and by the many significant resemblances — some of them unique — of the story of the Finding of the Cross as told in the *Elene* with the Irish version of the *Leabhar Breac*. Dr. Brown comes even closer to our field when he finds similar examples of Irish spelling in Alfred's *Cura Pastoralis*.<sup>2)</sup> An earlier attempt to discover an Irish origin for a piece of Anglo-Saxon literature may also be mentioned: the Irish 'Sermon on Death' in the *Leabhar Breac* was suggested in 1889 as a possible source for the Old English 'Address of the Soul to the Body'.<sup>3)</sup>

Were the *West-Saxon Psalms* merely a version of the first third of the Psalter, it would hardly be possible to talk of any commentary as their source. But they are much more than a mere version. Unlike the other Anglo-Saxon Psalters, which are practically but interlinear glosses, the two versions preserved in the Paris Psalter are real translations into idiomatic Anglo-Saxon. The prose rendering of the first fifty psalms in the West-Saxon dialect which we have named the *West-Saxon Psalms* furthermore differs from the *Anglian Psalms*, as the accompanying metrical version of the rest of the psalter in the Northern dialect has been called, in being frequently rather more of a paraphrase than a version. Altho it does not go quite so far as Notker in his Old High German rendering did in adding explanatory remarks and comments, it frequently does insert 'expansions' in the text in order to make the meaning plain or to furnish an interpretation of a difficulty, and still oftener it indicates the interpretation it prefers by freely amplifying and altering. Thus the use of an authority or authorities is constantly made manifest. The reader is still more clearly guided in his understanding of the psalms by the curious Anglo-Saxon Introductions, found only in the *West-Saxon Psalms*,

<sup>1)</sup> C. F. Brown, 'Irish-Latin Influence in Cynewulfian Texts', *Engl. Stud.* XL (1908), pp. 1—29.

<sup>2)</sup> Page 9.

<sup>3)</sup> See H. Gaidoz, *Revue Celtique*, Oct., 1889, p. 463 f.; the suggestion was, however, opposed by Bruce in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, V (1890), p. 193 f.



which stand at the head of each psalm except the first.<sup>1)</sup> Since these furnish us with the clearest argument for a dependence on the Irish commentary, it will perhaps be best to quote a few typical examples (in translation):

Ps. viii. 'This eighth psalm David sang, when he wondered at the wonders of God, who controls all creatures. And he also prophesied in the psalm about the glorious Incarnation of Christ.'<sup>2)</sup>

Ps. ix. 'In the ninth psalm David prayed to the Lord, and thanked him that his son and other enemies also might not do him all the evil that they had devised against him. And to the same purpose every righteous man sings it about his own enemies. And about the same Christ sang it, when Jews wished to do Him more evil than they might. And so did Hezekiah also, when his enemies might not injure him as they wished.'<sup>3)</sup>

Ps. x. 'This tenth psalm David sang, when he was driven into the wilderness by Saul the king, when his comrades taught him to hide himself there, like this sparrow (cf. vs. 1). And in the same way the righteous who sing it, they lament concerning their enemies, both visible and invisible. And so did Christ concerning the Jews, when He sang this psalm.'<sup>4)</sup>

Ps. xxix. 'David sang this ninth and twentieth psalm to the God who had delivered him from his enemies and from all his troubles. And he prophesied the same thing concerned Hezekiah, that he would do the same thing, when he was delivered from Assyrians and from his sickness. And he prophesied the same thing concerning every righteous man who sings this psalm either for himself or for another, as a thanksgiving to God for the happiness that he then has. And he also prophesied in the psalm concerning Christ, how he would be delivered, both from the Jews and from death.'<sup>5)</sup>

From these instances an adequate idea of the three different types of Introduction found may be obtained. The majority (30

<sup>1)</sup> The Introductions to pss. xxi and xxvi, which were lost in the Paris Psalter, have been recovered by my discovery of another copy of the whole series of Introductions on the margins of the Vitellius Psalter (see Bibliography of the ed., p. 149). The Introduction to ps. i, on the other hand, is absent in both manuscripts, and was probably never composed.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. the *Argumentum*: Ps. viii. (a) Admiratur propheta Dei potentiam per quam gubernat cuncti mundi molem, gratiasque agit quod tantus creator hominis memoriam sit habere dignatus. (b) Aliter, Ecclesia laudem dicit Christo de fide omnium credentium; lege ad Euangelium Marci.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. the *Argumentum*: Ps. ix. (a) Orat Dominum David pro dolosis cogitationibus filii sui, gratias agens quod eas non sequeretur effectus; potest et Ezechias congruere gratias agenti post Assyrii exercitus interitum. (b) Aliter, Ecclesia laudem dicit Christo de Iudaeis et de principe daemoniorum.

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. the *Argumentum*: Ps. x. (a) Verba David quando Saulem fugiens in desertis est habitare compulsus. (b) Aliter, uox Christi est; lege ad Genesim, perditio Sodomæ.

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. the *Argumentum* (cited above, p. 435).

of the 49) resemble those of pss. ix and xxix. Each of the thirty is built on a fixed scheme of four interpretations, which varies only slightly in arrangement. There are always two interpretations from the Old Testament, one of David and one some later period of Jewish history; viz., the reign of Hezekiah, the reign of Ahaz (ps. xlv only), the period of the Exile, and the period of the Maccabees (pss. xliii and xlvi only); and two interpretations from the new dispensation, one of Christ or his apostles, and one of every righteous man. In 15 of the Introductions, among which is that of ps. x, only three lines of interpretation are suggested, the one omitted in each case being the second Old Testament or 'second historical' interpretation. The remaining 4 Introductions, illustrated by ps. viii (cf. also pss. xviii, xlv, xlix), forsake the scheme altogether and explain the psalm as embodying directly some dogmatic teaching.

Dr. Bruce has already demonstrated the dependence of these Introductions on Bede's *Argumenta*, with occasional use of the *Explanations* and Vulgate titles. The dependence is easily seen in three of the four cases cited above, and extends throughout the series. The suggestion offered in this paper is that the Irish commentary was a nearer source, i. e. that the Anglo-Saxon translator used the *Argumenta* and *Explanations* not directly, but as they appeared in the commentary, and together with such modifications and such additional matter as was there supplied. We have seen that the Irish commentary did almost certainly give the *Argumenta* and probably also the *Explanations* for every psalm, but that it also contained a great deal of other matter from a very wide range of authorities, including at least one other Theodorean source. It is by the presence of this additional matter in the Anglo-Saxon translation that we may detect its close kinship to the commentary.

The chief of these coincidences is the common use in the Irish and the Anglo-Saxon of the four-fold plan. The scheme on which the majority of the Anglo-Saxon Introductions are built is, as has no doubt been already perceived, precisely that of 'first story, second story, sense, and morality' which we discovered in the Irish commentary and its successor the Irish poem, and nowhere else. Dr. Bruce was able without difficulty to find a general source in *Argumenta*, *Explanations*, or Vulgate titles, for each of the four lines of interpretation taken separately.

But he did not find a particular source in every case by any means, except for the peculiar Theodorean 'second historical' interpretation; i. e. the scheme is often mechanically filled out when one or more of the other three members were lacking in these sources. Nor did he anywhere find the curious four-fold formula explicitly set forth, and was therefore forced to suppose it an original idea — a 'peculiar division' (p. 72) — of the translator's own. The Irish usage supplies us with just what was missing.

Another line of argument that conducts us to the same conclusion is suggested by the fact that the *Argumenta*, certain as is their use by the Anglo-Saxon translator, fail to furnish quite all the knowledge of Theodorean opinion that he can be shown to possess. One instance appears in the Introduction to ps. viii which is quoted above. The Anglo-Saxon explains the psalm as designed to teach two important doctrines: the wonders of Divine Providence, and the Incarnation of Christ. The first of these was no doubt suggested to him by the (a) section of the *Argumentum*; but the *Argumentum* says nothing about the Incarnation. Now we know that the Incarnation was the original and genuine Theodorean explanation for this psalm, and that this *Argumentum*, as has been explained above (p. 456), is one of Bede's spurious substitutes, inserted no doubt to supply a loss in his copy of Columban's commentary. Bede's guess was a rather unfortunate one here, for he hit upon an explanation that Theodore himself had violently rejected. According to Columban's commentary, he stigmatized the literal interpretation of the psalm, which merely contrasts God's greatness with the littleness of man, as 'Jewish'; and according to all our sources he regarded it as a direct prophesy of the Incarnation.<sup>1)</sup>

Were this the only case where the Anglo-Saxon translator seems to have got at the original Theodore behind his usual

<sup>1)</sup> We happen to know Theodore's interpretation of this psalm especially well, because it was both one of the four that he admitted to be Messianic, and one of those for which he was condemned by the Council; and in consequence we have, besides the usual evidence of the Syriac and the Latin version edited by Ascoli, a large fragment preserved in the Council records (see the bibliography given in the preceding article, p. 426). Theodore's heresy lay in the way in which he made the psalm testify to a division between Christ's two natures. Cf. Ascoli, p. 57: 'In hoc psalmo beatus David, profetali repletus spiritu, de Domini incarnatione praelequitur, et ea dicit de

source, the *Argumenta*, we might put it down as a chance coincidence. But a similar state of things confronts us in two other cases where Bede's headings are spurious, psalms iii and vii, at both of which they are discarded by the Anglo-Saxon Introductions in favor of the genuine Theodorean explanation.<sup>1)</sup> The three cases together make it quite necessary to assume the use of some other Theodorean channel. Now we have seen above that the Irish commentator must also have had access to another Theodorean channel besides the *Argumenta*. Nothing would be more natural than for him to cite the conflicting interpretation which he must have found there for comparison with some at least of the spurious *Argumenta*, and nothing more likely than that the Anglo-Saxon would have made use of some of these alternatives.

These evidences of access on the translator's part to another Theodorean source is immensely strengthened by a consideration of his additions and paraphrases in the text proper of the psalms. It is no part of the plan of this paper to study the translation itself in detail; for no satisfactory determination of the sources there used can be made until the appearance of the promised edition of all available Theodorean material (see the preceding article). But certain facts are already plain. In many cases the interpretations of a wide range of commentaries of the orthodox type were known and followed; but the explanations most frequently chosen are those that we know to have been given by Theodore. To illustrate this statement I have selected from two psalms (ix and x) all the cases where the source of an Anglo-Saxon rendering is plain, giving for each passage first the Latin, then the Anglo-Saxon rendering, then the parallel in the commentary that seems to be followed.

ix. 13. Qui exaltas me de portis mortis, ut annuntiem omnes laudes tuas in portis filiae Sion.

For þam þu eart se ylca God þe me upp ahofo from deapes geatun, to þam þæt ic bodade eall þin lof on þam geatun þære burge Hierusalem.

Christo quae sunt postea rebus inpleta. Per quod sane confutatur omnis Iudaicae contradictionis improbitas . . . A Iudaeis quoque psalmus iste in Deum et hominem, cui conveniant illa quae inferius dicuntur, indubitanter accipitur.'

<sup>1)</sup> A full discussion of these three Introductions is given in an article entitled 'Notes on the Introductions of the West-Saxon Psalms', by James W. Bright and the present writer, in a contemporary number of the *Journal of Theological Studies*.

Ascoli: *Filiam nero Sion nocat Hirusalem*. (A characteristic substitution of the literal for the figurative phrase 'daughter of Zion'; the other commentators are inveterately mystical at this point.)

ix. 18. *Exurge, Domine, non praenaleat homo.*

Aris, Drihten, þy læs se yfelwillenda mæge don þæt he wille.

Ascoli: *Accingere in ultionem, ne insolescant qui nos tribulant, successu prosperitate elati*. (Here, as in verse 38, where 'homo' is rendered 'se awyr-geda', the traditional view is followed that 'homo' denotes especially 'wicked man'. Cf. Hib. Min., p. 36, "Wherever 'homo' occurs in the Scriptures, it is written to mark human frailty.")

ix. 20. *Ut quid, Domine, recessisti longe, despicias in opportunitatibus, in tribulatione?*

Drihten, hwi gewitst þu swa feor fram us, and hwi noldest þu cuman to us, to þære tide þe us nydþearf was?

Cf. pseudo-Jerome: *Tunc nidentur (niditur) despiciere, quando opportunum tempus est Ecclesiae ut adiuuet, et non statim occurrit illi in tribulatione*.

ix. 21. *Dum superbit impius, incenditur pauper.*

Donne se unrihtwisa ofermodegað, þonne byþ se earma þearfa onæled and gedrefed and eac geunrotsod.

Cf. Ascoli: *elatio profani hominis atque prosperitas . . . ignem in ossibus pauperis offensionis ac meroris accendat*. (Most of the orthodox commentators [Augustine, Cassiodorus, Remi, Bruno, the *Commentarius*] interpret differently, i. e. that the poor man is inflamed to love and good works by persecution.)

ix. 22. *Quoniam lauditur peccator in desideriis animae suae, et qui iniqua gerit benedicitur.*

For þam se synfulla byþ hered þær he his yfelan willan wyrcþ; and hine bletsiaþ þa yfelan for his yfelan dædum.

Cf. pseudo-Jerome: *tunc quando peccator laudat, alius alium, dum se inuicem laudant, occidunt*.

ix. 34. *Vides, quoniam tu laborem et dolorem consideras, ut tradas eos in manibus tuis; tibi enim derelictus est pauper; pupillo (Gallican, orphano) tu eris adiutor.*

Gesyht þu nu, cwæp se witega to Drihtne, hwylc broc and hwylc sar we poliaþ and prowiaþ? Nu hit wære cyn þæt þu hit hym wræce mid þiure handa. Ic þearfa eom, nu to þe forlæten; þu eart fultumiend para þe nabbap nawþer ne fæder ne modor.

Cf. pseudo-Jerome: *Propheta loquitur ad Deum . . . Pupillus dicitur qui non habet patrem; orphanus qui nec patrem nec matrem habet*. (The translator mistakes 'Vides . . . consideras' for an interrogative clause, and 'ut . . . tuis' for an independent wish.)

ix. 35. *Conteres brachium peccatoris et maligni; requiretur (Gallican, quaeretur) delictum eius, nec inuenietur.*

Þu forbrycst þone earm and þæt mægen þæs synfullan; for þy peah hine hwa ahsode for hwi he swa dyde, þonne ne mihte he hit na gereccan, ne geþafa beon nolde þæt he untela dyde.

Ascoli: tanta est, ait, quam in pauperes exercet iniquitas ut si peccati sui ab eo ratio postuletur, nullam inuenire possit, nec ualeat uel paululum in sui adsertionem defensionemque consistere, aut aliquo peccatorum suorum multitudinem colore uelare. (The sense of the latter clause is much disputed among the orthodox commentators; but the translator's clear if free interpretation finds a parallel only in Ascoli.)

ix. 36. Regnabit Dominus in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi; peribitis gentes de terra eius.

Drihten rixap on ecnesse on pisse worulde ge on pære toweardan; for pæm weorþap aworpene þa synfullan of ægþrum his rica.

Cf. Cassiodorus: regnum significat Domini Saluatoris, quo soli beatissimi perfruuntur . . . gentes autem posuit peccatores et impios.

ix. 38. Iudicare pupillo et humili.

Dem nu, Drihten, pearfe þæs earman and þæs eaþmodan.

Cf. Augustine: aliud est enim iudicare pupillum, aliud iudicare pupillo; iudicat pupillum etiam qui condemnat, iudicat autem pupillo qui pro illo profert sententiam. (The translator uses 'pearfe' to render the force of the dative.)

x. 3. Iustus autem quid fecit?

Hwæt dyde ic unscyldega wiþ hi, oppe hwæt mæg ic nu don?

Cf. Ascoli: quid ad haec, inquit, iustus faciet, id est ego; iustum se appellat, respiciens ad causam in qua est alienus a culpa. (The other commentators take 'Iustus' here as Christ or the Church.)

x. 5. Palpebrae eius interrogant filios hominum.

His bræwas, þæt ys his rihta dom, ahsap manna bearn.

Cf. pseudo-Jerome: Palpebrae . . . subtilitas diuinitatis, id est, indicia Dei occulta, in quibus nos interrogat.

x. 6. Dominus interrogat iustum et impium.

Se ylca Drihten ahsap rihtwise and unrihtwise, þæt heora ægþer secge hwæt he dyde, þæt he him mæge gyldan be heora gewyrhtum.

Cf. Ascoli: tam iustus quam peccator meritum suorum fructus ipso discernente percipiet.

x. 7. Pluit super peccatores laqueos; ignis, sulphur, et spiritus procellarum, pars calicis eorum.

Drihten onsent manegra cynna witu, swa swa ren, ofer þa synfullan; and hi gewyrpþ mid grine, and he onsent fyr ofer hig and ungemetlice hæto pære sunnan, and wolberende windas; mid pylicum and mid manegum pyllicum beop heora drinefatu gefyldu.

Cf. Ascoli: poenarum enumerata diuersitas erit, inquit, pars calicis, ut totus calix profecto ac plenus intelligatur continere grauiora. (Did the translator read 'sol feruens' or 'sol furens' in place of 'sulfur et'?)

The citation of the commentary edited by Ascoli for the Theodorean parallels in this list is not meant to imply that Columban's commentary was the additional Theodorean source used by the Anglo-Saxon translator. For pss. ix and x it is the

only source available to us. But where we have the fragments preserved of the older Latin translation we find that it contains numerous parallels to the Anglo-Saxon in passages that were excised by Columban. A few of the more striking examples may be given to establish this important fact.

xviii. 11, 12. Et ab alienis parce seruo tuo. Si mei non fuerint dominati, tunc immaculatus ero, et emundabar a delicto maximo.

And from ælpeodegum feondum spara me pinne þeow, Drihten. Gif mine fynd ne ricsiap ofer me, þonne beo ic unwenme, and beo geclēnsod from þæm mæstum scyldum. Ac gif hi me abysgiap, þonne ne mæg ic smeagan mine unscylda, ne eac pinne willan ne mæg smeagan to wyrccanne.

Cf. the Amb. and Tur. fragment: Eripe me, inquit, ne sim sub hostium potestate; alienos ergo in hoc loco hostes uocat. 'Si mei fuerint dominati' usque 'maximo': noui enim quoniam, si me non praeserit hostium metus, si ab incursione eorum liber fuero, potero in requie et otio constitutus sollicitus peccata uitare. (There is nothing corresponding to this in Ascoli.)

xxi. 1, 2. Deus, Deus meus, respice in me; quare me dereliquisti? longe a salute mea uerba delictorum meorum. Deus meus, clamabo per diem, nec exaudies; et nocte, et non ad insipientiam mihi.

Drihten, Drihten, min God, beseoh to me; hwi forlete þu me swa feor minre hælo? Ic clypige dæges and nihtes to þe, and andette mine scylda, and seofige min ungelimp, and þu hit ne gehyrst; ac ne understand þu hit me to unrihtwisesse, for þæm ic þe naue oþwite þæt þu me ne gehyrst, ac minum agnum scyldum ic hit wite.

Cf. Amb.-Tur. fragment: Longe a salute mea usque meorum: causam relictionis suae subdidit, ne id quod superius dixerat, 'quare me', uelut conquiri de Deo uideretur . . . Qui uolunt hunc psalmum in Domini persona, ex hoc loco praecipue conuincuntur non paruum temeritatis incurrere. Quomodo enim potest accipi quia hoc de se Dominus dixerit, 'Longe a salute mea, reliquia'? Constat quidem tempore passionis suae dixisse in cruce positum, 'Deus, Deus meus, respice in me'; hoc autem dictum non omni modo ad eum hunc psalmum (hoc) indicat pertinere; neque enim quasi prius per prophetiam dicto et tunc rebus inpleto ita usus est testimonio. Sed cum passionem, flagilla, nerbera, clauos, et patibulum suscepisset, et consequenter hac uoce usus est quam conuenit omnes pios, cum aliquid huius modi patiuntur, emitte, aperte autem per haec uerba Saluator propriam indicat passionem, ne, secundum quosdam, fantasma totum pietas [pietatis?] eius opus et misterium crederetur . . . propter hanc igitur causam hoc testimonio usus est, non quod de ipso prius prophetiae uaticinium sit praedictum, aut certe de ipso Psalmus iste compositus.

(The denial by Theodore of the Messianic reference in this psalm made it one of those for which he was condemned by the Council of 553. Columban not only omitted the passage here cited, but inserted an explanation directly contrary in its tenor: "Ex persona Domini per interrogationem pronuntiandus hic uersus est quae tamen uim habeat rennuentis, hoc modo, 'Numquid uerba delictorum meorum, quae non sunt, te a meo auxilio remouerunt?' . . .")

Plainly the Anglo-Saxon translator here follows the more genuine and more heretical interpretation of the earlier translation.)

xviii. 5. Vox Domini confringentis cedros, et confringet Dominus cedros Libani; et comminuet Dominus tamquam uitulum Libani, et dilectus sicut filias unicornuorum.

*Pæs Godes word brycþ cedortreowu, and symle se God brycþ þa hean cedertreowu on Libano, þam myclan munte: þa treowa tacniap ofermodra manna anweald. Drihten forbrycþ and forbryt þa myclan cedertreowu, emue swa þa lytlan onwæstmas; þa owæstmas beoþ swa mycle and swa fægere swa swa pæs deores bearn þe unicornus hatte.*

Cf. Amb.-Tur. Fragment: . . . sed uitulum in hoc loco uoluit dicere pro nitulamini; ita namque et Hebreus habet, sicut uitulamina Libani. Vitulammina uero Libani dicuntur parua uirgulta, quae sunt pro ipsa uis tenuitate fragilia; et quoniam cedros Libani Assirios uocauerat, propter ingentes corporum formas, intulit 'et comminuit eos tamquam uitulamen Libani'; ita, inquit, illos sublimes et grandes breui tempore comminuit atque contriuit sicut uitulamina, quae exsilitate sui facile conteruntur.

Cf. Ascoli, p. 177: "Et comminuit" usque 'Liuni'. Pro uitulaminibus. Vitulammina enim dicuntur parua uirgulta, quae se subieciunt sub ingenti huiusmodi arboris umbra; et est sensus, tanta facilitate magnae moles hostium considerunt, quia nullius operis est exigua haec uirgulta detertere."

It is then evident, even upon so slight an examination, that the translator drew exclusively from some version or adaptation of Theodore in addition to the brief headings of Bede and fuller even than the abbreviated commentary of Columban. It is also evident that he was influenced, tho somewhat less frequently, by the views of orthodox commentators such as Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Jerome. If the Anglo-Saxon writer laboriously consulted all of these authorities for himself, he must have been a man of extraordinary learning and with access to an extensive library. But we know that all of these helps had been also employed by the author of the Irish commentary. We have seen that he cites and uses practically every orthodox commentary then in existence, that he transferred the 'Liber Bedae' almost bodily to his pages, and that he made use of an additional Theodorean source which was other than and fuller than Columban. In short, the entire Anglo-Saxon translation might in all probability have been accomplished with no other aid than the Irish commentary. It is certainly reasonable to suppose that the translator made use of the results laid ready to his hand by the laborious Irish scholar.

Some further parallels, of less weight, but not altogether insignificant, may be adduced between the Irish and the Anglo-



Saxon work. When it is remembered that the Irish commentary stops where the Old English version begins, and that the only psalm without an Anglo-Saxon Introduction, ps. i, happens to be the only psalm of which we have even a part preserved of the detailed discussion in the Irish commentary, it seems remarkable that the parallels should be so numerous as they are. In the general introduction to the Irish treatise we find a passage (*Hib. Min.*, p. 30) in which the distinction between the words 'psalmus' and 'canticum' in the titles is explained. Precisely the same distinction is inserted into the Anglo-Saxon Introduction to ps. iv.<sup>1)</sup> In another passage of the Irish treatise (*Hib. Min.*, p. 24) we find an allusion to the three 'fifties' of the psalter (l. 115, 'from the first fifty'; l. 122, 'from the middle fifty'). The question has already been raised<sup>2)</sup> whether the limitation of the Anglo-Saxon version to the first fifty psalms is to be connected with this custom of dividing the psalter into three parts of fifty psalms each. This custom was by no means peculiar to Ireland. In a lengthy note in his edition of Bede's *Eccles. Hist.* Plummer<sup>3)</sup> has shown that it was a widespread method of dividing the Psalter in the English as well as the Irish Church. To his examples may be added a passage from Hilary's *Prologus*, quoted in the first preface of Bede's *Exegesis*,<sup>4)</sup> which finds a mystic propriety in the three fifties; another mystical interpretation occurring in the *Argumentum* given in the *Exegesis* for the psalm 'extra numerum' given at the end of the psalter;<sup>5)</sup> and statements by Cassiodorus that he did actually so divide his commentary into three codices for practical convenience,<sup>6)</sup> —

<sup>1)</sup> See 'Notes', (article cited above) ps. iv.

<sup>2)</sup> See J. E. Wulffing, *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Großen*, I. (1894), xiii; A. E. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, (1898), xxxvii; Chas. Plummer, *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, (1902) p. 147.

<sup>3)</sup> II. 137.

<sup>4)</sup> Hilary, *P. L.* IX, 259; Bede, XCIII, 478.

<sup>5)</sup> Bede, *P. L.* XCIII, 1098.

<sup>6)</sup> Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium*, *P. L.* LXX, 9; 'Quem tamen codicem etiam per quinquagenos psalmos cum praefationibus suis trina sum diuisione partitus, ut et claritas litterae senioribus oculis se pulchrius aperiret et desiderio legentium fratrum numerosi codices corpora praestarentur. Ita et ad bibliothecae cautelam unus derelictus est, et propter congregationis studium commodissime forsitan noscitur esse diuisus.' In another of Cassiodorus's works, the *De Institutione Diuinarum Litterarum*, which we know

statements borne out by the marks of division which we find still present in the *Expositio* of Cassiodorus and in many manuscript psalters.<sup>1)</sup>

But it was a custom specially widespread in Ireland. Beside the common Irish name of 'the three fifties' for the psalter, examples of which are given by Plummer, we may cite the curious stories recounted in Douglas Hyde's *A Literary History of Ireland*,<sup>2)</sup> of the division into three fifties for purposes of cursing by Saint Adamnan and of praying by King Brian at the battle of Clontarf. If he based his work upon the commentary or any other Irish source, the Anglo-Saxon translator would have found it entirely natural to rest from his labours at the end of ps. l, or to divide his completed work into three volumes and so incur the loss of the last two.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that he more probably used the commentary in an Irish-Latin than in an Irish form. The Old Irish form in which we possess it is not unlikely to be a direct translation from a Latin original. This may have been the immediate source of the Anglo-Saxon translator; or possibly he may have used such a glossed psalter as the Southampton to which the substance of the Irish or Irish-Latin commentary had been transferred. The exact details of the

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to have been used in England from the preface to the Amiatine Codex (White, *The Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace; Studia Publica et Ecclesiastica*, Oxford, 1890, II, 273 f.) and from its frequent mention by Bede, he refers again to his own commentary, and explains more explicitly how and why he divided it into three codices (*P. L. LXX*, 1115); 'Quod tamen Psalmorum corpus uniuersum et in tribus codicibus per quinquagenos psalmos iudicauimus conscribendum, ut iubilai anni quantitas triplicata sanctae Trinitatis uotua nobis remissionis beneficia renuntiaret, et, quoniam unus codex onerosus quibusdam fratribus poterat inueniri, tali distributioni completa, spem pretiosae salutis acciperent, et multi compendia lectionis (praestante Domino) salubriter inuenirent. Habeat ergo bibliotheca uestra unum ex his codicem, ad quem recurratis, si nos mendositas fortassis offenderit; fratrum uero curiositas partibus se expleat distributis.'

<sup>1)</sup> So in the Southampton Psalter, and among the interlinear Anglo-Saxon psalters, in the Spelman, Junius, Regius, Tiberius, and Lambeth.

<sup>2)</sup> Douglas Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, 1899, pp. 236, 437. Cf. also the penance of Oengus the Culdee ('tis he that used to chant his psalms thus, while he was at Disert Oengusso, to wit, fifty in the river with a withe round his neck and tied to the tree, fifty under the tree, and fifty in his cell'), *The Martyrdom of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. Whitley Stokes, 1905.

relation may perhaps never be determined; but the significant fact remains that the Irish commentary was in all probability the storehouse from which the Anglo-Saxon translator drew, and was at least the nearest source of which we know at present.

*The Latin Rubrics of the Anglo-Saxon Psalters.* — The latest traces of Theodore's influence discoverable in England remain to be mentioned. They appear in the Rubrics found in the 'Paris Psalter' and in several of the other Anglo-Saxon Psalters. The psalms in the Paris manuscript, West-Saxon and Anglian alike, have regularly been provided with Latin Rubrics.<sup>1)</sup> These are inserted at the head of the psalms, and in the case of the first fifty just after the Anglo-Saxon Introductions. Only seven out of the hundred and fifty Rubrics are missing; five of these (xxxviii, li, lxxx, xcvi, cix) were on leaves that have been cut out of the manuscript, and two (xxii, xxxii) it seems were never written.

The way in which these Rubrics have been carried thru both parts of the 'Paris Psalter' shows that they were inserted after it had been made up substantially as we have it; but the nature of the frequent errors and omissions found in them (cf. nos. xi, xxi, xxiii, xliv, xlviii, lxvii, xc, xcii, xciii, cii, cv, and the evident omissions in nos. v, vii, viii, xliii, liv, lxii, lxvi, lxvii, lxxiii, xcii, etc.) make it clear that they were copied in the Paris manuscript by a careless scribe from some older original. The Rubrics are then earlier than the eleventh century manuscript<sup>2)</sup> in which they are now found, but later than the time of composition of either of the two versions.

The chief interest of this series of Latin headings lies in their dependence on the *Argumenta*. This was first pointed out and analyzed in detail by Bruce. With a few modifications which now seem advisable, his conclusions are as follows.

The only source used beside the *Argumenta* was the Vulgate titles, which occur in 31 psalms either prefixed or affixed to a sentence from the *Argumentum*. Only twice (cxxxiv, cxliii) does the Vulgate title appear alone. No system can be discovered in their choice, but they occur increasingly toward

<sup>1)</sup> This complete series of rubrics is edited in the *West Saxon Psalms*, (see Appendix).

<sup>2)</sup> Bruce, pp. 44—50.

the end. The text used is sometimes nearer the Gallican (lxxxv, cxlv), sometimes nearer the Roman title (lxxxvi, cxxx, cxxxvi), and sometimes unlike either (lxxx, xcvi). The carelessness of the method is further shown by the random and at times erroneous addition of the numeral. This association of the Vulgate titles and the *Argumenta* would seem to have been original, for it is found in most of our manuscripts of Bede's work.

Disregarding the Vulgate title, we have 141 Rubrics that come from the *Argumenta*. The three sections into which we have analyzed these each betray their presence by use in the Rubrics. But they were drawn upon in very different proportions. For the rubricator's purpose, which was to get a brief and telling sentence that would fit his space, the mystical title of the (b) section was peculiarly well adapted; he soon learned to pick it out, and toward the end came to use it exclusively. It is possible also, as Bruce suggests, that he was suspicious of the orthodoxy of the Theodorean (a) sections; but his suspicions were not strong enough to prevent his using them on occasion, and their manifest inferiority in form is sufficient to explain his avoidance of them.

The (a) section is used in 17 Rubrics (v, vii, xiv, xv, xx, xxiii, xxvi, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxvii, xliii, xlix, lx, lxii, lxvi, lxxiii, xcii). In 8 of these (xx, xxiii, xxxi, lx, lxii, lxvi, lxxiii, xcii) it was the only section found in the *Argumentum*; in 4 others it was reinforced by some words from the (b) section, three times (v, vii, xv) a mystical title being added, and once (xliii) a liturgical note. The (c) section is the source of but 3 Rubrics (iv, xxviii, lvi), in the two last of which the rubricator was perhaps also influenced by the Vulgate title. The liturgical note of the (b) section was almost as much avoided. It is used in only 10 Rubrics (ii, vi, viii, x, xi, xxxvi, xxxix, xliii, xlvi, xc), and never, except perhaps at ps. xxxvi, as sole source; it is once (xliii) combined with the historical explanation, elsewhere with a mystical title. That the rubricator did not understand its meaning is evident from the way he has altered and destroyed the sense in several cases (cf. vi, viii, xxxvi, xliii, xlvi, xc).

The predilection which the rubricator evidently felt for the mystical titles is shown, even in the cases where he draws from one of the other elements, by the way in which he has remodeled them into his favorite form (cf. the introduction of

the characteristic word 'uox' at iv, xxxiii, xliii, lvi, xcii, where it is not to be found in the original).

The mystical title is found in 123 Rubrics. In the majority of these, it comes word for word from the (b) section of the corresponding *Argumentum*; but the cases of divergence are numerous enough to demand special consideration. Such variations as are found at pss. ii, xiii, xviii, xxvii, xxxiv, xli, lxix, lxxxix, cii, cx, cxxvii are perhaps arbitrary changes of the rubricator's or mistakes of the copyist; but this explanation will not serve where the mystical title used in the Rubric does not appear in the *Argumentum* at all (vii, xxi, xxiv, xlv, xlvi, l, lviii, cxiii, cxvii, cxviii (sub-titles), cxxix, cxxxv, cxxxix, cxli, cxlii), or where additional words have been added to a part or the whole of the title given in our *Argumentum* (as at lxxxi, lxxxiii, lxxxiv, cxii, cxviii, cxix, cxx, cxxv, cxxvi, cxxx, cxxxii). Bruce supposes most of these divergences to have been either original with the rubricator or suggested to him by the accompanying *Explanatio*; in other words, that he freely supplied new Rubrics, especially where the *Argumentum* lacked the mystical title, or altered those he found. There seems, however, reason for supposing that many, perhaps all, of these divergences are due to the loss in our *Argumenta* of titles or parts of titles that were present in the rubricator's copy. One of these lost Rubrics (lxxiv), indeed, we have recovered in the new-found Paris manuscript of the *Argumenta* (*P*), and in several other cases *P* gives us new readings that remove slighter divergences from the Rubrics (cf. xi, xxxv, lxxviii, lxxxix). Again, the mystical title in the Rubric at ps. vii must have been in the text of the rubricator's *Argumentum*, altho it is lost in our text, for he has combined it with words from the (a) section just as in pss. v and xv. The new titles found in the Rubrics, furthermore, frequently reappear in the *Collectio* of Thomasius or in the Rubrics of other psalters, and hence could hardly have been original with our rubricator. From its position at the end, it was easy for words to be dropped from the (b) section.<sup>1</sup> We may suppose three cases. First, where our *Argumentum* lacks

<sup>1</sup>) This is illustrated in the text of the *Argumenta* supplied by the 'Southampton Psalter', where such omissions of clauses at the end are not uncommon; cf. pss. x, xiii, xxvi, xcii, xcv.

the mystical title altogether; here we may regard it as recovered in the Rubric, just as would have been the case at ps.lxxiv without the discovery of the *P* manuscript (15 titles: vii, xxi, xxiv, xlv, xlv, lviii, cxiii, five sub-titles in cxviii, cxxix, cxli, cxlii). In the second group, we may suppose the *Argumentum* to have originally had two alternative titles, joined, as often in those preserved, by a 'uel', and that one of them has been lost in our text; e.g. in ps.cxxx, the (b) section must have read 'Aliter, uox ecclesiae regnantis, uel Sanctae Mariae', a combination, that is, of the two titles 'Vox ecclesiae regnantis' and 'Vox Sanctae Mariae', both of which are found in Thomasius's *Collectio*, and the latter of which is used as Rubric to this psalm in the 'Vitellius Psalter'. The 'Paris Psalter' Rubrics in these cases may give both titles complete, as here, (so also cxx), or parts of both (so in lxxxi, lxxxiii, lxxxiv, cxii, cxix, cxxvi), or only the lost one (so at l, cxvii, cxxxv, cxxxix). A third group may be made of those in which our *Argumentum* has apparently lost certain words (cxviii, cxxv, cxxxii), or altered the meaning (lxxix).

The Rubrics of the 'Paris Psalter' are by no means a distinctive feature. Latin Rubrics, more or less similar, are found in most manuscripts of the psalms. An examination of the other Anglo-Saxon Psalters,<sup>1)</sup> with the exception of 'Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter', has revealed no less than eleven series, and another was found in the Bodleian manuscript of the *Explanations*. Of these the sets in the Bodleian manuscript, and in the 'Vitellius', 'Royal', 'Vespasian', and 'Salisbury Psalters' are approximately complete; the 'Lambeth Psalter' contains on its margin four different sets, distinguished by different ink and hand, and the 'Parker Psalter' one, all of which are far from being complete; and the 'Tiberius Psalter' gives but nine, and the 'Stowe Psalter' but four Rubrics differing from the Vulgate title. None of these twelve series is identical with the 'Paris Psalter' set or with each other, with the exception of those in

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<sup>1)</sup> In the examination of these Rubrics the original manuscripts were consulted in each case, for the Rubrics have been uniformly omitted by modern editors, in spite of the very valuable light which they throw on the sources and methods of the different versions. The work was shared by Dr. Bright, to whom especial acknowledgment is due for assistance in deciphering the glosses of the Lambeth Ms.

the 'Royal' and 'Salisbury Psalters'. Here after ps. iv the Salisbury Rubrics are manifestly copied from the Royal, a fact which confirms the kinship already noted by Lindelöf between these two psalters. The Royal Rubrics are taken from the *Expositio* of Cassiodorus, — not as might be thought at first from the *Explanationes* of our *Exegesis*; for while most of them are, naturally, found in both the *Explanatio* and its source, a sufficient number occur only in Cassiodorus to establish the original used (cf. the Royal Rubric at ps. xxii: 'Hic psalmus est parvus sed multis partibus noscitur contineri'; ps. xlv: 'Completns propheta caelestibus epulis cepit eructuare (sic) praeconium Domini'; ps. xlv: 'Iste psalmus gratissima breuitate succinctus est'). The Vespasian series, which is given, not at the head of the psalms like the others, but separately in folios 9a—11b of the introductory pages, is quite unlike any of the rest, and seems to be old. Its titles are generally found among those of the *Collectio* of Thomasius, and they reappear also, it seems, with additions and some changes, in the Latin Psalter contained in MS. Cotton Galba A. XVIII, from whence they are published in translation in the *Psalter or Seven Ordinary Hours of Prayer* of J. D. Chambers. Much closer to the 'Paris Psalter' Rubrics are the sets found in the Bodleian manuscript and the 'Vitellius Psalter'. There is frequent agreement between these, or between one of them and the 'Paris Psalter', tho it is evident that no one of them depends on another. An examination shows that the agreement is confined to those Rubrics of the 'Paris Psalter' drawn from the (b) sections of the *Argumenta*, for nothing in either the Bodleian or Vitellius Rubrics shows any trace of the peculiar Theodorean historical explanation or of the comments of the (c) sections. At the same time, many of them are not found in the (b) sections, altho they all share its character. It is accordingly manifest that the (b) section, and the Bodleian and Vitellius Rubrics go back to a common source, larger than any one of them, a *Collectio* of mystical titles and liturgical notes similar in character but different in detail from the *Collectio* of Thomasius. This source must have contained the liturgical notes, for the Bodleian once (ps. xc: 'Vox ecclesiae ad Christum; legendus ad Euangelium Marci, ubi temptatur Christus') and the Vitellius twice (ps. xlv: 'Legendum ad intellectum (sic) Mathei de regina Austri; propheta de ecclesia';

ps. cxxix: 'Legendum ad lectionem Ionaë prophetae') adopt them. To the same or a similar source go back the few and badly written Rubrics of the 'Parker Psalter', and two of the four Lambeth sets, — the first and third. The fourth Lambeth set is peculiar, sometimes appearing in the characteristic form of the mystical title, but oftener more like a comment.

None of these nine series show a trace of the peculiar Theodorean views, either in the form in which the 'Paris Psalter' Rubrics reflect them from the (a) sections of the *Argumenta* or thru any other channel. The case is different with the three sets that remain to be mentioned. The second Lambeth set stands by itself. It is easily distinguishable from the other glosses by its peculiar hand, and also by its use of green and purple ink. The series is by no means complete, there being only about 70 Rubrics scattered rather at random thru the psalter. As these are not contained in the recently published edition,<sup>1)</sup> they will be given here (with the section of the *Argumenta* from which they are drawn indicated):

The Lambeth Green Rubrics (Lambeth 2).

- (c) iv. Aliter Deus [iust]icie exaudiuit [in cruce positum [filium] suum.
- (b) viii. [Ecc]lesia laudem [dicit] Christo.  
ix. (undecipherable).
- (b) xii. [Vo]x Christi [ad] Patrem.
- (b) xiii. Verba Christi.
- (b) xv. Vox Christi ad Patrem.
- (b) xvi. [Christu]s de Iudeis [dicit] ad Patrem.
- (c) xix. Christo eunti [ad] crucem dicit E[cclesia].
- (a) xx. [De Ez]echia canitur [caesis A]ssyriis et infirmi[tate] c[ur]ata.
- (a) xxiii. . . . im]mo praecipitur [quibus uit]e suffragiis [ualeat] d[e] cap[itu]l[ar]i te Baby[lonica] laxare (sic).
- (b) xxv. [Propheta] de se [testatur].
- (b) xxvi. [Hi]c loquitur propheta [quod] scriptum [est i]n Isaiam, [‘Ecc]e qui serni[unt] tibi bona [ma]nducabunt.

<sup>1)</sup> U. Lindelöf, *Der Lambeth-Psalter: eine altenglische Interlinearversion des Psalters in der HS. 427 der erzbischöflichen Lambeth Palace Library, zum ersten Male vollständig herausgegeben. I. Text und Glossar.* Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae, Tom. XXXV, No. 1. Helsingfors, 1909.



- (b) xxix. [Ecc]lesia orat [cum] laude.
- (b) xxxvii. Confessio patie[ntiae] et uirtus ad salut[em].
- (b) xxxviii. Propheta increpat eos qui diuitias habent et nesciunt  
cui dim[mittant].
- (b) xl. Vox Christi de passione sua et de Iuda traditore.
- (b) xli. Vox Christi ad eos qui fidem sunt consequuturi (sic).
- (a) xliii. Propheta sanctorum pressuras [suppli]cationes[que]  
comme[morat].
- (b) xliv. Propheta de [Christo] ad ecclesia[m] dicit.
- (a) xlv. [Ex per]sona canitur sanctorum [pro liber]atione sua  
gratias [agen]tium.
- (b) xlvii. Vox apostolorum figurae [ec]clesiae Ierusalem future.
- (a) xlix. Ad Iudeos lo[quitur] consternare nole[ns] et emendare  
pe[ccan]tes.
- (b) l. Vox Pauli apostoli penitentis.
- (b) li. Vox Christi ad Iudam trad[itorem].
- (b) lii. Propheta increpat Iudeos incredulos Deum negantes.
- (b) liii. Vox Christi ad [Patrem].
- (b) liv. Fidelis quispiam contra uitia carnis et ipsam carmen  
(carnem) deprecatur.
- (a) lvii. Propheta de s[enioribus] Iudeorum [dicit].
- (a) lviii. Hic etiam psalm[us] in persona sanctorum formatur.
- (b) lix. Vox apostolorum quando Christus passus est.
- (b) lxi. Vox Christi de passione.
- (b) lxiii. Vox martyrum Christi.
- (b) lxiv. [Vox ec]clesie ante baptismum.
- (b) lxvii. Propheta resurre[ctionem] Christi . . .
- (b) lxx. Vox Christi ad [Patrem].
- (b) lxxii. Vox Christi ad [Patrem] de Iudeis.
- (a) lxxiii. Sanctorum et pericula narrantur et preces con-  
nectuntur.

Purple Rubrics (which here apparently continue the Green).

- (b) lxxiv. Vox Christi de iudicio futuro.
- (b) lxxv. Vox ecclesi[ae] ad Christum.
- (b) lxxvi. Vox Christi ad Patrem.
- (b) lxxvii. Vox Christi [d]e Iudeis.
- (b) lxxviii. [Vox] apostolorum [post pa]ssionem Christi.
- (b) lxxix. Vox apostolorum de ecclesia ad Dom[inum].

- (b) lxxx. Vox apostolorum ad Pen[tecosten].
- (b) lxxxi. Vox ecclesie de Iudeis.
- (b) lxxxii. Vox ecclesie ad Dominum [d]e Iudeis.
- (b) lxxxiii. Vox Christi de ecclesia.
- (b) lxxxiv. Vox apostolorum de incarnatione ('de incarnatione' added in blue).
- (b) lxxxvi. Vox apostoli[ca de] ecclesia.
- (b) lxxxvii. Vox Christi de passione sua.

Green Rubrics (resumed).

- (b) lxxxix. Vox apostolorum [ad] Pa[trem].
- (b) xc. Vox ecclesie [a]d Dominum.
- (b) xci. Vox aecclesie.
- (b) xciii. Vox ecclesie de Iudeis [ad] Dominum.
- (b) xciv. Vox ecclesie peniten[tiam] suadentis.
- (b) xcvi. Vox ecclesie [ad] aduentum [Christi].
- (b) xcvii. Vox ecclesie ad [Dominum] et ad apostolos.
- (b) xcviii. Vox apostolorum ad populum.
- (b) xcix. Vox apostolorum ad populum.
- (b) c. Vox Christi ad Patrum [de reliqu]iis sanctorum.
- (b) ci. Vox Christi et ecclesie cum ascendisset Christus ad Patrum.
- (b) cxxiii. Vox apostolorum.
- (b) cxxiv. Vox ecclesie.
- (b) cxxv. Vox apostolorum de i[m]piis Iudeis ('Vox apostolorum' in black, the rest added in green. N.B. This shows that the black series precedes the green).
- (b) cxxvi. [Vox] Christi [ad fu]turam [ecclesi]am ('Christi' in blue, the rest in green).
- (b) cxxvii. Propheta de Ch[risto] ad ecclesiam [dicit].
- (b) cxxxiv. Vox ecclesie que increpat operantibus idola ('Vox ecclesie') in blue; the rest added in green).
- (b) cxxxvi. Vox ecclesie.
- (b) cxxxvii. [Vox] Christi ad [pa]trem.
- (b) cxlix. Vox Christi ad fideles de futuro et resurr[ectione].
- (b) cl. Vox Christi post seculum deuictum in regno futuro regnantis ('regnantis' added in blue).

8 of the 71 Rubrics are taken from the (a) section, 2 from the (c) section, and all the rest from the (b) section. In one

case (xxvi) the liturgical note is used, but with considerable modification and evident misunderstanding. Usually the Lambeth Rubrics agree with those of the 'Paris Psalter', but they often vary in wording, sufficiently to show that the two are independently derived (cf. iv, xiii, xxiii, xli, xlix, lxxxiii, cxxvi); in a few cases (xxvi, xxxvii, xlv, l, lviii, cxxxiv) they are taken from different sections of the *Argumenta*. A noteworthy feature is the way in which the peculiar character of interpretations borrowed from the Theodorean (a) sections is disguised. Only in two of the 8 do we find the characteristic names of 'Ezechias' (xx) and 'captivitas Babylonica' (xxiii); and in four cases there has been a deliberate alteration of the objectionable and heretical terms 'Machabeorum' (xliii, lviii, lxxiii) and 'duarum tribuum' (xlv) to the harmless 'sanctorum'.

The extremest attenuation of Theodore appears in the 'Tiberius Psalter' with but nine Rubrics and the 'Stowe Psalter' with but four. At the other psalms these psalters give merely the Vulgate titles. The Rubrics of the 'Tiberius Psalter' are as follows:

#### The Tiberius Rubrics.

- (b?) xxxiii. Vox cuiusdam iusti.
- (a) lii. Vox Ezechie de Rapsace.
- (b) liii. Vox supplicantis ad Christum.
- (b) lix. Vox apostolorum in passione Christi.
- (b) lxxvii. Vox prophetarum ad Iudeos.
- (b?) lxxviii. Vox martyrum de effusione sanguinis.
- (b) lxxx. Vox apostolorum.
- (b) cviii. Vox Christi de Iudeis et de Iuda traditore.
- (b?) cxi. [Vox] exhortantium populum.

The four Stowe Rubrics occur at pss. lii, lix, lxxvii, and cviii, and are identical with the corresponding ones just cited from the 'Tiberius Psalter'. The correspondences are less close between this little group, which is evidently the residuum of a long process of corruption, and the *Argumenta*, than in the case of the Lambeth and Paris Psalter Rubrics, but they are undeniably from the same original source. A single Theodorean Rubric from the (a) section (lii) is all that remains. The age of the four psalters, the Paris, Lambeth, Tiberius, and Stowe, is in

each case probably somewhere in the eleventh century. Their common use of Bede's *Argumenta* proves that the little compilation was well known in England as well as in Ireland.

We have thus traced the succession of Theodorean influence step by step thru seven centuries, from the fourth to the eleventh, to find it continuously dwindling under the omnipresent pressure of orthodox opinion, till it ends in a single Rubric. The exact degree of ultimate dependence of the Anglo-Saxon Psalters upon the great Syrian exegete must await its detailed working out until the promised edition of Theodore appears. But we have seen enough to know that the chain of connection, tho long, is unbroken, and that it is intimately interwoven between England and Ireland.

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## ZU TOCHMARC EMIRE.

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Im Sommer 1910 wurde in meinen irischen Übungen Tothmarc Emire theils nach dem Faksimile von LU theils nach den Textabdrücken von Kuno Meyer, *Rev. Celt.* 11, 433 und *Zs.* 3, 229,<sup>1)</sup> gelesen. Dabei wurde unter andern die Frage aufgeworfen, wie die Parteien von TE, die sich gleich oder ähnlich in andern Texten wiederfinden, aufzufassen seien, ob TE als das Vorbild anzusehen sei, oder ob es aus den andern Texten geschöpft habe, oder ob diese und TE auf dritte, uns unbekannte Quellen zurückgehen. Die Untersuchung, die freilich nur auf Grund der im Druck oder im Faksimile veröffentlichten Handschriften angestellt wurde, ergab überall dasselbe Resultat; durchgehends läßt sich nachweisen, daß TE aus andern uns bekannten Texten, wenn auch nicht aus den uns erhaltenen Handschriften derselben, geflossen ist. Ich lasse den Herren, die die Beantwortung der Frage übernahmen, Herrn H. Hessen und Rev. G. O'Nolan, selber das Wort.

R. THURNEISEN.

### I. Drei Palastbeschreibungen im Leabhar na h-Uidhre.

In dem auch im LU überlieferten Stück der altirischen Sage *Tothmarc Emire* finden wir, LU p. 121 a 13 v. u., abgedruckt bei Windisch, *Irische Texte I* p. 309, folgende Schilderung von Conchobors Palast in Emain, der berühmten Craebroad:

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<sup>1)</sup> K. Meyer sagt dort, vollständig sei der Text nur in Harl. 5280 und im Stowe Ms. 992 (R. I. A., D. 4. 2) erhalten. Aber so viel ich bei einem freilich nicht sehr gründlichen Durchgehen des Textes in 23. N. 10 (R. I. A., Betham 145) sah, ist er auch hier lückenlos, nur sind die Blätter falsch gebunden. Die richtige Reihenfolge ist S. 21—24, 113—124, 11—12, 25—26, 125—128. Der künftige Herausgeber des interessanten Textes wird also an dieser trefflichen Handschrift eine gute Stütze haben.

'Is amlaid iarom báí a tech sin .i. in Cráebrúad Choncobuir fo intamail tige Midchúarda .i. nóí n-imda o thenid co fraigid and, XXX traiged i n-ardai cech airinig créduma bóí is tig. Erscar do dergibar and. Stíall ar chapur hé iar n-íchtur 7 tugi slinded iar n-úachtur. Imdúi Conchobuir i n-airenuich in tigi co stiallaib airgit, co n-úatnib crédumai (so H, LU -maib) co lígrad óir for a cendaib co n-gemmaib carrmocaíl intib, co m-bá comsolus lá 7 adaig inti, cona steill airgit úasind rig co ardliiss ind rígtigi. In am (so H, LU um) nobúaled Concobur co fleisc ríгда in steill, contóitis Ulaíd uli fris. Da imdai deac in dá erred deac immón n-imdai sin imma cúairt.'

'So nun war dieses Haus, nämlich die Craebrúad des Conchobor, nach dem Muster des *Tech Midchúarda*: neun Lager vom Feuer bis zur Wand darin, dreissig Fufs in der Höhe der Vorder- und Rückseite von Bronze, die im Hause war(?), Schnitzerei(?) von rotem Eichenholz darin. Bretterverschalung war es unten und ein Ziegeldach oben. Das Lager des Conchobor an der Rückwand des Hauses, mit Streifen(?) von Silber, mit Pfosten von Bronze mit Goldglanz an ihren Enden, mit Karfunkelsteinen in ihnen, sodafs in ihm gleich hell waren Tag und Nacht, mit seinem Streifen(?) von Silber über dem König bis zur Höhe(?) des Palastes. Wenn Conchobor mit der königlichen Gerte an den Streifen(?) schlug, wandten sich alle Ulter ihm zu. Die zwölf Lager der zwölf Helden um dies Lager im Kreise herum.'

So mag etwa die Übersetzung lauten. Nun hat schon Windisch a. a. O. p. 309 auf die Ähnlichkeit dieser Palastbeschreibung mit zwei weiteren, in der Sage *Fled Bricrend* vorkommenden hingewiesen, ohne jedoch näher auf die Beziehungen einzugehen. Es handelt sich einmal um Bricrius Haus, dessen Schilderung wir LU p. 99 b finden, abgedruckt bei G. Henderson: *Fled Bricrend*, London 1899, c. 2, ferner um den Königspalast des Ailill von Connacht und seiner Gemahlin Medb, an welche sich die Helden Loegaire, Conall und CúChulainn wegen Zuerkennung eines Heldenpreises wenden, LU 107 a, Hend. c. 55. Die Beziehungen dieser beiden Palastbeschreibungen zu unserer Stelle aus dem Tochmarc Emire sind so nahe, dafs sich in letzterer fast nichts findet, was nicht mehr oder weniger wörtlich genau in einer der beiden anderen Stellen wiederkehrte. Um jedoch das Verhältniss klar machen zu können, drucke ich

hier die erwähnten Stellen ab und zwar jeweils dasjenige, was uns schon im Tochmarc begegnete, in gesperrtem Druck.

*Fled Bricr. c. 2. Is amlaid trá dorónad a tech sin: sudigud tige Midchúarta fair. IX n-imdada and o thenid co fraigid, XXX traiged i n-airdi cacha hairinig cré-dumae co n-diórada óir friu uile. Conrotacht rígidmae and tarom do Chonchobur i n-airinuch ind ríghige sin úas imdadaib in tige uile co n-gemaib carrmocail 7 lógmaraib ar chena 7 lígrad óir 7 airgit 7 charrmocail 7 datha cach thire, co m-bo chomsolus lá 7 adaig inti. 7 conrotachtá dano dá imdaí déc in dá erred déc Ulad impe . . .*

*Fled Bricr. c. 55. . . . secht cúarda and 7 secht n-imdada o thein co fraig. Airinich créduma ocus aurscartud dergibair. Trí steíll chréduma i taulaich in taige. Tech darach co tugi slinned. Di senistir déc and co comlathaib glainidib friu. Imdui Ailella 7 Medba immedon in tige. Airinig airgdidi impe 7 steíll chreduma 7 fleasc airgdide ocond airinuch ar bélaib Ailella adcomced midlisse in tige do chosc in teglaig do grés . . .*

Die Übereinstimmungen sind unverkennbar: das man solche nicht einfach auf die Anwendung altüberkommener Formeln zurückführen darf, hoffe ich unten, p. 503, noch klarlegen zu können; anzunehmen aber, sie rührten daher, das die Stelle im Tochmarc Emire zuerst bestanden, die beiden anderen aber aus ihr geschöpft haben sollten, ist auch unmöglich, denn wie sollten in diesem Falle die letzteren untereinander so große Differenzen aufweisen? Es drängt sich uns vielmehr der Schluss auf, das es sich bei den Stellen in der Fled Bricrend um zwei im wesentlichen völlig von einander unabhängige Originalbeschreibungen handelt, in denen wir einiges Formelhafte gelten lassen können, und das die Beschreibung von Conchobors Haus eine Compilation aus beiden ist. Doch erübrigt es noch zu betrachten, ob wir mit der Annahme nur unserer zwei Quellen für die Version im Tochmarc Emire auskommen; ich glaube, ja. Habe ich schon unbedenklich die Stelle T. E. . . . *cona steíll airgit — contóitis Ulaid uli fris* mit Fl. Br. 55 . . . *fleasc airgdide — in teglaig do grés* des Sinnes wegen identifiziert, so ist eine nicht völlige Übereinstimmung noch leichter verständlich in den Angaben der verschiedenen Verzierungen von Gold, Silber usw., in denen der Compiler natürlich variieren konnte; *ardliss* im

Tochmarc ist wohl nur eine (örtlich oder zeitlich?) verschiedene Bezeichnung für das *midlisse* in der Fled Br.; es bleibt demnach nur noch die Stelle: *stíall ar chapur hé iar n-íchtur*. Es ist wohl kaum zu gewagt anzunehmen, daß man es hier mit einer bloßen Umschreibung des *tech darach* 'das Haus (besteht) aus Eiche' Fl. Br. 55 zu tun hat, angewandt zum Zweck des so entstehenden Gegensatzes *iar n-íchtur* — *iar n-úachtur*.

## II. Rosse- und Wagenbeschreibungen im LU.

Zu einem dem im vorigen Kapitel erzielten ähnlichen Ergebnis wird uns eine Betrachtung über mehrere im LU vorkommende Schilderungen von Pferden und Heldenwagen führen. Zum Zwecke der Übersichtlichkeit treffe ich dieselbe Anordnung wie im Vorigen.

Im Tochmarc Emire, LU p. 122 a, Windisch a. a. O. p. 310 abgedruckt, finden wir folgende Beschreibung der Pferde an Cúchulainns Wagen aus dem Munde der Fíal:

'*Atchíu-sa ém and,*' for Fíal ingen Forcaill, 'da ech comora comalli comchroda comluathu comleimnecha biruich ardchind agenmair allmair gablaich gopchúil dúalaich tullethain forbrecca fosenga forlethna forráncia casmongaig casschairchig.

*Ech liath lesslethan lond liath luamnach londmar lugléimnech lebormongach maignech tornech trosmar túagmong ardchend uchtlethan. Lasaid fót fondbras fochuirse focrúaid fo a cruib calath cethardu. Dogrind almaí énlathi lúth búada. Beraid rith for sét. Foscaín úathu ech n-anailche. Úiblech tened trichemruaid tennes a craes glomarchind fil do desfertais in charpait.*

(Fíal — charpait wohl an falscher Stelle, zu ech gehörig, lies: *Ech, fil do desfertais in charpait, ech liath . . .* So übersetze ich.)

*Araile ech cirdub crúaidchend cruind cóelcossach calethan coblúth dían dúalmar dulmar dúalach druimlethan dronchóechech maignech aigneach bairrnech balcemnech balbéimnech lebormongach casmongach scíaplebor drondualach tullethan grind. Immaidig iar nith aigi ech i n-íath, moscing srathu, sréid sergi, sétid maige midglinne. Ni fagaib and imdoraíd, hi tír omná riad róot.'*

Die Übersetzung ist zu schwierig, als daß sie Anspruch auf irgendwelche Genauigkeit erheben könnte:

'Ich sehe dort,' sagte Fíal, Forcalls Tochter, 'zwei Pferde, gleich groß, gleich schön, gleich gestaltet, gleich schnell, gleich



springend, spitzschnauzig, den Kopf hochtragend, munter, mit großen Zügeln, gegabelt (= mit breitem Stand?), dünnmäulig, mit Flechten, breitstirnig, scheckig, unten schlank, oben breit, ungestüm, mit gekräuselter Mähne, mit gewelltem Schweif.

Das Pferd, das an der rechten Stange des Wagens ist, ein Pferd, grau, breithüftig, wild, schnell, springend, zornig, tänzelnd, langmählig, *maignech* (?), stampfend, *trosmar* (?), bogenmählig, den Kopf hochtragend, breitbrüstig. Es flammt der schollige Boden auf, *fochuirse* (?), der harte, unter seiner harten Hufe Vierheit. Es verfolgt (?) Scharen von Vögeln, siegeskräftige. Es bringt den Lauf auf die Strafe. *Foscain* (?) die (Feuer-?) Erscheinungen des Atems der Pferde. Ein Funke von dunkelrotem Feuer blitzt aus der Kinnbacken Zaumspitze.

Das andere Pferd pechschwarz, harkköpfig, rund, dünnfüßig, *calethan* (?), siegesmächtig, schnell, mit großen Flechten, gut gehend, mit lockiger Mähne, breitrückig, festschenkelig, *maignech* (?), lebhaft, hitzig, stark schreitend, stark stossend, langmählig, mit gekräuselter Mähne, langschweifig, stark gelockt, breitstirnig, zierlich. Es treibt sich umher nach dem Wettrennsieg über die (anderen) Pferde auf der Wiese, bald springt es durch die Talgründe, *sréid sergi*, *séid* die Felder der Talesmitte. Nicht findet es dort ein Hindernis. Im Land der Eichen ein Fahren (wie auf) der Strafe.'

Hätten wir auch nichts mit dieser Pferdebeschreibung Vergleichbares, so müßte doch nach meiner Ansicht schon die Art und Weise, zuerst das Pferdepaar, dann jedes Pferd einzeln zu schildern, uns den Verdacht der Compilation anderer Beschreibungen nahe legen, in denen teils nur das Pferdepaar, teils nur jedes Pferd einzeln geschildert wäre. Doch besitzen wir mehrere solche Schilderungen, die unsere Vermutung einer Compilation bestätigen. Der Kürze und der guten Übersicht wegen hebe ich Stellen, die uns schon im Tochmarc Emire begegnet sind, wie im vorigen Kapitel, durch gesperrten Druck hervor.

In der Fled Bricrend beschreibt Findabair, der Königin Medb Tochter, folgendermaßen das Gespann des Helden Loegaire (s. cap. I), LU p. 105 b, Henderson c. 45:

*'Atchú-sa ém,' ol Findabair, 'na dá ech filet fón charput, dá ech bruthmara breccglassa comdatha comchrótha commathi combúada comlúatha comléimnecha biruich ardchind*

*agenmáir allmair gablaich guipchúil dúalaich tul-lethain forbreca fosenga forlethna forráincha cass-mongaig casschairchig.'*

Damit hört, wie zu erwarten, die Beschreibung der Rosse auf, es beginnt die des Wagens. Die weitere Schilderung eines Pferdepaares finden wir in der Sage *Siaburcharpát ConCulaind*, die ebenso im LU überliefert ist, neuerdings nach anderen Hss. ediert von Kuno Meyer in den *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts* vol. III, 1910, p. 48. Dort heisst es von CúChulainns Gespensterwagen, LU p. 113 a, K. M. p. 49, l. 14:

*'Conaccasa iarom in dá ech commóra comaille comcroda comdelbae comderga (so Hs. E) comluatha comchóri congníma boslethna deslethna biruich ardchind agenmair gobchúil dúalaig démnecha dathdalli tul-lethain forarda forána forbreca. Até cendbeca cruindbeca urarda aurtherca aurgastai bruinniderga béolaidi sulgi slemna saitsidi sogabalta fégi fáeborda fémenda cassmongaig cóiri cáim cas[c]arcig, broga for fuil ina diaid in étside.'*

Es folgt die Beschreibung der Räder usw. Ich habe die ganze Stelle abgedruckt, damit die grossen Differenzen in der ganzen Anlage der beiden Schilderungen in der *Fled. Br.* und im *Siab. Ch.* zutage treten, die für deren Auffassung als zweier von einander unabhängiger Beschreibungen sprechen. Den Differenzen gegenüber aber stehen, wie ersichtlich, einige geringfügige Übereinstimmungen, und dieser Umstand gibt Gelegenheit zu einer kurzen Erörterung prinzipieller Natur. Wir sehen nämlich in gleicher Weise bisweilen Züge an mehreren Stellen wiederkehren, vgl. z. B. die kurze Beschreibung in der *Táin bó Cúalnge* (nach dem Buch von Leinster von Windisch ediert, Leipzig 1905, p. 489); sie lautet:

*'Nir bho chian d' araid Fír diad, dia m-bói and, co facca ní: in carpat cáin cúicind [cethirrind], gollúth gollúais go lánghiceus, go pupaill uanide, go creit chraestana chraestirim, chlessaird cholgáta churata, ar da n-echaib luatha lemnecha, ómair bulid bedgaig, bolgróin, uchtlethna, beochridi, blenarda basslethna cosschaeta, forráincha fua. Ech liath leslethan lugleimnech lebormongach fán dara chuing don charpait, ech dub dúalach dubrass druimlethan fán chuing arail.'*

Niemand wird behaupten, das Wiederkehren von Zügen aus anderen Beschreibungen in der letzteren wäre nur erklärlich, wenn eine von der anderen abgeschrieben sei; vielmehr dürfen wir dafür getrost, Windisch folgend, den 'formelhaften Sprach-

gebrauch der Prosaerzählung' verantwortlich machen: dazu zähle ich die, wie ja auch im Epos, sicher vorhandenen ständigen epitheta ornantia und auch irgendeinmal aufgekommene Wortzusammenstellungen (wie *liath leslethan* u. a.), die durch ihren Sinn oder auch durch die Alliteration ihrer einzelnen Glieder vor einer Trennung bewahrt blieben. Aber auch nur bis zu diesem Grade, also wo es sich um die Übereinstimmung einzelner Worte handelt, dürfen wir Windisch Recht geben, nicht auch dann, wenn wie in unserer Tochmarcstelle ganze Sätze einer Version Wort für Wort in der anderen wiederkehren (vgl. z. B. Tochm. Em. *comlúathu — casschairchig*, 16 Worte (!) genau gleich Fl. Br. 45). Dafür bleibt die einzige Erklärung, anzunehmen, die eine Stelle sei von der anderen abgeschrieben; da aber die beiden Beschreibungen in der Fl. Br. und im Siab. Ch. wegen ihrer völligen Verschiedenheiten untereinander nicht aus der einen im Tochmarc stammen können, ergibt sich mit Gewißheit, dafs umgekehrt die Tochmarchbeschreibung aus jenen beiden compiliert sei. Dazu kommt, dafs sie restlos in ihnen aufgeht.

Wenden wir uns jetzt zur Schilderung der einzelnen Pferde, so ist zum Vergleich am besten heranzuziehen die Beschreibung von CúChulainns Wagen in der Fl. Br., LU p. 106 b, Hend. c. 49 (wo unrichtig die Schilderung des Paares als ausgefallen betrachtet und eingefügt ist):

*'Atchíu-sa ém', ol ind ingen, 'indala ech fil fón charput, ech líath lesslethan lond lúath lúamnach londmar lugleimnech lebormongach maignech toirnech trosmar tuágmong ardhend uchtlethan. Lasaid fót fondbras fochuirse focrúaid fó a cruib calath cethardu. Dogréind almaí énlaithe lúith búada. Berid riuth for sét. Foscaín úathu ech n-anailche. Uiblech tened trichemruaid tatnit a cróes glomarchind.*

*Araile ech círdub crúaidhend cruind coelchos cálethan cobluth dían dubnar (l. dulmar Stokes) dúalach druimlethan dronchóchech maignech aigne bairrnech ballceimnech balcbéimnech lebormongach casmongach scúaplebor grind. Immaíig iar nith aigi ech i n-íath, moscing srathu, sréid sergi, sétid maige midglinne.'*

Genauer könnten die Übereinstimmungen nicht sein: die wenigen Differenzen (*tatnit* gegen *tennes*, *dulmar* gegen *dúalmar* *dulmar*) sind sicher nur auf Kosten der Textüberlieferung zu setzen.

Eine weitere Schilderung im Fl. Br., die der Rosse an Conalls Wagen, LU p. 106 a, Hend. c. 47, von Fl. Br. 49 vollständig verschieden, ist deshalb erwähnenswert, weil wir in ihr zwei Stellen wiederfinden, die wir in Fl. Br. 49 vermissen: (*araile ech derg*) *taullethan drondualach* und: *Ní fogaib and im-doraid, hi tír omna riad róot*. Damit ist also, von den Worten *fil do desfertaís in charpait* abgesehen, die man schliesslich unschwer den Worten *indala (ech)*, *fil fón charput* Fl. Br. 49 gleichsetzen darf, die ganze Tochmarcstelle belegt. Brauche ich demnach wohl die Gründe für meinen Schlufs, Tochm. Em. habe vier verschiedene Schilderungen compiliert, nicht weiter zu entwickeln, so gehe ich nunmehr zur Betrachtung des unserer Tochmarcstelle Folgenden über, worin zuerst der Wagen, dann CúChulainn selber, zuletzt der Wagenlenker geschildert sind. Ich trenne nach den drei Beschreibungen.

Der Wagen: LU p. 122 b, Wind. p. 310: '*Carpat fidgrind fethaide, dia n-droch finna umaide. Síthbe find findairgit co fethain findruine. Cret urard drésachtach, sí chreda cromglindne. Cuing drumnech dronorda. Da n-all dúalcha dronbudi. Fertsí crúadi colgdírgi.*'

'Der Wagen weiden, glatt, die beiden Räder weifs, ehern. Die Stange weifs, von weifsem Silber, mit Ringen von Goldsilber. Der Wagenkasten vorn hoch, knarrend, von Zinn, schief und fest. Das Joch krumm, schwer vergoldet. Die Zügel geflochten, ganz gelb. Die Wagenstangen hart, schwertgerade.'

Zur Vergleichung ziehe ich folgende Stellen heran, wobei ich mich zur Umgehung langer Erklärungen wieder des gesperrten Druckes bediene:

Fl. Br. LU p. 106 b, Hend. c. 50: '*Carpat féthgrind fethaide, dia n-droch ernbudi iarnda. Síthfe co féthain findruine. Cret chréda chromglinne. Cuing druimnech dronordae. Dá n-all dúalcha dronbudi.*'

Einiges von Tochm. Em. fehlt hierin, das finden wir jedoch anderswo wieder.

Fl. Br. LU p. 106 a, Hend. c. 47: '*Carpat fidgrind fethaide, dia n-droch finna umaide. Síthfe find forargit. Cret aurard drésachtach. Cuing druimnech dronuallach. Dia n-all dúalcha dronbudi.*'

Beachte besonders: FL.Br. 50 *sithfe co féthain findruine*, 47 *sithfe find forargit*, woraus Tochm. Em. *sithfe find findairgit* (l. for-?) *co fethain findruine* (oder aus Siab. Ch.? s. u.).

FL.Br. 50 *cret chréda chromglinne*, 47 *cret aurard drésachtach*, woraus Tochm. Em. *cret urard drésachtach*, *sí chreda cromglinne*.

FL.Br. LU p. 105 b, Hend. c. 45: '*Carpat fidgrind féthaidi, da n-droch duba tairchisi. Dú n-all n-ábda imnaissi. Fertsí crúadi colgdírgi. Cret nóitech nóiglinne. Cuing druimnech dronargda. Dú n-all n-dúalcha dronbudi.*'

Siab. Carp. LU p. 113 a, K. M. a. a. O. p. 50: '*Da n-droch duba tarchise. (Aus FL.Br. 45 hergenommen?) Da roth chóiri coicrisi. Fertsí crúadi colgdírgi. Da n-all n-apthi n-intlasse. Sithbe findargit co fethan findruine. Cuing dron druimnech fororda. Pupall corcorda. Fortche uanide.*'

Die nahen Beziehungen, welche zwischen FL.Br. 50 und 47 einerseits, zwischen FL.Br. 45 und Siab. Ch. andererseits bestehen, erkläre ich mir so, daß je zweien je eine berühmte Wagenbeschreibung, in ihren einzelnen Zügen mehr oder minder variiert, zu grunde lag. Aus diesen vier Stellen aber, die selber nicht Originale sind, ist dann die Beschreibung im Tochm. Em. compilirt worden.

Der Held: Tochm. Em. LU p. 122 b, Wind. p. 310: '*Fer bróenach dub isin charput as aldém di feraib hErenn. Fúan cáin corcra cóicdiabail imbi. Eó óir intslaide úas a bán bruinnechur ina áthaurstlocud fri mben luthu lath bulli. Leni gelchulpatach co n-derginliud oir forlasrach. Secht n-gemma deirg dracondai for lár cechtar a d'imcaisen. Da n-gruad gormgela croderga, dofich uiblich tened ocus analaich. Dofich ruithen serci ina dreich. Atá lim ba fras do nemannaib rolaad ina chend. Dubithir leth dubfolach cechtar n-ai a da brúad. Claideb orduirnd i n-ecrus sesta for a dib sliastaib. Gai gormruad glacthomsidi la faga féig sobartach for crannaib roiss rúamantai hi cengul dá creit cróncharpait. Sciath corcorda co comroth argit co túagmílaib óir úas a dib n-imdadaib. Focheird hích n-erred n-indnae immad cless comluith úas a errid óencharpait.*'

'Ein finsterer, schwarzer Mann im Wagen, der der schönste ist von den Männern Irlands. Ein Mantel, schön, purpurn, fünffach, um ihn. Eine Brosche von Gold mit Einlegung über seiner

weisen Brust in ihrer Öffnung, gegen die er (sein Herz) Helden-  
schläge schlägt. Ein Mantel mit weißer Kaputze mit Rot-  
unterwebung von glänzendem Gold. Sieben rote Drachensteine  
auf dem Grunde seiner Augen. Die Wangen blauweiß, blutrot.  
Er blitzt Funken von Feuer [und] -Atem. Es blitzt ein Strahl  
von Liebe in seinem Antlitz. Es ist mir, ein Regen von Edel-  
steinen habe sich in sein Haupt ergossen. Schwarz wie *leth*  
*dubfolach* (?) seine beiden Augenbrauen. Ein Schwert mit  
goldenem Griff in der Scheide (?) auf seinen Schenkeln. Eine  
blaurote Lanze, handgerecht, neben einem scharfen, angreifenden  
Speer auf Schäften von Waldbäumen *riúamantai* (?) angebunden  
an den Kasten seines (?) -Wagens. Ein purpurner Schild mit um-  
laufendem Rand von Silber, mit Tierfiguren von Gold, auf seinen  
Schultern. Er schnellte sich empor durch einen Heldenlachssprung  
*n-indnae* (?), viel Schwingkunststücke (macht er) über seinem  
Heldenwagen (?).'

An Parallelstellen sind folgende zu nennen: *CúChulainns*  
Erscheinung zu Wagen im Fl. Br. LU p. 106 b, Hend. c. 51: '*Fer*  
*bróinech dub isin charput as aldern di ferais hErend.*  
*Fúan cáin corcra cóir imbi. Heó óir intlaide uassa*  
*bán bruinnechur ina háthauslocud fris m-ben lúthu*  
*láth bulli. Ocht n-gemma deirg dracondai for lár a da*  
*imlisen. Da n-gruádd gormgela cróderca, dofíchuiblich*  
*tened oculus análaich. Fochéird hích n-erred n-indnae,*  
*cless níad nonbair uasa errid óencharpait.'*

Aus der Beschreibung des Loegaire in Fl. Br. LU p. 105 b,  
Hend. c. 45, von Fl. Br. 51 völlig verschieden, ist vielleicht die  
Stelle: '*Fúan cáin corcra n-imbi, cóicroth óir airgdide and*'  
zu erwähnen. Mehr Parallelstellen dagegen bietet die Be-  
schreibung *CúChulainns* im

Siab. Ch. LU 113 b, K. Meyer a. a. O. p. 50 l. 6: '*Láech and*  
*isin charput sin suas mael dub demis fair for suidiu. Atá lim is*  
*bó rodalig. Suil glas bannach ina chind. Fúan corcorgorm im suide*  
*cona cetheoraib uib argait (so Hs. H). Dulend dergóir for a bruinnib*  
*roeth dar cehtar a dá gúaland. Léni gelchulpatach immi*  
*co nderginluth intlase. Claideb orduirndi n-ecrus sésta*  
*for a sliastaib. Manais lethanglas for crand miding*  
*ina láim. Foga fogér fóbartach ina farrad. Sciath*  
*corcorda co comrod argit co túagmílaib óir úas a díb*  
*n-imdadaib. Atá limsa bá frass do nemannaib rolad*

*ina chend. Dubithir leth dubfolach cechtarde a da brúad. Dergithir partainga a beoil.'*

Hierbei wagte ich, die Worte *Manais* — *ina farrad* 'Eine Speerspitze, breit und grün, auf einem Schaft von wilder Esche in seiner Hand. Ein scharfer Speer, angreifend, neben ihm' der Stelle im Tochm. *Gai gormrúad* — *ruamantai* an die Seite zu stellen. Für die Worte *Dofich ruithen* — *dreich* und *hi cengul* — *cróncharpait* habe ich allerdings keine Entsprechungen gefunden; doch da namentlich erstere sich noch sonst wiederfinden (formelhaft?), so hindert dies nicht anzunehmen, daß unsere Tochmarcstelle auch in der Schilderung des Helden aus den anderen compiliert sei. Die Beziehungen dieser letzteren untereinander scheinen keine engeren zu sein, ihre wenigen gegenseitigen Entsprechungen (größere nur zwischen Fl. Br. 45 und 47) darf man wiederum auf gemeinsame Reminiscenzen alter Formeln zurückführen, vgl. die kurze Beschreibung eines Heldenwagens LU p. 129 a, die selbständig sein kann.

Der Wagenlenker: Tochm. Em. LU p. 122 b, Wind. p. 310: *'Ara ara bélaib isin charput sin araile forseng fánfota forbrec. Falt forchas forrúad for a mulluch. Gipne findruine for a ctan nád leced a folt fúa ayid. Cúachi di ór for a díb cúladaib hi taircellad a folt. Cochline ettech immi co n-urslocud for a díb n-ulendnaib. Bruitne di dergór ina láim dia tairchelland a eochu.'*

'Ein Wagenlenker vor ihm im Wagen, sehr schlank, dünn, lang, ziemlich aufgeputzt (?). Das Haar lockig, rot auf seinem Scheitel. Ein Stirnreif von Goldsilber auf seiner Stirn, der sein Haar nicht auf das Gesicht fallen liefs. Becher von Gold auf seinem Hinterkopf, die sein Haar zusammenhalten. Eine Flügelkaputze um ihn mit Öffnung an seinen Ellbogen. Ein Stachel von rotem Gold in seiner Hand, mit dem er die Pferde im Zaume hält.'

Ein Wagenlenker ist u. a. noch beschrieben im Siabur Ch. LU p. 113 b, K. M. a. a. O. p. 50: die Beschreibung stimmt Wort für Wort mit der anderen genau überein, und es wäre nicht ausgeschlossen, daß beide aus einer Quelle abgeschrieben wären; doch ist, da wir eine Benützung des Siab. Ch. durch Tochm. schon oben fanden, wohl sicher, daß die Beschreibung im Siabur Ch. ein Original, die im Tochm. Em. von ihr abgeschrieben ist.

Die ganze Tochmarcstelle beruht demnach auf bloßen Compilationen.

### III. Die Erziehung CúChulainns.

Wir finden im LU zwei Beschreibungen der Erziehung CúChulainns, die eine im Tochmarc Emire, und zwar LU p. 124 a 1 ff., die andere p. 128 b 23 v. u. ff. in der Sage Compert ConCulaind. Doch sind wir, da am letzteren Orte die Überlieferung infolge einer Lücke der Handschrift schon nach wenigen Zeilen versagt, für die zweite Beschreibung noch auf eine andere Quelle angewiesen, die Hs. 'Egerton 1782' des Brit. Mus., wo sich dieselbe Erzählung in ihrem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang, nämlich als Schluß einer anderen Version der Compert, vollständig wiederfindet. Alle drei sind abgedruckt bei Windisch, Ir. T. I p. 140 und p. 324, wo auch auf ihre Ähnlichkeiten untereinander hingewiesen ist.

Während im Tochmarc CúChulainn selbst sich seiner Erziehung rühmt, in der Compert aber der Streit darüber, wer den jungen Helden erziehen dürfe, geschildert wird, mithin die äußere Anlage der beiden Beschreibungen eine verschiedene ist, weisen sie doch dem Sinn und dem Wortlaut nach untereinander verblüffende Ähnlichkeiten auf. Ich drucke beide nebeneinander in der Weise ab, daß ich der Übersichtlichkeit wegen nach Abschnitten sondere und je einem Abschnitt die Übersetzung des Tochmarctextes folgen lasse. Den gesperrten Druck wende ich diesmal für größere Differenzen an, die Tochmarc gegenüber Compert aufweist.

Tochmarc Emire.

Compert ConCulaind.

1. (LU:) *Bátár iarom oc im-  
chosnam, cia díb no ebelad in  
mac, ocus lotar i m-breith Con-  
chobair. Asbert Conchobur:  
'Beir duit a Findchoem in mac'  
ol Concobur. Do fécai Find-  
choem in mac iarom . . . etc.  
(*'Gaib duit in mac, a Finn-  
choem'*: Eg), ol Conchobur beos  
fria fiair. 'Ni ba si nodn-ebela*



1. 'Rom ebail Sencha sobér-laid, conid am trén trebar án athlum athargaib. Am gáeth i m-brethaib, ní dam dermatach. Adgadur nech ria túaith trebair. Ar fochlim a n-insce. Cocertaim bretha Ulad uli, ocus nisl-insorg, tria ailemain Sencha form.'

em', ol Sencha. 'Is messe nodn-ailfea. Ar am tren, am trebar, a(m an: Eg) athlom athargaib. Am ollom, am gaeth, ní dam dermatac(h. Ad)gadur nech ria rig. Ar fochlim a insce. Admid . . . hi cath ria Conchobur cathbúadach. Concertaim (bretha hUlad: Eg) ocus nisl-insorg. Nimthorgnea eter aite (aili inge Concobar': Eg).

'Es erzog mich der redekundige Sencha, sodafs ich stark bin, klug, glänzend, geschickt in den Waffen. Ich bin weise in den Urteilen, nicht bin ich vergesslich. Ich rede einen beliebigen an vor dem klugen Volk. Ich bin gerüstet auf ihre Rede. Ich mache recht die Urteile aller Ulter, und nicht verletze ich sie, infolge meiner Erziehung durch Sencha.'

2. 'Rom gab Blai Brigu chucai for acci a threbi, co ro ferad mo théchtaí oca. Conid iarom adgairim firu chóicid Chonchobair immá rig. Nós biathaim fri re sechtmairi. Fos-suidiur a n-dánu ocus a n-diberga. Farriú a n-enech ocus a n-enechgressa.'

2. (LU:) 'Cid messe ém nodn-gaba', ol Bla(i Briuguig, 'ni epelai faill: Eg) na héisliis lemsa. Ro ferat (mo thechta toscooi co Concobar: Eg). Congairim firu cocid hErenn. (Nus biathaim gu cenn: Eg) sechtmairi no d(echmuidi. Fosuidiur a n-dano ocus a n-: Eg) diberga. Forr(iuth a n-enech ocus a n-inechgresso amin': Eg).

'Blai Brigu nahm mich zu sich in die Nähe seines Wohnsitzes, sodafs mir genügte das mir Zukommende bei ihm, sodafs ich darauf die Männer von Conchobors Provinz um den König entbiete. Ich bewirte sie eine Woche lang. Ich unterstützte ihre Gaben und ihre Gewaltstreiche. Ich unterstütze ihre Ehre und ihre Ehrenhändel.'

3. 'Rom alt Fergus, conid rubáim trénócu tria nert gaili. Am amnas ar gail ocus gaisciud, conid am túalaing airer

Von hier ab nur noch Eg.  
3. (Eg:) 'Is anble sin', ol Fergus. 'Dorroegai tren occai, is missi nomn-eblo (lies: nodn-). Am tren-si, am trebur, am tectiri

*críchi d' imditin fri ecrata  
echtrand. Am dín cach doch-  
raid. Am sonð slaide cach so-  
craid. Dognú sochor cach thrú-  
aig, dogniu dochor cach thruin,  
tri altram Fergus a form.'*

*nimdotair ar feb ocus innbas.  
Am amnus ar gail ocus gaisced.  
Am gníá frim tair. Am tua-  
luing mu dallta. Am dín gach  
dochrúiti. Dogniu dochur gach  
triuin, dogniu sochor gach lobuir.'*

‘Es hat mich erzogen Fergus, so daß ich schlagen kann starke Krieger infolge der Stärke der Heldenkraft. Ich bin scharf in Tapferkeit und Waffentat, sodaß ich fähig bin, das Gebiet der Grenze zu verteidigen gegen die Feindschaft der Ausländer. Ich bin der Schutz jedes Häßlichen (Niedrigen?), ich bin der Prügelstock (?) jedes Stattlichen (Vornehmen?). Ich helfe jedem Elenden, ich schade jedem Starken, infolge meiner Erziehung durch Fergus.’

4. ‘*Ro siachtus glín Amargin  
fíled co ro molaim rig as cach  
feib i m-bi, condíngbaim oen-  
fer ar gail ar gaisced ar gáis  
ar áine ar amainse archírt  
ar calmatus. Dínghbaim cach  
n-errid, ní tullim budi du neoch  
acht do Conchobur cách.*

4. (Eg:) ‘*Cia contuaisi frimp’,  
ol Amorgeni, ‘marthai. Am  
tualuing mu dallta altrammo do  
rig. Ro moltar ar gach feib as  
mo gail ocus as mo gaisced, as  
mo gais, as mo thocud, ar mo  
es, ar mo erlapra, ar aine ocus  
calmatus mo chlethi, ce bo laith,  
am fíli, am fu do rath rig.  
Arurg gach n-eirrid, ní tuillim  
buidi di nech acht do Conchobar.  
Ní comul fri nech ingi fria rig  
namma.*

‘Ich kam auf das Knie des Dichtergelehrten Amorgene, sodaß ich preisen kann den König wegen jeder Vortrefflichkeit, die er besitzt, sodaß ich aufwiege jeden einzelnen Mann wegen meiner Tapferkeit, wegen meiner Waffentaten, wegen meiner Klugheit, wegen meines Glanzes (?), wegen meiner Schärfe, wegen meiner Kunst, wegen meiner Tapferkeit. Ich wiege auf jeden Helden, ich werbe um niemandes Dank als um Conchobors allein (?).’

5. (Eg:) ‘*Ní ba tra inni sin’,  
ol Sencho. ‘Gaibith Finncoem  
in mac gu rissim Emuin, ocus  
fuigillfithir Morunn uimi acht*

5. 'Rom ergair Findchóem, conid comalla comluid dam Connall Cernach coscorach. Rom thecoisc Cathbad cóemai-nech diag Dechtiri, conid am fissid fochmairchicirdaib dé druidechta, conid am éolach hi febaib fiss. Báid chumma rom altsat Ulaid uli eter araid ocus errid, eter rig ocus ollomain, conid am cara sluaig ocus sochaide. Conid cumma dofichim a n-enechgressa uli. Isaer ém domringart-sa ó Lug mac Cuind maic Ethlend diechtra dian Dectiri co tech m-buirr in broga.'

gu rissim.' Lotar ass iarum do Emuin, ocus a mac la Finncoim. Fuigillsit Morunn iarum iarriachtuin, ocus ispert sidi: 'At-noad Concobar eim', al Morunn, 'ol is cetaicce Finncoimiu. At-menath Senco setait sceu aurlapra. Rom-biathad Blai Briuguig. Berur do glun Ferguso. Ba haidi do Amorgini. Bad comallai do Connall Cernach di chich a mathar Finnchoime. Ba cummo nondomaigetar huili etir au ocus eirrid, etir rig ocus ollum, ol bid caro sochuidi in mac so. Is cuma dofich uar n-inechgresso huili, arfich for n-alho ocus for n-irgola uili in mac so.' Ised dognith dee iarom: berthi Amorgin ocus Finnchoem, conn alt i n-dun Imbrith i m-Mag Murtemni.

'Es hat mich gehütet Findchóim, sodafs mein Pflegebruder war, mir an Eifer gleich, Connall Cernach der Siegreiche. Es hat mich unterwiesen Cathbad mit dem schönen Antlitz Dechtire zuliebe, sodafs ich verstehe das Studium der Künste der Zaubergötter, sodafs ich erfahren bin in den Trefflichkeiten des Wissens. In gleicher Weise erzogen mich alle Ulter, sowohl Wagenlenker als Wagenfahrer, sowohl Könige als Meisterdichter, sodafs ich ein Freund des Heeres und der Menge bin, sodafs ich in gleicher Weise auskämpfe ihre Ehrenhändel alle. Edel wahrlich bin ich von Lug, dem Sohn des Cond, des Ethlendsohnes, weg zum stolzen Haus der Landschaft berufen worden infolge des schnellen Abenteuers der Dechtire.'

Sind nun bestimmt in Eg, da hier die beiden Compterversionen noch auseinander gehalten werden, recht alte Quellen benutzt, so erwecken außerdem überhaupt die beiden Compterschreibungen den gröfseren Anschein der Originalität als Cú-Chulainns Erzählung, und dies gestattet uns, ein Abhängigkeits-

verhältnis, wie wir es nach dem pp. 503 f. Gesagten für die beiden Stellen der Compert und des Tochmarc annehmen müssen, derartig aufzufassen, daß der Verfasser von CúChulainns Erzählung die Compertstelle benutzte, die er nur äußerlich ummodelte: einen direkten Beweis für die Benutzung dieser Quelle liefert die wunderliche Präteritalform *rom ebail* Abschn. 1, die nur aus dem Compertext zu erklären ist, dessen futurische *nodn-ebela*, *-eblo* (cf. Thurneysen, Hdb. § 647) etc. Anlaß zu dieser Mißbildung gegeben haben, außerdem wohl die Conjectur *araid* in Abschn. 5 für das dem Schreiber (wie auch uns) unverständliche *au* (so noch Eg) der Quelle, sowie die Ersetzung des dem Schreiber fremdartigen *arurg* in Abschn. 4 (so noch Eg) durch das gebräuchlichere *dingbaim*. Daß beiden Stellen des LU (dem Tochmarc und der Compert) ein und derselbe Compertext als Vorlage diente (aber nicht das als Quelle im Titel LU 128 a zitierte *Lebor Dromma Snechta*, wie mich Prof. Thurneysen belehrt), geht mit Sicherheit daraus hervor, daß beide sowohl in mehreren Differenzen gegenüber Egerton (cf. Windisch p. 141), als namentlich sogar in dem Schreibfehler *adgadur* Abschn. 1 für *-gládur* untereinander übereinstimmen. Bei den weiteren Differenzen gegen Egerton, die der Tochmarcertext aufweist, ist allerdings wegen der Lücke in der LU-Compert die Entscheidung nicht zu treffen, wie viele schon auf jene Vorlage zurückgeführt werden dürfen, wie viele erst auf den Tochmarcerzähler des LU; doch ist dieser Unterschied nicht von Wichtigkeit, und ich behandle sie im folgenden alle als Neuerungen des Tochmarcschreibers.

Wie die geringen Differenzen (*gáeth*) *i m-breitaib* in 1, *dingbaim oenfer* und *ar amainse ar chirt* in 4 (Alliteration mit *áine* bzw. *calmatus*!), (*ria*) *túaith trebair* 1, *imná rí* 2, *molaim rí* 4, keine Schwierigkeiten machen, weil leicht aus dem Bestreben des Schreibers erklärbar, auszumalen oder Unklares zu verdeutlichen, so auch Abschnitt 3, wo er dem *dín cach dochraid* dem Parallelismus zuliebe *sond slaide cach socraid*, dem *tríuin* statt des *lobuir* der Quelle das alliterierende *trúaig* gegenüberstellt; in gleicher Weise mag *am túalaing* — *echtrand* als Ersatz für das unverständliche *tectiri nimdotair* etc. und *gnia frim tair* betrachtet werden, während man versucht ist, *rubaim trénócu tria nert gaili* von *trénócu* aus entstanden zu denken, das auf einem Mißverstehen des *trén occai* (oder *trén oca*) des Originals

beruhen würde. (*Sencha*) *sobérlaid* 1 gibt das *aurlapra* in 5 (Eg), *rom ergair Findchóem—coscorach* 5 (mit kunstvoller Alliteration) die Stelle *bad comallai—Finnchoime* in 5 (Eg) wieder, und '*glún' Amargin* 4 entspricht dem '*glún' Ferguso* Eg 5. *For acci a threbi* 2 hängt wie *tria ailemain Sencha form* 1 und *tri altram Fergusa form* 3 sowie *isaer ém—in broga* 5 natürlich nur mit der neuen Einkleidung zusammen, die die Erziehungssage durch den Tochmarcerzähler erfahren hat, und die letzte Neuerung endlich, die Einführung des Cathbad, ist leicht aus jener Zeit erklärbar, in welcher die Táin bó Cúalnge und mit ihr der große Druide in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses getreten war.

H. HESSEN.

#### IV. Emoin Macha.

In the Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie (III, p. 229) Kuno Meyer has published a version of Tochmarc Emire from a MS. in the Harleian collection. Like many other Middle Irish tales it presents some interesting problems in textual criticism. The second account of the name Emoin Macha, for instance, which is given in Tochmarc Emire (ZCP p. 238), when compared with the same story found in Lebor Gabála (Book of Leinster p. 20a; Revue Celtique XVI, 279) suggests the question whether the account in Tochmarc Emire is based on that in Lebor Gabála, or vice versa. The TE account gives two explanations of the name Emoin Macha: first, from the twins (*Emon, Emoin*<sup>1</sup>) — a son and a daughter — to which Macha gave birth after running her famous race with the steeds of Conchubar; and second, from the brooch (*eo*) in the neck (*muin*) of Macha, with which she is said to have marked out the boundaries of her Rath for the sons of Dithorba whom she compelled to build it. It seems very likely, even on external grounds, that this latter explanation in the TE story is an interpolation borrowed from the LL (or LG) account of the name. It is improbable that Cúchulainn would have given Loeg, his charioteer, this second long account of the meaning of Emoin Macha, after having given him a sufficient explanation already. The following considerations,

<sup>1</sup>) Cf. BB 254b40; 368a35; and LL 126a17, quoted by Carl Marstrander in Eriu vol. V, p. 160.

based on an analysis of the LL and TE texts, seem to confirm this assumption: —

a) LL. *Cid dia tú Emain Macha? ní ansa.*

TE. *No dno is dei ata Emain Machou, amail atá isan scel soa.*

If the TE version of the tale were based upon that of LL or LG we should just expect some such interpolation as the words spaced. On the other hand, if the LL version were borrowed from that of TE we should expect to find the first explanation of Emain given there also.

b) LL. *Trí ríg bátar for Herinn i comflathius. Do Ultaib dóib.*

TE. *Tri ríg russbatar for Ultoib i comflaitess for Erind.*

Here the TE account is somewhat confused. The phrase *do Ultaib dóib* (LL) gives point to what follows: *i. Dithorba mac Dimmain a hUsniuch Mide, Æd Ruad mac Baduirn maic Argaitmair a Tir Æda, Cimbacath mac Fintain meic Argaitmair a Finnabair Maige Inis.*

c) TE has, after mention of Cimboeth, the words *Is ee rosnall Ugaine Mour mac Eochdach Buadaig*. This interpolation also fits in naturally with the assumption that the TE account is borrowed from that in LL and not vice versa. At LL 21 b 29 — but not in the account of Emain Macha — we find the words: *Is é in Cimbáeth sin tra roail Ugaine már mac Echdach.*

d) LL. *dia rimsad* (ṛīṛad). TE. *dia ngrisad.*

It is reasonable to suppose that *rimsad* (LL) is a scribal error, and that the true reading is *grisad*, found in LG as well as in the TE version. It would seem then that the MS. on which the TE version is based did not contain the LL mistake.

e) LL. *Trí secht mbliadna. Ratha eturru . . .* TE. *Tri secht rathai etarrou . . . mbliadna* of LL must be a copyist's mistake, due probably to the subsequent '63 years'. The version from which the TE account is immediately borrowed did not contain this error.

f) 1. LL. *Unde Síd n-Æda 7 Ess Ruaid.* TE. *conid dei ata Síd Ædai os Euss Ruaid feisne.*

2. LL. *Conattaich side sel a hathar don rige.* TE. *Conattaich side and rige in-aimser techtai.*

3. LL. *Co ro chuir iat ar innarba iartain indithrubaið Connacht. TE. co mbatar a nditruib Connacht.*

The readings of LL are plainer and more natural than those of TE, which look like the glosses of a copyist.

g) The long sentence beginning *coic bliadna . . .*, which is found in LL, is naturally absent in TE if we suppose the TE version to be based upon that in LL, the reason being that it did not serve the purpose of the TE tale. On the other hand, if the LL version were derived from that in TE we should expect to find the sentence in the latter version as well as in LL.

### V. Boand.

In TE par. 41 (ZCP III, 242) is given an account of the name *Boand*. In the Rennes Dindsenchas, 19, we find a similar account (Revue Celtique XV, 315), and in BB 361 a 49 another MS. containing the same prose version, only with a few of the usual variants. In LL 191 a 9 and BB 361 b 17, respectively, we find a poetic version of the same story. As this poem, as far as we know, has never been printed we give it here in full from LL. Where the reading of BB seems preferable it is given in the footnotes.

#### LL 191 a 9.

*Sid Nectain sund forsin tsléib lecht meic Labrada langéir.  
Assa silend in sruth slán dianid ainm Boand bithlán.  
Cóic anmand dec demni drend forsin tsruth sin adrínem.  
Otá síd Nectain asmaid coroaig pardus Adaim  
Segais a hainm issin tsíd ria cantain duit in cach thír  
Sruth Segsa a hainm ota sin co lind Mochua in chlerig.  
Otá topor Mochói chóir coicrich<sup>1)</sup> Mide magmóir  
Ríg mna Nuadat sa colptha a da ainm ána imarda  
Otá crich<sup>2)</sup> Mide mais corrice in fairrge fondglais  
Morchuing gairit<sup>3)</sup> gairthir di ocus smir fnd Feidlimthi  
Trethnach tond ó sain immach connice Cualnge craibach  
Sruth fíndchuill ó Cualnge chruaid co loch n-Echach n-abratruaid*

<sup>1)</sup> BB co coicrich

<sup>2)</sup> BB coicrich

<sup>3)</sup> BB argaid. Read airgit

Banna o loch cain cen ail Drumchla Daim Dile co hAlbain<sup>1)</sup>  
 Lunnand hi in Albain cen ail rosturam iarnatucsain<sup>2)</sup>  
 Sabrann dar tír Saxan slán Tibir i raith na Román  
 Sruth n-Iordanen iar sain sair oculus sruth n-Eufratit n-adbail.  
 Sruth Tigir i Pardus buán fota sair sist ra himluad  
 o Phardus darís ille co srothaib na sidise. S.  
 Boand a hainm coitchenn cain otá in síd co fairge fraig.  
 Memur lim aní diatá uisce mná meic Labrada.  
 Nechtain mac (?)<sup>3)</sup> Labrada laind diar bu ben Boand bagaim  
 Topur diamair báí na dún asa maided cen mirún.  
 Ní fáil no decced dia lár nach maided a da rose rán.  
 Dia ngluased do chlí nó deiss ní thargad uad cen athis.  
 Aire nislaimed nech de acht Nechtain<sup>4)</sup> sa deogbaire.  
 Ité a nanmand fri gním ngal<sup>5)</sup> Flesc oculus Lam oculus Luam.  
 Fecht and<sup>6)</sup> dolluid Boand bán dosfuargaib a dimmus nún  
 Cosin topur cen tarta d arigud a chumachta  
 Immarrothimchill fo thrí in topur conetuachlí  
 Maidit teora tonna de dia tanic aided Boinne  
 Ro siacht cach tond dib ria chuit ro millset in mnái mblathbuic  
 Tond ria cois tond ria súil sláin tres tond brisid a lethlaim.  
 Rethis co fairge<sup>7)</sup> ferrde ar<sup>8)</sup> ingabail a hathise  
 Ar nach acced nech a cned furri féin a himmathbear (?)  
 Cach conair luid<sup>9)</sup> in ben moslú in tuisce úar imgel.  
 on tsíd co fargge<sup>7)</sup> nach fand conid di<sup>10)</sup> gairthir Boand.  
 Boand dobruinni ar mbruich brais máthir Óengusa ollmais  
 Mac ruc don Dagdu miad ngle dar cend fir na sidise .S.  
 Nó Boand bó agus find do chomruc na<sup>11)</sup> da ríglind.  
 In tuisce a sleib Guaire gle oculus sruth na sidise .S.  
 Dabilla ainm in chon chóir ro báí oc mnái Nechtain narmóir.  
 Messán Boinne comblaid<sup>12)</sup> dia luid na diaid co torchair  
 Rosroen sruth in mara immach corrice na cargge clach

<sup>1)</sup> BB Banna o loch Echach cen ail drumchla dil in Albain

<sup>2)</sup> This line seems to be corrupt. BB Lunnand hi in Albain can ail ||  
 nosturann iarnatuisin

<sup>3)</sup> BB Nechtan mac . . .

<sup>8)</sup> dimgabail

<sup>4)</sup> Nechtan

<sup>9)</sup> do luid

<sup>5)</sup> fri gním ngual

<sup>10)</sup> conid de

<sup>6)</sup> fecht n-and

<sup>11)</sup> in

<sup>7)</sup> fairgi

<sup>12)</sup> Mesan Boinne bud ar blad luid in a diaid diatorchair (read co torchair).



*Condernsat dagbaig<sup>1)</sup> de conid uad ro hainmnigthe.  
 Atát in airthiur breg mbrass na da chloich sin loch lindglas  
 Dabilla ric o sáin ille di choín bic na sidise .S.*

An analysis of these three versions shows that in all probability the LL and BB poem is the oldest, the two prose accounts being more or less accurate synopses of it. The Rennes Dindsenchas prose seems nearest to the poem. The names of the three cupbearers, Flesc 7 Lam 7 Luam, are given as they are in the poem. The sentence *forsruidbed a sliasait 7 a (leth) laim 7 a leth súil* comes nearer than the other prose version to the words of the poem *Tond ria cois, tond ria súil sláin, tres tond brisid a lethláim. Co h-Inber mBoinne* seems to be a gloss on *ón tsíd co fairrgi nach fand*. TE seems to be later than either the poem or the other prose version and to have made use of both, as will appear from the following considerations:

1°. TE ... *do coimed in tobair*. This does not give very good sense. Possibly it is a misreading of *docum in tobair* of the other prose version, which words occur in TE also, but in an awkward repetition *luid and rigan ... docum in tobair*.

2°. TE *a n-orlaid an duine*. Other Prose: *in-ur-laid in Sidha Nechtain*.

LL and BB *Topur diamair báí na dún*.

Here TE seems to be a contamination of the reading of the poem, and the other prose version.

3°. *Fecht and musluid Boand la dimus do colfis cumachta in tobair* (Rennes Dindsenchas and BB prose).

LL *Fecht and dolluid Boand bán dosfuargaib a dimmus nán*.

TE *Luid and rigan la huail 7 dimus docum in tobair*.

Here *la huail 7 dimus* is no doubt an amplification of *dimus* of the others.

4°. TE *7 ispert nad raibe ní nocoillfed a deulf...* These words are not found in the poem, and are probably copied from the other prose version, — *nocoillfed* being a simplification of *connised cumac a delba*.

5°. *Tainic tuaithbel in topair di airiugud a cumacht* (TE). Here we have two curious departures from the poem. a) *tainic*

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<sup>1)</sup> *da gabait*

*tuathbel in topair* — a mistake due apparently to a misunderstanding of the phrase in LL *conetuachli*.<sup>1)</sup> The same mistake occurs in the other prose version, which seems to prove conclusively that the poem is the oldest. *conetuachli* is of course made up of the preposition *con-* + a noun formed by prefixing the negative particle *en-* to the noun *tuachle* which occurs at Wb. 8 d 13, *isintuaichli .i. isinglicci*, as a gloss on 'in astutia'. There would be no point in *tuathbel* because of the line *dia ngluased do cli no deiss ni targad uad cen athis*. b) *di airiugud a cumacht(a)*. These words are misplaced here, instead of going with *luid and rigan*, as in the corresponding portion of the other versions.

6°. TE *Boann . . . luid do coimed in tobuir . . . lia tri deogbairib Nechtain*. Here TE is alone in the mistake of making Boand go in company with the three cupbearers, instead of by herself. The writer seems to have been a little confused as to the details of the story.

7°. TE *Flessc 7 Lessc 7 luam*. The second cupbearer is given as *Lessc* (as in BB prose), whereas in the Rennes Dindsenchas and in the poem in LL and BB he is given as *Lam*. I take it that *Lessc* is a mistake, *Flesc* having been read a second time as *7lesc*. This seems to prove that the prose Dindsenchas which the author of TE had before him was closely a kin to the BB MS.

8°. TE . . . *a di ssiassaid 7 a desslaim 7 a lethsuil*. Here *di* and *dess* are amplifications which seem to have no point. Cf. the poem

*Roslacht cach tonn dib ria cuit ro millset in mnái mblathbuic  
Tond ria cois, tond ria súil sláin, tres tond brisid a lethláim.*

Dindsenchas prose: . . . *a sliasait 7 a laim 7 a lethsuil*.

9°. TE *cech ní roreth si*. — Cf. LL *cach conair dolluid in ben*.

## VI. Inber n-Ailbine.

In Tochmarc Emire, par. 46 (ZCP III, 243) there is a story about Inber n-Ailbine (or Oillbine), which is found also in the

<sup>1)</sup> BB *conatuaicli*.

prose Dindsenchas (*Revue Celtique* XV, p. 294), and in a long poem in the Metrical Dindsenchas (ed. Edw. Gwynn, *Todd Lecture Series* vol. IX, p. 26). From an analysis of these three I was at first inclined to believe that the Prose Dindsenchas was the oldest, the TE account coming next in order, and that the poem — which is very complex and elaborate in structure — was the latest, being, it appeared to me, a contamination of both the prose versions. The arguments, however, on which this conclusion was based were not convincing to myself. From the data it seemed possible to deduce a second conclusion, viz., that the poem is the earliest, and that the two prose versions owe their origin, at least in part, to it. Acting on a suggestion which Professor Thurneysen very kindly made to me I reconsidered the whole case, and am now satisfied that this second conclusion is the true one. A casual reading of the three texts shows that the three accounts are substantially the same. The poem, however, bears the impress of a unity that is wanting in the two prose versions. In these latter are found numerous amplifications of the simple facts narrated in the poem, and in each of them there is at least one curious mistake, springing apparently from a misunderstanding of the story as told in the Metrical Dindsenchas. With the poem we will compare each prose version separately, and then endeavour to find out if either prose version is indebted to the other.

#### A. Tochmarc Emire.

1<sup>o</sup>. TE *Bai ri aumrae*. — Poem: *Bái riam fri rot-bla rorá*. — It is quite possible that TE may here be a misreading of the Metrical Dindsenchas.

2<sup>o</sup>. TE *Ruad mac Rigduinn, i. di Mumain*. — This addition suggests the supposition of a copyist, trying to make everything clear. There are so many such in TE that the conclusion is practically certain, that the poem is at least one source from which the TE version was made.

3<sup>o</sup>. TE *Doboi iriss (i. comdal) laiss do Galluib*. — Here again the glossing of *iriss* by *comdal* suggests the copyist. Furthermore, *Galluib* is very vague. Farther on we find *laa caraid*, showing confusion as well as vagueness.

4<sup>o</sup>. TE *timcel nAlpan andess*. — Another 'embellishment' peculiar to the TE version. Cf. *rorá uas Fólla cen fodála*

(vv. 5, 6 of poem) 'North of undivided Ireland'? There seems to be confusion in regard to the direction of Ruad's visit. Cf. later on *oc tinntod indoir (anair)*, referring to the return journey.

5<sup>o</sup>. TE *Tricho in cech noi dib ierum*. — This item also is found in TE alone.

6<sup>o</sup>. TE *Ni boi ni nodfuaaislaiciud di setaif no moinif dia cor issa trethan*. — This is apparently an amplification of v. 17 of the poem: *Femidset lud as nach leth*.

7<sup>o</sup>. TE *Focressae crannchor leou dús cie dib die rossed techt dia fiss fon fairce cid notfosst. Doralae in crannchor forsan rig feisne*. — This also seems conclusive. It is only explanatory 'padding'. The poem simply states that Ruad went into the sea, leaving it to the reader's intelligence to divine the reason why. The copyist determined to make it all clear, and leave nothing for the reader's imagination to supply.

8<sup>o</sup>. TE *Diclethar fair ierum am-muir. Focard i macharie*. If these details mean anything they appear to me to be based on v. 23 of the poem: *Fuair, i sain-delgna rosnd (nói mbaindelba dluth-chóema)*.

9<sup>o</sup>. TE *noi mbaindelbae*. — It is pretty certain that such a word as this was more likely to have been taken from the poem than vice versa.

10<sup>o</sup>. TE *Atdamnatar (i. doraidседar) dobatar se fotrergatar (i. difostatar)*. — Here the gloss *doraidседar* (with deponent ending, perhaps because of *atdamnatar*) recalls *Ráidset* of the poem. The gloss *difostatar* again points to the copyist's anxiety to make everything clear.

11<sup>o</sup>. TE *contised som cucthae*. — This is at most implied in the poem, unless it was distinctly stated in the four lines which seem to have fallen out at v. 26.

12<sup>o</sup>. TE *dobertatar noi longae oir ar noi n-oidcib dia fess leu*. This is a peculiar mistake, owing seemingly to a misunderstanding of the poem, which says, simply enough *Fois nói n-oidche lasna mna* (v. 33) for *nói longa créduma*. It is only another evidence for confusion, which could hardly be accounted for, except on the supposition that the TE version is based on another source. Everything points to the poem as the source in question.

13<sup>o</sup>. TE *i. aidci cech aei dib. Dognith samlaid*. More explanatory padding.

14°. TE *ni boi cumang la muintir coleic dianglossacht la cumachtae na mban*. A further interpolation, not found in either of the other two versions, and pointing to the same conclusion as the other additions already noted.

15°. TE *Isbert beun uaidib*. This is surely a peculiar use of *uaidib*. If TE is also based upon the prose Dindsenchas version, it is possible that *uaidib* may have crept into it from the latter. For *uaidib* of the Prose Dindsenchas, see remarks farther on. *Luid uaidib cen chisal clé* of the poem (v. 39) may have been the source of both mistakes.

16°. TE *doluotar afrithisse conair n-ali 7 nintaidlidis la maigin cétno*. An expansion of *cen dul co mnd . . . in cruth cétna rothairngert* (vv. 55, 56).

17°. *Rocolatar ind fir ind amar ina nói umaidi*. This is somewhat vague. The poem has *rochualadar in arm-gres. Amrán sin na mban-ón binn* (vv. 60, 61). There is confusion in *nói umaidi* as compared with *noi longae oir* (see Remark 12°) and *longa créduma* of the poem (v. 36), and *seolsat curchán, créd nad clé* (v. 65).

18°. TE. The details of the youth's death are given more fully, the object being to explain more clearly the somewhat vague account given in the poem (73—76).

19°. TE *Dotruinfiltsetar na mna cotgartatar uli: Ollbine! ollbine!* Here apparently it is the women who cry out *Ollbine! ollbine!* If so this is a mistake, as they doubtless approved of the deed. The poem says it was Ruad's people who cried out. *And asbert sluag son-ard-se rothecht Ruad rogarg rige* (77—78).

## B. The Prose Dindsenchas.

What is true of TE is true in general of the Prose Dindsenchas account. There is a general agreement between it and the poem, but there are many interpolations and expansions which point, to derivation from the poem. The principal of these are as follows:

1°. Prose D. *Ruad mac Rigduind meic Rig Fer Muirigh*. Here the poem has simply *Ruad mac Rigduind*.

2°. Prose D. *d'acallaim a comaltac .i. meic Rig Lochlainne*. The poem has: *d'acallaim a charat Gaill: ba réim rabalc co Lochlaind*.

3°. Prose D. (*Feb*) *am luidset co leth lenna feimidset imram nach leth amal nosfastad ingir*. The poem has: *for formna na fír-fairge* (16) and *Femidset lúd as nach leth* (17). *amal nosfastad ingir* is an added detail.

4°. Prose D. *ar co fesad cid dia mbói aní nos-mert 7 nomsáoi fáí*. Cf. TE and Remark 7° above.

5°. Prose D. *.IX. mna cóimiu do mnaib (domain) 'ga fostad, triar fo cach nóad*. Two new details here. The poem states that he found the women 'in the secret spot he swam to'. Here it is added a) that he saw them stopping the vessels, and b) that there were three of them under each vessel.

6°. Prose D. *Rucsat leo Ruad*. Another fresh detail, unless it was found in the four lines which have possibly been lost after v. 26 of the poem.

7°. Prose D. *co faoi .IX. n-oidci la cach mnoi for tir tartha nó for longaib credumai*. The poem has: *Fois nói n-oidche lasna mna . . . for nói longa créduma*. Possibly the *nói* occurring twice may have caused the mistake in the prose here. (Cf. TE, and Remark 12° above).

8°. Prose D. *coro toirrci aon dib úaidib*. Here I take *uaidib* to be a mistake for *uaid*, due perhaps to the preceding *dib*, and also, possibly, to *uadib* in v. 39 of the poem *luid uadib cen chísal clé*. (Cf. TE, and Remark 15° above).

9°. Prose D. *7 rogell afrithisi a tiachtain andochum ma roised a set*. — *rogell* is only implied by the poem. *ma roised a set* is an addition. *afrithisi* seems to be misplaced.

10°. Prose D. *Luidset didiu na nóí mná cusin mac 7 ros-fucsat leo dia (te)tarracht, 7 ní mon-airnic doib*. — This is more explicit than the poem, which only mentions that the son was killed. *ni mon-airnic doib* is also an addition.

11°. Prose D. *focerd urchur (dó) dia chind*. There is an attempt here to be more explicit than the poem which is very vague. Apparently the precise manner of the boy's death was not clearly understood by the copyist. The addition *amail bid o oengen* is noticeable.

### C.

There is not much to indicate that either prose version was used as a source by the other. Probably the poem was the main source of both. Perhaps the following points, however,

would go to show that the prose Dindsenchas version was known antecedently to the TE version:

1<sup>o</sup>. TE *i medon na fairci*. Prose Dind. *co leth lenna*. It is hardly accidental that the words of the poem *for formna na fir-fairge* should be glossed, or interpreted in practically the same way in both Prose versions. If either was influenced by the other it is more natural to suppose that *medon na fairci* is a gloss on *leth lenna* than vice versa.

2<sup>o</sup>. TE *Isbert beun uaidib*. Prose D *Coro toirrci aon dib uaidib*. This strange use of *uaidib* in TE would be explained by the supposition that the word crept into the text from the Prose Dindsenchas version. In the latter it is a copyist's mistake for *uaid*, on account of the preceding *dib*, and also, perhaps, because *uaidib* in the poem (dealing with the same part of the story) had caught the copyist's eye.

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Den letzten Ausführungen möchte ich beifügen, daß mich Abschnitt C nicht überzeugt hat. Der verschiedene Ausdruck, den die zwei Prosaisten wählen, um das poetische *for formna na firfairge* wiederzugeben, scheint mir gerade darauf hinzuweisen, daß sie von einander unabhängig sind. Und den Ausdruck *bean uaidib* kann ich neben dem häufigen *nech huain, cúch uaidib, óen uaidib* usw. nicht so auffallend finden, daß man den Einfluß eines andern Textes annehmen müßte, wo *uaidib* überdies in anderm Zusammenhang und als Schreibfehler für *uaid* steht. TE hat also nur das Gedicht gekannt.

Auch in A (oben S. 520) würden sich die meisten herausgehobenen Punkte wohl so deuten lassen, wie der Verf. zuerst wollte, nämlich als Änderungen auf Seiten des Dichters. Aber für durchaus beweisend halte ich das Mißverständnis 12<sup>o</sup>, wo TE *ar* für *for* gelesen hat; ferner die Übernahme der alttümlichen Form *fot rergatar* aus dem Gedicht v. 26<sup>1)</sup> (wo *fod roirgetar* gelesen wird). Dagegen kommen die Glossen in TE für die Beweisführung nicht in Betracht. Sie sind gewiß nicht vom Prosaisten selber beigefügt, sondern finden sich ja durch das ganze TE zerstreut.

<sup>1)</sup> Vers 25, 26 sind zu lesen: *Ráidset ris tre glé-alt nglan ba h-éat fod roirgetar* (älter *fod rergatar*). *éat* 'sie' im Reim mit *glé-alt*.

## TÁIN BÓ CÚAILGHNI NACH H. 2. 17.

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Als Nettlau in der *Revue Celtique* XIV 256 ff., XV 62 ff., 198 ff. das Fragment einer besonderen Redaktion der Táin nach der Handschrift des British Museum Egerton 93 abdruckte, bemerkte er (ebenda XIV 255, vgl. XI 341), daß die Handschrift H. 2. 17 in Trinity College (Dublin) zum Teil andere Stücke derselben Redaktion enthalte. Da er nicht dazu gekommen war, diese Handschrift abzuschreiben, forderte er zur Veröffentlichung der Teile auf, die in Egerton 93 nicht erhalten sind. Diese Aufforderung verhallte zunächst über ein Jahrzehnt unerhört in der Einöde der Keltologie, bis dann Windisch in seiner Ausgabe *Die altirische Heldensage Táin bó Cúalnge* neben Eg 93 auch H. 2. 17 heranzog, über den Inhalt und die richtige Reihenfolge der falsch gebundenen Blätter S. LXXV f. genaue Auskunft gab und S. LXXVII und in den Anmerkungen zum Text reichliche Auszüge aus dieser Version veröffentlichte. Doch genügen diese nicht völlig, ein klares Bild von der in Eg 93 nicht enthaltenen Partie zu gewinnen. Ich glaube, daß das überhaupt auf Grund auch noch so sorgfältiger Notizen unmöglich ist, zumal wo es sich um Umstellungen und Änderungen der Anordnung handelt. Auch läuft vereinzelt eine kleine Ungenauigkeit bei Windisch mit unter.

Die Handschrift H. 2. 17, bemerkt er S. 201 Anm. 3, kenne wie LU-YBL eine dreimalige Sendung von Mac Roth mit Anerbietungen an CuChulinn, während LL-St den ersten Auftrag durch Fiachu mac Firaba ausführen läßt. Das könnte für das Verhältnis unserer Redaktion zu den beiden anderen von großer Bedeutung sein. Aber tatsächlich finden nach H. 2. 17 überhaupt nur zwei Sendungen statt, wobei jedesmal Mac Roth der Gesandte ist. Das erste Anerbieten, das CuChulinn gemacht wird, entspricht dem zweiten der beiden anderen Versionen. Als dieses abgewiesen



worden ist, schlägt Ailill die Bedingungen vor, die sonst die ersten bilden und die in LU-YBL durch Mac Roth, in LL usw. durch Fiachu mac Firaba übermittelt werden. Aber in H. 2. 17 werden sie nicht praktisch, sondern Medb übertrumpft sofort Ailill mit dem dritten Anerbieten, noch dazu in sehr gesteigerter Form, und nur dieses wird CuChulinn vorgetragen und zwar, wie in allen Redaktionen, durch Mac Roth. Also eine Übereinstimmung mit LU-YBL ist hier nicht vorhanden; im Gegenteil weist die daran anschließende Sendung des Fiacha mac Fir Féabha zu CuChulinn, um ein Zusammentreffen von diesem und Medb zu verabreden, auf die Fassung von LL.

Ob der Abdruck dieses Teils von H. 2. 17 einigen Wert hat, hängt davon ab, in welchem Verhältnis diese Redaktion zu den anderen steht. Ich nenne im Folgenden die hauptsächlich durch LU und YBL vertretene Version *uy*, die von Windisch vornehmlich auf Grund von LL und St (= R. I. A., C. 6. 3) herausgegebene *ls*, die nur fragmentarisch in Eg 93 und H. 2. 17 überlieferte *eh*. Diese hat nie den ganzen Text der Táin umfaßt. Das zeigt, wie schon mehrfach hervorgehoben worden ist, der erhaltene Schlufs in Eg 93 (Nettlau § 230. 231), wo es nach dem Tode Ferchu's heifst: *Comrag Cailitin gona cloind ad (lies as) neasu and 7 comrag FírDiad as nesu dhósidén*. Diese weiteren Teile hat also der Redaktor von *eh* nicht behandelt, sei es, dafs er sie für später aufsparte, sei es, dafs die vor ihm vorhandene Redaktion des Schlusses der Táin seinem Geschmacke genügte. Wieviel am Anfang des ersten Bruchstückes fehlt, läfst sich nicht genau bestimmen. Nur sehen wir, dafs auch hier die *Macgnimartha Con Culainn*, mit deren Schlufs es beginnt, sich an die Episode mit dem vierfach gegabelten Baumstamm anreihen wie in den anderen Versionen; denn es wird die *gabul ceithri mbeann* am Ende dieses Abschnitts erwähnt.

Nettlau war, wenn ich seine Worte (Rev. Celt. 11, 341) richtig auslege, der Meinung, *eh* sei eine selbständige Fassung der Táin, deren Text aber starke Einflüsse von *ls*, schwächere von *uy* erfahren habe. Dem gegenüber mufs ich Windisch beistimmen, der S. LXXVIII f. bemerkt, dafs sich in *eh* 'nicht viel findet, was über LU und LL hinausginge', und möchte hinzufügen, dafs das, worin es von *uy* und *ls* abweicht, sowohl in Sprache als Inhalt keineswegs den Eindruck des Altertümlichen macht, sondern durchweg junges Gepräge trägt.

Windisch ist daher (S. LXXVIII) der Ansicht, 'daß der Autor der dritten Version beide andere Versionen', d. h. *uy* und *ls*, 'benutzte'. Ich weiß nicht, ob ich seine Meinung genau richtig dahin verstehe, daß der Redaktor von *ch* auf Grund der beiden auch uns bekannten älteren Versionen seinen Text neu aufgebaut habe. Wäre dies der Tatbestand, so könnte man vom Abdruck dieser Version absehen, da sie an sich kein solches Kunstwerk ist, daß sie allgemein bekannt zu werden verdiente. Aber so verhält es sich meiner Ansicht nach nicht.

Weniger richtig bei Windisch als bei Nettelau finde ich zunächst die Übereinstimmung mit *uy* taxiert, wenn jener (S. LXXVII) sagt, daß *ch* 'in charakteristischen Wörtern und Sätzen . . . bald an LU, bald an LL erinnert', die Beziehung zu *uy* und zu *ls* also als ungefähr gleich nahe hinstellt. Aber so frei der Redaktor seinen Text behandelt und so gewaltsam er ihn streckenweise umstilisiert, das kann meines Erachtens für den, der die drei Versionen im Zusammenhang nebeneinander liest, nicht zweifelhaft sein, daß sich *ch* aufs engste an *ls* anschließt, viel enger als an *uy*, wie Nettelau mit Recht hervorgehoben hat. Das zeigen die behandelten oder weggelassenen Episoden — einige Ausnahmen werden unten zur Sprache kommen —, das zeigt die Ausdehnung oder Komprimierung, überhaupt die ganze Gestaltung mancher Abschnitte, das zeigt auch der oben erwähnte Schlufs in Eg 93, der auf den Kampf mit *Cailitin* (in *ls*: *Calatín*) hinweist, während dieser Gegner CuChulinn in *uy* (YBL) ja *Gaili* heisst.<sup>1)</sup>

Gemeinsam ist Windisch und Nettelau die Ansicht, daß die Übereinstimmungen mit *ls* und *uy* darauf beruhen, daß beide benutzt worden sind, sei es vom ersten Redaktor von *ch*, sei es von späteren Bearbeitern. Das scheint mir aber mindestens für einige der Stellen nicht haltbar. Es sei mir gestattet, einen kurzen Abschnitt zur Illustrierung herzusetzen.

Fergus hat sich endlich bestimmen lassen, selber gegen CuChulinn auszurücken. Dieser macht ihn aber darauf aufmerksam, daß er ja nur ein hölzernes Schwert habe.

<sup>1)</sup> Windisch (S. 435) sagt freilich, die Einleitung zu *Comrac FirDiad* in Eg 106, die ebenfalls den Namen *Cailitin* (Rev. Celt. 10, 334) enthält, stamme aus der LU-Version. Das ist aber ein Irrtum. Nettelau hat (Rev. Celt. 11, 331f.) ganz richtig konstatiert, daß nur der eine Satz: *Et ro mharbh Fraoich mac Fiodhaigh* . . . auf Kenntnis von *uy* beruht, im übrigen aber diese Mischhandschrift hier der Version *ls* entspricht.

(uy)<sup>1)</sup> 'Is cumma lim sa etir' or Fergus; 'cia no·beth claideb and, ní·imbertha fort su. Teilg traigid dam, a CuChulaind' or Fergus. 'Teilgfe so dana (on YBL) dam sa arisi' ar CuChulaind. 'Samlaid ecín' or Fergus. Is andsin do·lléici CuChulaind traigid for culu re Fergus corrici Grellig nDoluid (nDollaid YBL), ara·telced Fergus dósom traigid (traig do YBL) i-lló in catha. Tairbling CuChulaind iarum hi nGrellig Doll-. 'Ara chend duit, a Fergus', or cách. 'Aicc' ol Fergus...

(ls)<sup>2)</sup> 'Cumma limm itir, a daltáin' bar Fergus; 'dáig gia na·beth claideb andso, nit·ricfad su 7 ní·himmertha fort (ort sa St). Acht (Et St) arin n-airer 7 arin n-altrom ra·bertus sa fort 7 ra·bertatar Ulaid 7 Conchobar, teich romum sa indiu (i fiadnaisi fer nHerend *nur LL*). 'Is lesc lim sa inni sin ám' bar CuChulaind 'teiched ria n-oenfer for tain bo Cualnge.' 'Ní lesc ám duit siu ón' bar Fergus, 'dáig techfet sa remut su inbaid bus chrechtach crólinnech tretholl tú bar cath na tána. 7 á (o St) theichfet sa m'oenur, teichfit fir Herend uile.' Da·bái (Báoí St) da mét rap ail do ChoinChulaind less Ulad do denam, co·tucad a charpat chuice d indsaigid ConCulaind 7 co·lluid 'na charpat 7 tanic i-mmadmáim 7 i teiched o feraib Herend. At·chondcatar fir Herend ani sin. 'Ra·theich romut, ra·theich remut, a Fergus' bar cách. 'A lenmain, a lenmain, a Fergus' bar Medb, 'na·tét dit.' 'Aicce ón omm' bar Fergus...

(ch)<sup>3)</sup> 'Is cuma lim sa sin chena' for Fergus; 'ar gia no·beth claidebh ann, nib . d . . . duid siu 7 ní·himérthar [ort sa]. Ar fir dho ghoili 7 do gaisgidh . . . , telg troighidh dam sa, 7 telgfe da troighidh romud su in am no·biad cnedhach crechtach crolintech tretholl tu ar cath mhór thána bo Cuailghni. 7 o thechfed sa im ænur romud su, techfidid fir Erenn uili.' 'Is lesg lim sa sin' bar CuChulainn 'i. techedh ré n-ænfer a slúaighedh mhór thana bo Cuailghni.' Andsin bho·luidh CuChulainn ina charbad uadha. 'Da·techead romud, a Férghais' bhar Medhbh. 'Ná·tiad did, ná·tiad did, a Férghais, a leannan' bhar Medhbh. 'Aich on um aile' bhar Férghus...

Diese Stelle ist typisch. Es brauchte nicht das Mißverständnis von *lenmain* als *lennán*, um zu zeigen, daß *ch* einfach *ls* frei

<sup>1)</sup> LU 82b; Strachan-O'Keeffe 2150—2157.

<sup>2)</sup> d. h. wesentlich LL. Windisch 2872—2887.

<sup>3)</sup> Nettlaui § 210—214.

nacherzählt mit den üblichen Umstellungen und kleinen Variationen und Kürzungen, während die Fassung *uy* ihm ganz fernliegt. Nur in einem winzigen Detail stimmt es mit *uy* gegen *ls* überein, in dem Ausdruck *telg troighidh* (und *telgfe sa troighidh*), dem in *ls* das gewöhnliche *teich* (und *techfet sa*) gegenübersteht.

So z. B. auch bei der Rede der Medb, als der tote Etarcomal herbeigeschleppt wird:

*uy* (LU 69 a, SK<sup>1)</sup> 1227 f.): 'Ní boíd ind imbert moithchulióin (moithcheuiliun *YBL*) sin, a Fergus' ol Medb.

*ls* (W<sup>2)</sup> 1931 f.): 'Dar lind ém' bar Medb, 'ba mór bruth 7 barand in chuliuin se tús (i-ttús *St*) láí, dia'ndechaid assin longphurt.'

*eh*: 'Gérsa mæthmacámh go mbruth 7 go mbrigh 7 go mbarainn ag tocht uainn i tús lai o chianaib thu, ní himirt mhæthmacaib (*lies* - macaim) do·berar ort adrasda.'

Auch hier im Ganzen die prolixere Fassung von *ls*, aber *imirt* und *mæth*- wie *uy*.

Oder CuChulinn glättet die von ihm gehauenen Wagenstangen *etir rusg 7 udhba* (*eh*) = *etir rúsc 7 udbu* (*uy*, SK 785), aber in *ls* (W 1409): *i n-agið a fíar 7 a fadð*.

Besonders bedeutsam ist eine Stelle wie die folgende: Der junge CuChulinn kehrt siegreich nach Emain Macha zurück. Da sagt

in *uy* (SK 713 f.) der Späher: 'Ar·dailfe fuil laiss cach dune fil isind lis, mani·foichlither (mina·foichlichther *YBL*)',

in *ls* (W 1352 f.) Leborcham: '7 meni·frithalter innocht é, dos·faithsat (tuitfit *St*) óic Ulad leis',

in *eh* Leaburcam: '7 ad·biur sa mo breithir ris, mana·faighlighther lib si e, forfaidh cru dar cuiged Concobuir anocht aigi.'

Die ganze Fassung in *eh* auch hier wie *ls*, aber wörtliche Übereinstimmung mit *uy* in *mana·faighlighther* und paralleler Ausdruck in *for[t]faidh cru* neben *ar·dailfe fuil* (*uy*) gegen *dos·faithsat* (*tuitfit*) in *ls*.

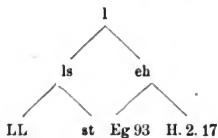
Wer solche Stellen genau betrachtet, sieht sofort, daß sie nicht wohl durch die Annahme erklärbar sind, der Verfasser von *eh* habe *uy* und *ls* gleichzeitig benutzt, oder in eine an *ls* sich anschließende Redaktion seien später Einträge aus *uy* gemacht

<sup>1)</sup> = Strachan - O'Keeffe.

<sup>2)</sup> = Windisch.

worden. Dafs der rohe Patron, dem wir die Redaktion *eh* verdanken, wenn er beide Quellen benutzte, nicht ein paar Synonyma, die für seine Erzählung ganz belanglos waren, aus den Sätzen der einen Version ausgehoben und der anderen Fassung, der er im Ganzen folgte, eingefügt haben kann, leuchtet wohl ohne Weiteres ein. Er hat die Sprache nach Kräften verjüngt, so dafs wenige unverständliche und unverstandene Ausdrücke beibehalten worden sind; er hat Episoden, die ihm zusammenzugehören schienen, vereinigt; er hat mit Absicht oder aus Sorglosigkeit auch sonst den überlieferten Text vielfach geändert und umstilisiert. Aber aus einer anderen Version einige Ausdrücke herauszuholen, die durchaus nicht moderner und leichter verständlich als die der *ls*-Version sind, das hätte für ihn keinen Sinn gehabt und läfst sich mit seinem sonstigen Verfahren nicht vereinigen. Auch dafs ein Späterer wie mit einer Pincette ein paar vereinzelte Wörter aus *uy* herausgepflückt haben sollte, um sie einer vorgefundenen Erzählung der *ls*-Version einzupfropfen, ist bei der Art dieser Skribenten ausgeschlossen, würde einen Fall wie den letzten auch gar nicht erklären, wo nicht die Wörter übereinstimmen, sondern nur ein *uy* paralleler Ausdruck gebraucht ist.

So scheint mir für die besprochenen Fälle der Übereinstimmung von *uy* und *eh* nur eine befriedigende Erklärung übrigzubleiben: Es hat eine Version gegeben, der im Wesentlichen *ls* entspricht, die aber in einzelnen Punkten *uy* noch näher stand als die erhaltenen Handschriften der Gruppe *ls*. Aus dieser ist *eh* hervorgegangen, im Allgemeinen mit starken Änderungen; aber in den oben besprochenen Stellen steht *eh* der alten Fassung näher als *ls*. Wenn ich jene ältere Fassung *l* nenne und mit *st* aufser Windischs *St* auch die jüngeren zu derselben Redaktion gehörigen Handschriften bezeichne, ergibt sich somit folgendes Handschriftenverhältnis:



Nun fragt sich aber weiter: Lassen sich alle, auch die gewichtigeren und umfangreicheren Übereinstimmungen von *eh* mit

*uy* gegen *ls* auf diese Weise erklären? Dürfen wir für sie alle voraussetzen, daß sie *l* angehörten? Oder müssen wir für einige derselben doch selbständige Benutzung von *uy* durch *eh* annehmen?

Auf drei Übereinstimmungen, die nicht solche Quisquilien betreffen, wie die obigen, hat Windisch S. LXXVIII aufmerksam gemacht. Zunächst etwas Negatives. Von den zwei Gedichten in *ls* (1635 ff. und 1655 ff.), die beide in *uy* fehlen, habe *eh* nur das zweite. Das ist zwar richtig, aber Windisch hat übersehen, daß *eh* die zwei ersten Strophen des ersten Gedichts in Prosa wiedergibt. Man vergleiche die zwei Texte.

*W* 1632 ff. 'Inn é sút in CuChulaind airdaire at·beri sin (at·berti si *St*), a Fergus?' ar Medb. 7 ra·gab Medb ar acallaim Fergusa 7 do·rigni laid:

'Mas é ucaín in Cu cain itirid si (aderti si *St*) in far  
[nUltaib,  
ní·thabair a thraig fri tend na·diंगाib d feraib Herend.'  
'Cid óc in Cú sin at·chí, im·riada Mag Murthemni,  
ní·thabair fri talmain traig na·diंगाba ar galaib oenfir.'

*eh*: 'Maith, a Fergais' bur Medhbh, 'inn esiud in CuChulainn oirdeirc iderthi si bur nUlltachaib nach·bfuil a nÉrinn læch danach comlann 7 danach comrag mor é?' 'Nachan a n-Erinn amháin adermaid' bur Ferghus, 'acht nach·fuil isin bith læch danach comlann 7 danach comrag mor é'.

Die zwei noch folgenden Strophen läßt *eh* weg, weil sie nichts Neues bringen. Aber natürlich dürfen und müssen wir *l* das ganze Gedicht zuschreiben. Sein Fehlen in *eh* weist nicht auf näheren Zusammenhang mit *uy* hin.

Von den beiden positiven Übereinstimmungen ist die eine ohne viel Gewicht. Dem übermüdeten CuChulinn naht ein schöner junger Mann (*óclach*), in dem er sofort einen Elfen vermutet. Nach kurzem Gespräch gibt sich der Elf als CuChulinn's Vater Lug mac Ethlend zu erkennen; er heißt den erschöpften Helden schlafen und spricht über dem Schlafenden eine *retoric* (genannt *éle Loga*). Darin stimmen LU <sup>1)</sup> (SK 1788—1818) und *eh* (Nettlau § 120—123) überein. Nur setzt die eine Handschrift H. 2. 17

<sup>1)</sup> YBL hat hier die große, nicht nur diesen Abschnitt umfassende Lücke (SK 1761—1997).

an die Stelle von *Is misi th'athair siu a sídhaibh .i. Lugh mac Ethleand* (Eg 93) den Satz: *Is misi Sáithemáil mac Subhállaigh* (W, S. 343 Anm. 11), verwandelt also den Vater in einen Bruder (eigener Erfindung). Auch *ls* hat grófstenteils denselben Wortlaut; doch fehlt ihm das kurze Gespräch, das mit der Nennung des Elfen endet (W 2465) — der Elf bleibt namenlos — und weiter unten (2468) die *retoric*. Gewifs kann man das so auffassen, dafs *eh* hier *ls* durch Beziehung von *uy* oder von LU ergänzt habe. Aber nach dem Obigen liegt die andere Auffassung mindestens ebenso nahe, dafs die beiden Abschnitte in *l* gestanden haben wie in *uy*, aber von *ls* übersprungen worden sind. Das Motiv kann dasselbe gewesen sein wie für die Textänderung in H. 2. 17. CuChulinn's Vater ist in *ls* Sualtaim; die Fassung von *Compert ConCulaind*, nach welcher CuChulinn zwei leibliche Väter besessen hat, mochte dem Schreiber von *ls* nicht geläufig sein. So liefs er den Vater Lug verschwinden und zugleich auch die unverständliche *retoric*, die dieser zu sprechen hätte.<sup>1)</sup> Den Schlaf von drei Tagen und drei Nächten jedoch, den der Elf bringt, behielt er bei, weil er für die weitere Erzählung unentbehrlich ist.

Ebensowenig beweisen nach der einen oder anderen Seite hin einzelne Sätze, die in *ls* gegenüber *eh* und *uy* fehlen. So wird in *uy* (SK 854) und in *eh* der Hirt des Stiers *Forgeimen* (*Forgeimhen*) genannt, in *ls* (W 1528) nicht; so hat *eh* wie *uy* (SK 903) hinter der Etymologie von *Glenn Dáil* (*Glend Dáilinda*) noch die von *Botha*, die in *ls* (1592) fehlt; so wird bei der Beschreibung des nahenden Fergus in *eh* und *uy* (SK 1157) auch sein Hemd (*léne*) erwähnt, das *ls* (1819) übergeht, usw. Es macht an sich keine Schwierigkeit anzunehmen, dafs alle diese Sätzchen in *l* enthalten waren, aber von *ls* — zum Teil unabsichtlich — ausgelassen worden sind.

Ein Fall besonderer Art ist aber der letzte von Windisch erwähnte, in dem sich eine Spaltung, die unsere Tradition von *uy* zeigt, zwischen *eh* und *ls* wiederzufinden scheint. Ein längerer Abschnitt in LU, der in YBL fehlt (SK 1643—1708), erscheint in *eh* (Nettlau § 70—75), aber nicht in *ls*, das hier freilich nur durch *st* vertreten ist. Es stellt sich also *eh* näher zu LU, *ls* zu YBL. Allerdings hat schon Windisch S. LXXVIII und 310

<sup>1)</sup> Weiter unten (W 2659) hat freilich auch *ls* die Notiz, dafs nach anderen Lug mac Eithlend dem Helden beigestanden habe; aber er war dort nicht als sein Vater bezeichnet.

Anm. 2 richtig konstatiert, daß sich der Umfang des Fehlenden in YBL und in *Is* nicht ganz genau deckt. In YBL beginnt die Lücke schon mit LU 74 b 38 (= SK 1643), in *Is* erst mit LU 74 b 43 (= SK 1646). Man vergleiche den Wortlaut:

*uy*: Is andsin as·bertatár na mná fri CoinCulaind, do·gnithe a cutbiud isin dúnad, uair nad·bai ulcha laiss, 7 nicon·teigtís dagoic acht siriti ara chend; ba hassu dó ulcha smerthain (smérthain *LU*) do dénam leiss. Conid·digni (·gnid *LU*) som anisin do chuinchid comraic fri fer .i. Lóch. || <sup>1)</sup> Gabais iarom CuCulaind lán duirnd dind feór 7 di·chacain (.i. bricht) faircombo hed do·muined each combo ulca bai lais. 'Fir' or in bantrocht, 'is ulcach CúChulaind, is cubaid do niaid comrac fris'.

*eh* (nach Nettlau): Annsin faidhis Medhbh cæga no dha cægaid don inghenraidh do innsaighidh ChonCulainn 7 dá rádh ris, dāmadh ailigh les comlond no comrag dho dhenum ré deghláchaibh nó re deghógaibh fer nErenn, bho·ghní ulcha smerthain fair bhá thaidhbhsi ulcha draidhechta 7 tigeadh do thaisealbhadh a chrotha 7 a dhealbha dhona slúaghaibh aman ngleand. Andsin tangadar in inghenradh rompo go hairm i·mbai CuChulainn 7 do·ghabhadar aga rádh sin ris. 'Madh áil leam sa sin' bhar CuChulainn, 'da·gentar leum e'. Andsin bho·ghní CuChulainn ulcha smerthain fair amal taidhbhsi ulcha draidhechta 7 tainig do thaisealbhadh a chrotha dhona slúaghaibh iman gleand. 'Is ulchach in fer ud amh ad·chiú sa thall' for Medhbh, '7 is cubhaidh dho níadh comrag fris'.

*Is* (*St* nach W, S. 309f.):<sup>2)</sup> Raidis Medb fria banchuire teacht do agallaimh ConCulainn da rada fris ulcha smertha do denam fair. Tangatar in bantract rempa ar amus ConCulainn, con·ebertitar fris ulcha smertha do gabail fair. 'Uair ni fiú la daglaoch isin loncphort techt do comrac frit 7 tú gan ulchain'. Do·cuir ieramh CúCulainn ulcha smertha fair 7 tainic arin tulaigh ós cionn bfer nErenn 7 taisbenais in ulcha sin doib uile i·ccoitinne. At·chonnaire Lóch mac Mofebhais sin 7 is edh adubairt: 'Ulcha sut ar CoinChulainn'. 'As edh on at·chiu' ar Medp.

Der Schlufs von *Is* (*st*), an das sich, wie sonst, *eh* enge anschliesst, entspricht deutlich dem Anfang des in YBL fehlenden

<sup>1)</sup> Beginn der Lücke in YBL.

<sup>2)</sup> Die Lesart von Eg 209 (Rev. Celt. 15, 63) weicht nur unbedeutend ab.



Abschnitts. Die Annahme, das Fehlen des folgenden Textes in YBL und *st* deute auf eine gemeinsame Quelle, in der er gleichfalls nicht vorkam, schließt also die weitere Hypothese in sich, YBL habe eine vorgefundene Lücke, deren Umfang der in *st* entsprach, noch durch Auslassung einiger Zeilen erweitert. Vielleicht scheint das nicht ganz ohne Bedenken und möchte man lieber vermuten, die Auslassung sei in *ls* oder auch erst in *st* selbständig vorgenommen worden.

Dafs gelegentlich zwei Handschriften unabhängig von einander auf dieselbe Weise kürzen, zeigt z. B. der folgende Fall. Hinter CuChulinn's Kampf auf dem Sichelwagen steht nur in LU (80b, letzte Zeile), nicht in YBL der Satz: *7 do-thát úadib iarsin iar tabairt in tressa sin forro cen fuligud cen fordercad fair féin no for a gillu<sup>1)</sup> no for ech dia echaib*. Er fehlt auch in LL, findet sich aber kaum verändert nicht nur in *eh* (Nettlau § 170), sondern auch in *St*, der Schwesterhandschrift von LL (W, S. 387 Anm. 5). Hier kann man also nur schwanken, ob *St* und *eh* dieses einzelne Sätzchen selbständig aus der LU-Redaktion nachgetragen haben, oder ob YBL und LL es selbständig übergangen haben. Da ist denn, auch vom oben Ausgeführten abgesehen, die zweite Möglichkeit an sich so viel wahrscheinlicher, dafs man sich wohl ohne Weiteres für sie entscheiden wird.

Doch handelt es sich in dem uns beschäftigenden Fall nicht blofs um einen Satz, den verschiedene Schreiber leicht übersehen konnten, sondern um einen längeren Abschnitt. Zuerst wird man also die Frage aufwerfen: wenn er in *l* gestanden hat und von dorther in *eh* übernommen ist, lassen sich hinreichende Gründe aufdecken, die den Redaktor von *ls* (oder auch den von *st*) bewogen haben könnten, ihn zu unterdrücken? Da läfst sich nun in der Tat einiges sagen.

Erstens unterbricht die Episode in störender Weise den Gang der Erzählung. Nachdem der Anlaß zu Lochs Weigerung, mit dem bartlosen Jüngling CuChulinn zu kämpfen, durch Schaffung eines künstlichen Bartes beseitigt worden ist, erklärt er plötzlich, diesen Kampf, der seinen erschlagenen Bruder rächen soll, erst nach Verlauf von sieben Tagen antreten zu wollen — ohne jedes Motiv als das, dem Erzähler Raum zu gewähren, einige weitere Kämpfe einzureihen, namentlich den Versuch der

<sup>1)</sup> So Faks., *gillai* SK, S. 72<sup>1b</sup>).

Medb, CuChulinn ohne Waffen zu überfallen, was zur Vernichtung der *fir Focherda* führt. Dann erst stellt sich Lóch zum Kampf. Soll man sich vorstellen, daß CuChulinn die ganze Woche den Bart getragen hat? Zweitens war, wie Windisch anmerkt, der Untergang der *fir Focherda* in *ls* (W 2019 ff.) schon einmal beschrieben worden, wie auch in *uy* (SK 1346 ff.) und in *eh* (Nettlau § 12). Und zwar waren in *ls* und *eh* (also in *l*) schon an jener Stelle ihre Namen (mit einiger Variation) genannt worden, die LU (SK 1676 ff.) erst das zweite Mal bringt und *eh* (Nettlau § 73) hier wiederholt. Das konnte gewiß jeden Redaktor bestimmen, den störenden Teil zu entfernen.

Und dennoch habe ich große Bedenken gegen den Schlufs, daß er noch in *l* gestanden habe. Aus drei Gründen.

1. *eh*, das sonst so gern und stark variiert, stimmt in dem betreffenden Abschnitt Wort für Wort mit LU überein, beginnend mit dem oben zitierten Satz: *is cubhaidh dho níadh comrag fris* (Nettlau § 71 = SK 1646) bis zu: *Táinig dá Lóch i n-aighidh ChonCulainn do dhigail a bhráthar* (§ 76 = SK 1709). Freilich gibt es noch einen zweiten, längeren Abschnitt, in dem *eh* den Wortlaut seiner Quelle nicht verändert hat; er handelt vom Besuch des Elfen und CuChulinns Schlaf, vom Untergang der Knabenschar aus Ulster, vom Kampf auf dem Sichelwagen und von der Schaustellung der Schönheit CuChulinns und erstreckt sich von § 120—182 (Nettlau), nur ganz selten durch Variationen wie § 130—132 unterbrochen. Erst die vier letzten Stücke dieser Version: Dubthachs Eifersucht, die Episoden von Fergus, von Redg, von Ferchu, zeigen wieder die freiere Behandlung, die wir an *eh* sonst gewohnt sind. Aber jene konformen Abschnitte sind besonderer Art. Es sind Prunkstücke der Erzählung, größtenteils aus Schilderungen und Beschreibungen bestehend, in denen auch die beiden älteren Rezensionen *uy* und *ls* nicht voneinander abweichen, die also einen besonderen Konservativismus begreiflich erscheinen lassen.

Ganz anders hier. Die Einleitung zu Lóchs Kampf mit CuChulinn und später der Kampf selber sind in *eh* mit der gleichen Freiheit erzählt wie irgendeine andere Episode. Nur genau das Zwischenstück, das in *st* fehlt, das aber kein rhetorisches Prunkstück ist, zeigt die wörtliche Übereinstimmung von *eh* mit LU; selbst so altertümliche Wortformen wie *conníacht*

(*coniacht*) sind der Modernisierung entgangen. Es steht also in ausgesprochenem Gegensatz zu seiner Umgebung.

2. Wir sahen oben S. 535, daß die Namen der *fir Focherda*, die in *eh* und *ls* schon bei ihrer ersten Erwähnung aufgeführt werden, einige Variationen zeigen gegenüber den hier in LU gegebenen Formen. Falls die beiden Stellen in *eh*, an denen die *fir Focherda* genannt sind, derselben Rezension (*l*) angehörten, würde man beide Male dieselben Namen erwarten. Statt dessen stellt sich *eh* das erste Mal zu *ls*, das zweite zu LU.

3. Da *l* eine auf Einheit der Erzählung ausgehende Redaktion darstellt, wäre es etwas auffällig, wenn es den Tod der *fir Focherda* zweimal und verschieden dargestellt hätte. In einer Kompilation wie LU hat das natürlich nichts Befremdliches.

Für diese Tatsachen scheint es auch mir wie meinen Vorgängern keine andere Erklärung zu geben als die, daß hier eine zweite Version einen Einfluß ausgeübt hat. Und zwar muß, nachdem *eh* bereits im Allgemeinen die uns vorliegende Gestalt erhalten hatte, der besprochene Abschnitt aus einer LU nahestehenden Handschrift herübergenommen worden sein; sonst hätte auch er sich der üblichen Variation und Modernisierung nicht entzogen. Immerhin ist es ein Fall für sich, weil hier die *uy*-Version selber eine Spaltung zeigt.<sup>1)</sup> Es wäre, wie oben gezeigt wurde, ungerechtfertigt, alle Übereinstimmungen von *eh* mit *uy* gegen *ls* auf diese Weise zu erklären, zumal die unter ihnen, wo der Wortlaut nicht genau derselbe ist. Aber auch von den genauen Übereinstimmungen, die nur in einzelnen Sätzen bestehen, bin ich geneigt, die meisten der erschlossenen Handschrift *l* zuzuschreiben. Über die Lug-Episode läßt sich, wie oben bemerkt, nichts entscheiden; die wörtliche Übereinstimmung von *eh* mit LU hat hier nichts zu bedeuten, weil die ganze Partie zu denen gehört, in denen *eh* auch sonst nicht geändert hat; und ob die YBL-Version sie einst besessen hat oder nicht, läßt sich nicht ersehen, weil sie in YBL in eine größere Lücke fällt.

Schon Windisch (S. LXIX f.) hat bemerkt, daß *st* manchmal, wenn auch selten, den älteren Wortlaut gegenüber LL bewahrt hat,

<sup>1)</sup> Wie diese zu erklären ist, hängt mit der Frage zusammen, wie man sich überhaupt das Verhältnis zwischen LU, YBL und *l* zu denken hat. Auf diese soll jedoch hier nicht eingegangen werden.

so dafs man zur Rekonstruktion von *ls* beide Zweige der Tradition heranziehen mufs. Nun hat sich uns ausserdem ergeben, dafs wir gelegentlich eine Stufe weiter hinauf (zu *l*) gelangen können, wenn wir auch noch *ch* in Rechnung ziehen. Überall wo eine Handschrift der Gruppe *ch*, sei es mit *LL*, sei es mit *st*, übereinstimmt — ausser in Fällen, wo eine zufällige gleiche Neuerung nahe liegt — haben wir die Lesart von *l* vor uns.<sup>1)</sup> Aber man wird noch weitergehen und sagen dürfen: überall, wo *LL* oder *st*, und an den meisten Stellen, wo *ch* mit *uy* übereinstimmt, können wir annehmen, dafs die mit *uy* übereinstimmende Handschrift die Lesart von *l* wiedergibt. Diese Auseinandersetzung wird rechtfertigen, dafs ich den in Eg 93 nicht enthaltenen und daher noch nicht im Zusammenhang veröffentlichten Teil von H. 2. 17 (336a — 347b) zum Abdruck bringe.

Ich habe im Sommer 1911 den Text in Dublin abgeschrieben, aber leider nicht mehr Zeit gehabt, ihn nochmals zu kollationieren. Glücklicherweise zeigt eine Vergleichung meiner Kopie mit den überaus zahlreichen Auszügen, die Windisch in den Anmerkungen seiner Ausgabe bringt, dafs ausser manchen Längezeichen und wenigen Lenierungszeichen, die ich übersehen habe, unsere Wiedergabe kaum je differiert. So darf ich meine Abschrift ohne neue Kollation drucken lassen, gebe aber die abweichende Lesung Windischs überall an.

Die Abkürzung, die gewöhnlich *ur* bedeutet, hat in H. 2. 17 eine weitere Bedeutung, z. B. *ir* in *breith-*, *uir* im Genitiv *Concob-*, *er* in *b-ar*. Windisch löst sie daher oft auch in *ar* auf; ich bin ihm darin nicht gefolgt, sondern drucke nach dunkeln Konsonanten *ur*, da für die Zeit unserer Handschrift *ur* und *ar* in den betreffenden Fällen gleichbedeutend sind. Ebenso habe ich die Abkürzung, die sonst *er* bedeutet, immer so wiedergegeben, auch im Dativ *muinnt-*, wo Windisch das grammatisch richtige *muinntir* druckt; desgleichen die Abkürzung für *us* immer so, nie mit Windisch in *as* aufgelöst. Ich füge zur bequemeren Vergleichung die Zahlen der Zeilen in Windischs Ausgabe bei, deren Inhalt den Sätzen von H. 2. 17 genau oder ungefähr entspricht. Nur bei Partien, die in *ls* fehlen, aber in *uy* vorhanden sind, habe ich die Zeilenzahl der Ausgabe von Strachan-O'Keeffe (*SK*) verzeichnet.

<sup>1)</sup> Auf eine zwei Sätze umfassende Übereinstimmung von *St* und H. 2. 17 macht z. B. Windisch, S. LXXVIII und 255 Anm., aufmerksam.

[H. 2. 17, 336a] . . . naidhed <sup>1)</sup> *congressa* iad *no* do rothaibh in carbaid iarnaídi, nochó dagair duíd iad. Is annsin eirghis Ibar 7 teglomaigh 7 timsaighidh an enlaith 7 do·ceangail do lomnaib <sup>2)</sup> 7 do <sup>3)</sup> rothaibh in carbaid iad.

(1347) Tangadar rompa asa haithli go crodha cosnumach cathbuadhach commáidhmhech cloidemderg 7 cinn a mbidhbadh 7 a namhad <sup>4)</sup> aca 7 seoid 7 mæine 7 innmhus a mbidbadh uile aca arna corugadh ina carbad go hEmhain minalainn Macha. (1347) IS annsin do·eiridh L[e]aburcam amach 7 ad·connaire in t·aencairpthech da hinnsaidhi. <sup>5)</sup> tainic reimpi innunn i tech Concobair 7 a rosg ar foluamuin in[a] cinn 7 a tenga ar teibesi- ina carbad. (1348) 'Aencairptech sunda go hEmhain Macha' bar Leaburcam, '7 ad·biur sa mo breithir ris, mana·faighlighther lib si e, forfaidh cru dar cuiged Concobuir anocht aigi.' (1353) 'Casmail lem' bur Concobar, 'gom e in mac beg do·dechaidh uainn a dus lai. 7 más seisin on, is cosgur 7 is comæidhem con·arlaidedar do dhenamh. 7 eirghid in banmacradh 7 nochtaid a cithi ris 7 a n·ochta 7 i n·urbruindi.<sup>6)</sup> 7 mad firlæch é, niris·riblaingesdair do a faisgin. 7 cuirfider i ndabhchaibh fuarusci e, con·dechta [a] ferg de.'

(1360) IS annsin do·eirgedar in banmacradh. 7 is iad anmanna na banrigradh <sup>7)</sup> sin i. Sgamalus 7 Sganulach 7 Sgiathan, Feidlim 7 Deigtini, Finnchas <sup>8)</sup> 7 Finngeal <sup>9)</sup> 7 Fidniam 7 Niam ingen Celtair mic Uichechair. (1363) IS annsin do·togbadh [336b] leo san e 7 ro·cuiredh i ndabaidh uarusci e. Meabais a cercail 7 a congala 'na timchill.<sup>10)</sup> (1367) IN dabach thanaisdi ar·cured e, fiuchais dorn uaisdi. (1367) An tres dabach ar·cuired é, indarna frisimberadh do·loisged, in fer eile ni·loisgedar. (1368) IS annsin tuctha anis <sup>11)</sup> cuca é do gabail <sup>12)</sup> fædh aran gormchorera <sup>13)</sup> uime. Rob alainn amh in mac tucadh anis annsin da fégad.

<sup>1)</sup> náidhed W.

<sup>2)</sup> lomhnaibh W.

<sup>3)</sup> do do Hs.

<sup>4)</sup> námhad W.

<sup>5)</sup> om. W.

<sup>6)</sup> murbruindi W.

<sup>7)</sup> banrigan W. Über g steht die Abkürzung für ra und darüber d.

<sup>8)</sup> Finnchas W.

<sup>9)</sup> Finngeal W.

<sup>10)</sup> timtimll Hs.

<sup>11)</sup> anis W.

<sup>12)</sup> oder do·gabadh. Toebad W. Nach meiner Kopie dog und über g ein b mit Abkürzungsstrich.

<sup>13)</sup> So W. In der Hs. corc und über beiden c ein Zeichen, das dem gewöhnlich ur bedeutenden ähnlich ist. Im Vorhergehenden muß wohl ein Wort für ein Kleidungsstück stecken; etwa: fathe rá[i]n? Anders Windisch S. 169.

(1371) Cæga n-urlu n-abaidhe n-aighinn n-imlebur<sup>1)</sup> n-ogbuidhe n-alainn on cluais go celle do. Ceithri tibri ceachtar a dha gruadh i. tibre buide 7 tibre uaine 7 tibre gorm 7 tibre corcra. Secht ngema 'na lethanrusg cechtar a da gruad. Secht meoir cechtar a dha chois 7 a .uii. cechtar a dha lamh conn-urgabail ingni griuin 7 co ngreim ingni sebaic bur gach n-ai dhibh. (1378) Fuan cain corcarthach uime 7 delg finnairgid isin brat osa banbruinni, conach cumgadais suile daine ni dho ina dechain ara gleordhacht 7 ara glainidecht do-bi se. Cliabhin[ar] sirig fria cnes arna imthacmhaisi do creasaib 7 do cimsaibh oir 7 airgid ina timchill. Sgiath dighruis dathalainn donncorera fair. Da sleigh cruadhacha cuigrinni ina laim. Minn righ ima chenn.

(1381) IN mac beg do-rinne na gnima sin i n-æis a macantachta, ca machtnugadh 7 ca moringantus do-genta de, da marbadh fer no dias no triur no cethrar no ge go thesgadh gabail ceithri mbeann d æn[337a]tesgad 7 d ænbuilli crithir-cloidhim? Doigh amh robsad slana a .uii. mbliadhna deg gusanocht ar sluaighed thana bo Cuailgni.'

Cid tra acht ge dha-bhi subha 7 sobron 7 somenma ar Ulltaibh desin, do-thairg dubha 7 dobron 7 domenma d feraib Erenn, oir dho-bi a fīs aca in mac beg do-rinne na gnimartha mora sin i n-ais macantachta, ca badh ingnadh gnimartha goile mora do denamh dho i n-æis a oglachais.

(1388) Gurab iad sin macgnimartha ChonCulainn conuigi sin anuas.

(1393) Is andsin lodur na sluaigh dar Duib atuid arna-mhárach. 'Maith, a ghilla' bur CuCulainn, 'cid don tsluagh ech-trand tainic isa tir gona earnail bo 7 broidi do breth leo asa cuiged i-tangadar?' Ni cian dim<sup>2)</sup> bui in cu cathbuadhach ann, gu-cualaidh in tairm 7 in tarann. (1399) 'Maith, a ghilli' bur CuChulainn, 'fasdó na heocha 7 congaib in carbad, co'ndeachainn si dá fīs, cuich ata ag slóidi in fēdha fan cor sa.' (1400) Is annsin tainic CuChulainn roimi, 7 o rainic, id-connaire in t-æinfer ag slóidhi in fēdha fan cor cedna sin. (1401) 'Cidh do-gni siu annsin etir aile?' bar CuChulainn. (1402) 'Itú sa ag buain fersad charbad sunna isin fīdh 7 isin fīdhbadh' bur in gilla. '7 ar fir do ghaisgidh rit sa, congaimh lem, arnach-tair in CuChulainn

<sup>1)</sup> nimbebur Hs.

<sup>2)</sup> di mit m-Zeichen über i.

oirdheirc ma'n-iadhaidh beoil bfer nEreenn mhé.' (1406) 'Isia ũ. did sa aile' bur CuChulainn 'buain 7 imsgathadh do denamh no toglamadh 7 timsugadh'. (1407) 'Ised is usa lem sa teglomadh 7 timsugadh do [337 b] denamh' bur in gilla. (1408) Is annsin do'gabasdair CuChulainn ag buain 7 sgathadh roime sium. 7 as amlaidh do'sgath iadh, tre ladraib a ghlac 7 a lamh *etir* rusg 7 udhba ro'cermassdair 7 ro'slemhnaighesdair iad, conac'toirrasadh cuil fortha, do'bai dhá sleimhni<sup>1)</sup> da eis. (1412) 'Maith, a oglaigh,' bur in gilla, 'ni hi th'urobair fein do'bertusa ort sa *etir*. 7 innis ar gradh do ghaisgidh, cia thu fein.' (1413) 'IS misi in CuChulainn oirdheirc do'imráidhi siu o chianaibh' bur eisin. (1414) 'Imairg sea desin .ũ.' bar gilla. (1416) 'Nacad'baa su *etir* aile' bar CuChulainn, 'doigh ni'ghonaim si uaradha (so<sup>2)</sup>) na echlacha na fiallach gan arma doghres. 7 cia thusa?' bar CuChulainn. 'Orlamh mac Oilella 7 Meadhbhha mo tigerna sa' bar in gilla. (1417) 'Ca hairm i'fuil do thighernausa, a gilla?' bar CuChulainn. (1418) 'Uinnsi thall é' bar in gilla '7 a druim risin cartha.' (1420) Tainic in gilla conair roimi 7 tainic CuChulainn conair eile. Táisgi rainic CuChulainn mara'roibi Orlam ina'n gilla 7 ferais comrag ris. Benais a chenn de 7 cruithis in cenn uadha risna sluaghaib. Gurab Leaca Orlamh re Deisgecert Locadh atuaidh ainm in inaidh i'ndorchair. Taimhlechta ainm aile do, doigh is uime aderar Taimhlecht ris frisna taimleachtaí bega 7 oidhedha do'imir CuChulainn air.

(1424) Comrag tri mac Narach annseo sis anosa.

(1425) IS iad seo da tri maic Narach i. Meslinni<sup>3)</sup> 7 Mesláighi 7 Meslethan. Luan 7 Ual<sup>4)</sup> 7 Muilchi anmanna a tri n-aradh charbad. (1433) 7 do'benadar tri fedhchesda mora finnuill a lamhaibh a n-aradh do gleadhaidh [338 a] 'na seisiur i n-enecht re CoinCulainn. (1435) Do'gheodhghuin CuChulainn iad con'ndrochrador leis. (1439) Tarasdair in mac ba sine dibh 7 Lethan a sgot madhma<sup>4)</sup>, go'rainic i crich Conaill. Mebais cuing in charbaid ann 7 geoghuin Lethan re CoinCulainn. Feruis Muilchi ara Lethain comlann 7 comrag re Læg mac Rianghabra, con'drocuir Muilchi leis. (1444) Gurab Guala Muilchi ainm an inaidh sin. *Æinecht* Læigh ar tanaidh annsin.

<sup>1)</sup> So W. sleimhius meine Kopie, gewi/s unrichtig.

<sup>2)</sup> Meslinni W.

<sup>3)</sup> Ual W.

<sup>4)</sup> *Eticas* ist hier korrump, statt 7 jedenfalls i. zu lesen.

(1488)<sup>1)</sup> IS e in la sin tainic in Donn Cuailghni i crich Inairgi (so!) go .l.aid samaisg uime ann. (1491) IS annsin tainic in Morighu<sup>2)</sup> banáith arin cairthi i crich Mhairgi osa cinn 7 bertais rabudh 7 oirchisecht do. (1494) 'Maith, a Duinn Cuailghni' bur in Morigan, 'atat fir Erenn agad lorgairecht 7 agad tiaradh. 7 da mberthar ort, berthair mur gach mart ngoidi thu go long[phort] bfer nErenn.' Da ghabh aga faisneis 7 aga innisinn dó, go muirfidhe é ar tanaidh, 7 do rinne in rosgadh sa ann:

(1499) Nach fidir dub duaidh dal nach innerbh<sup>3)</sup> osnadh fiach fiach narchin cuartadh<sup>4)</sup> namhad<sup>5)</sup> bur tuaith mbreagh buidi ar tanaidh<sup>6)</sup> intath imrun bias dar dub daniath murthunna for<sup>7)</sup> lilis daidh baighis fri magh goith niam buidhbbh<sup>8)</sup> berdaid sl- bo ghenneach berdaid cæga dubhas mormæni ar<sup>9)</sup> fegh muinnter ar feigh muinntiri da egaib nach feidir. Nach fidir .d. d.

(1527) Da tuigisdair in Donn Cuailghni in-debairt<sup>10)</sup> Morigharis, 7<sup>11)</sup> tainic reime [338 b] go Sliabh Cuillinn atuaidh i nUlltaibh 7 a .l. samhaig ina timchell.<sup>12)</sup> 7 do luidh a buachaill leis ann .i. Forgeimhen ainm in buachalla. (1529) Cæga bo no samaisg ised do daired gach læi. Mina berdaís læghu re cenn nomaidhi, do diansgaildis umpo, doigh amhindudh tairb hidhi<sup>13)</sup> ra cæmnagair eisen. (1532) Buaidh in Duinn Cuailghni iin, go toillfidis tri .lad mac midhaisi ara tæbdrum ag buanfach 7 ag buanoirechtus 7 ag bigirecht. Ni chuired son de iad 7 ni cumsgaighed fuithib. (1538) Buaidh eile do buadhaibh in Duinn Cuailghni, in tan do beredh a aighidh reime ara lias no ar machad, robadh lor do cheol 7 d oirfdiudh don fir thuaiscertach 7 don fir deiscertach, don fir oirtharach 7 don fir iartharach isa tricha cet i cluinti uile é. (1543) Gurab araill do bhudhaib in Duinn Cuailghni sin.

(Vgl. 1552)<sup>14)</sup> IS annsin do gabadar fir Erenn dunadh 7 longphort ag Reidhi Acha C. (so!) in aidhchi sin. (1456) 7

<sup>1)</sup> Die Abschnitte 1449 ff. und 1456 ff. folgen weiter unten, s. A. 14 und S. 543.

<sup>2)</sup> Morighu W.      <sup>3)</sup> innearbh W.

<sup>4)</sup> So W. In meiner Kopie: cruartadh mit Fragezeichen, also wohl u hochgestellt.

<sup>5)</sup> námhad W.      <sup>6)</sup> tánaidh W.

<sup>7)</sup> fer W.

<sup>8)</sup> bhuidhbbh W.

<sup>9)</sup> ár W.

<sup>10)</sup> in t-eabairt W.

<sup>11)</sup> del.

<sup>12)</sup> timcheall W.

<sup>13)</sup> Scheint korrupt.

<sup>14)</sup> Die ähnlichen Kapitel W 1456 ff. und 1552 ff. sind hier vereinigt. Dabei sind auch die sie umgebenden Abschnitte verschoben worden und durch-einander geraten (vgl. W, S. 172 \*).



baighis CuChulainn a breithir, gach inadh i fáicfed Medhbh. con-soifed a cloich fuirri. (1457) 7 mara-faca sun Medhbh, ba-sreo cloch asa cranntabhall fuirthi, gurus-regaim gan anmain in peta toghmaill ro-boi ara gualainn re hath anair. (1460) Ba-sreoidh CuChulainn cloch eile bur Meidhbh, gur-berta gan anmain in peta eoin boi ar[a] gualaind re hath aniar. Gura Meidhi in Eoin iderar risin inadh<sup>1)</sup> sin [339 a] 7 Loch Sreoidh ainm in locha. Doigh is uimi aderar Loch Sreoid ris, doigh ba-sredh CuChulainn cloch inn.

(1556) IS annsin do-eiridh cæminailt fritholmha Oilealla 7 Medhbha ar cenn usci óla 7 inlaidh. 7 is amhlaidh do-eiridh 7 minn oir Meadhba ima cenn. 7 do-eiridh dō cetracha don ingenraidh imaille ria. 7 ad-connaire CuChulainn iad 7 indar leis i n-ingnais a fesa 7 a eolais, ba hi Medhbh do-bi ann. (1557) 7 ba-sreidh CuChulainn cloich asa cranntabhaill fuirthi, gura-imnasdair in minn oir i tri, gur-berta gan anmain i bursan sreadh ara-rabha. (1559) Gurab Reidh Locha Cuailghni aderar ris.

(1465) IS annsin ro-himraidhed ag feraib Erenn tocht d innradh 7 d argain Maighi Breagh 7 Midi 7 Machairi Chonaill 7<sup>2)</sup> ferainn Chonculainn mhochrach arnamhárach. 7 ba a fiadhnaisi Fergus mic Roich do-raidsedar annsin. (1468) 7 bertais Fergus rabudh 7 oircissecht d feraib Erenn 7 ad-b[er]t in laidh ann:

(1471) Ba-rua C. C. Cuailghni. co curadhaib Craebrauidhi beidid fir a fuilib de. d argain Mhaighi Murtheimhni. IS mairg danbha sealb a crod. mina-faghbha<sup>3)</sup> a [aimsechadh  
bur mna bar mudhaigh don breith. bur curraidh<sup>4)</sup>  
[bad crólinntech.<sup>5)</sup>

(1475) Do-chuaidh turus níba siu.<sup>6)</sup> rainic go Sliabh<sup>7)</sup> Armeni dul ara ágh niroisdi. do-chuir ár na cichloisgdhi

(1479) Ba doilghí dho mac Neachtain. do cur asa tréngleptaib, cu na cerda udhbur aigh.<sup>8)</sup> fuaradar tennta c [trenláimh.

(1483) [339 b] Is eol damsa ni eile. do gnimaib maic Deicti iderim rib nochá ghua.<sup>10)</sup> gnim gon-tora rib bur r Bur-rua C. C. C.

<sup>1)</sup> inadh W.

<sup>2)</sup> om. W.

<sup>3)</sup> faghbha W.

<sup>4)</sup> curaidh W.

<sup>5)</sup> Die Strophe ist übersetzt bei W, S. LXXII

<sup>6)</sup> sia W.

<sup>7)</sup> Sliabh W.

<sup>8)</sup> trenleptaib W.

<sup>9)</sup> áigh W.

<sup>10)</sup> ghúa W.

(Vgl. 1544) Is annsin do'eirghedar fir Erenn go moch arnamhárach d argain Mhaighi Muirtheimhni 7 d innradh Maighi Breagh 7 Midhi 7 Machairi Chonaill 7 ferainn ConCulainn. (1564) Is annsin do'eirghedar glaisi 7 aibhni crichi Conaill Murthemhni i n-eannaibh crann. 7 do'eirigh Glassi<sup>1)</sup> Cruinn<sup>2)</sup> i n-eannaibh riu. (1568) IS annsin do'eiridh læch prósda mor do shenmuininter Oilella 7 Medhbha d úabairt Ghlaisi Cruinn.<sup>2)</sup> 7 is amhlaidh do'laidh 7 bertais nertlia re ais do chloich fedhma, arna beradh Glais Cruinn<sup>2)</sup> ar culu<sup>3)</sup> é, con drochair fæn 7 a lia fora broinn, gur báidhed é. 7 ní boi de amh acht sin. 7 tucadh anis ag feraib Erenn é 7 ro claidhed a fert 7 do'gniadh a ghubhu 7 da saidhed a lia uasa laighi. Gurab Lia Nuallan ar Tánaidh iderar ris.

(1565) IS annsin do'eiridh Glais Colptha i n-eannaibh crann riu 7 rucusdair .la cairpthech lé go muir 7 go fairrgi, gura fagbadh iad gan anmain 7 gurab Cluain na Carbad ainm na cluana da n-eis. (1582) Is annsin tangadur fir Erenn laim re Glais Colptha ar nemfaghbhail in Duinn Cuailghni doib. (1574) Dilis CuChulainn go mor arna sluaghaib in laithi sin 7 bertais amus arna sluaghaib 7 marbhais cet fer n-armach n-innrightha dib im Ræn 7 im Ri 7 im dha hshenchaidh na tana,<sup>4)</sup> gurab ed sin ruc tain amugha 7 ar iaradh in fad ro'boi.

(1449) Is annsin do'deachaidh chuca son [340 a] na Cruiti Cainbile oda Es Ruaidh atuidh tre bithin cairdesa Oilella 7 Medhbha. (1452) 7 gersa Cruiti Cainbhili aderthea riu, rob fialach cumhachta moiri 7 mordruidhechta iad rada camnagair. (1450) 7 od chonnacatur<sup>5)</sup> longphort bfer nErenn, do'ghabusdair grain 7 egl<sup>6)</sup> 7 uruathbhás iad 7 lodsad a richt ealbha os n-allaidh gusna cairptheib (so!) ig Lig Moir.

(1582) 7 tangadur fir Erenn rompa etir in dobur<sup>7)</sup> 7 in sliabh. (1584) 7 nir arlaig tra Medhbh doibh in sliab do thecht, ar dain<sup>8)</sup> gomadh iad a dair 7 a modhaid fein do claidhed in sliab rempe. (1586) Gunadh Bernus Tána Bhó Medhbha aderther ris, 7 Bernus Thana Bho Cuailghni ainm oile dho dō.

(1589) Do'gabatur fir Erenn dúnadh 7 longphort ag Bélidh Ailen in aidhci sin. (1590) Bélid Ailen a ainm riam connigi sin 7 Liasa Liag a ainm o hsin anall gusa aníudh (so!). Doigh

<sup>1)</sup> Glaisi W.

<sup>2)</sup> Nach der Schreibung cher Curinn.

<sup>3)</sup> chulu W.

<sup>4)</sup> tána W.

<sup>5)</sup> Das erste o aus a korrigiert.

<sup>6)</sup> egl<sup>a</sup> W.

<sup>7)</sup> lies tobur

<sup>8)</sup> lies mit W ar daigh

am is uime aderar Liasa Liag riu, [doigh] do'gnisedar fir Erenn liasa 7 machaidh fa n-albhaibh, fa n-innilibh<sup>1)</sup> ann. Glenn Dáil ainm eile do dō. Doigh is uime iderar Gleann Dail ris, doigh do'dhailsedar albha 7 innili<sup>2)</sup> crichi Conaill 7 Murtheimhni<sup>3)</sup> cru 7<sup>4)</sup> fuil do feraib Erenn in aidhchi sin ann. (Vgl. SK 903) Botha ainm eile dhō dō. Doigh is uime iderar Botha ris, oir do-rinnedar fir Erenn botha 7 bēlsгалána ann.

(1596) Is annsin lodur na sluaigh bar Seghain siar arnamhárach. (1597) Seghain a hainm reimhe riamh 7 Glais Ghadlaidh a hainm o hin anall gusaniudh. (1598) Doigh is [340 b] uime iderar Glais Gadlaidh ria, doigh i ngadaib 7 a tetaib 7 i réfedhaibh do-thairngeadur a n-albha 7 i n-innile tairrsi.

(1602, vgl. 1686)<sup>5)</sup> Do'gabador<sup>6)</sup> fir Erenn i nDruim Ean i crich Conaill Murtheimhni in aidhchi sin. (1605) Gabais Cu-Chulainn i bhFuinchi a fíogus doib.

(Vgl. 2405) 7 do'ubair na sluaigh (?) do dhibhragadh a Delgain Murtheimhni mochrách anes a. in aidhchi sin doib ann.<sup>7)</sup> (1689) 7 marbhais cet læch dib ann re solustrath eirghi iarnamhárach. IS annsin do'eiridh in t-airdri mocrach iarnamhárach 7 do'gni rothnuall corcordherg oda mullach go talmain de. 'Ni suaice linn' bur Oilill 'in toranncheas bo'ghni Cu-Chulainn re hed na hoidhchi go maidin orainn ann. (1694) Berar chomhaidh uainne do' bar Oilill. (1694) 'Carsad comhadha sin aile?' bur Medhbh. (1695) 'In-asesg don alaidh do 7 in-us dær don broid, 7 coisged a cranntábhaill dona sluaghaibh. Doigh ni suire linne in toranncheas bo'ghni forainn, o'thig adhaigh.' (1697) 'Cia rachus risna comadhaib sin aile?' bar Medhbh. (1698) 'Cia dho'rachadh ann acht Mac Roth in rimheachlach da?' ar Oilill. (1699) 'Ni heolach mhisi, mara'bfuil se' bar Mac Roth. '7 gidh dom'thegmadh, nachan aichnidh damh é gidh' bar Mac Roth 'etir'. (1700) 'Doigh in'mbiadh a fis ag Ferghus, mara'fuil' ar Oilill. (1701) 'Nad'edar sa ámh' bur Ferghus, 'acht cosmail leam, gomadh arin tsnechta<sup>8)</sup> do'beth sé etir Óchain 7 muir ar nemhchodladh na hoidhchi areir do 7 ar legun ghæithi<sup>9)</sup> [341 a] 7 greine fæi ar sin'.

<sup>1)</sup> fan ninnilb Hs.      <sup>2)</sup> innili W.      <sup>3)</sup> Murteimhni W.

<sup>4)</sup> So W. Fehlt in meiner Kopie.

<sup>5)</sup> Die ähnlichen Episoden 1602 ff und 1686 ff, die sich in Druim Ean abspielen, die aber in LL getrennt sind, werden in dieser Redaktion zusammengezogen und dann die übrigen Stücke nachgeholt.

<sup>6)</sup> Dogabadur Hs.

<sup>7)</sup> Die Stelle, die später (W, S. 331<sup>3)</sup> wiederkehrt, ist hier korrupt.

<sup>8)</sup> t-snechta W.      <sup>9)</sup> ghæithi W.

(1722) Is ann tainic Mac Roth reimhi go hairm a'roibe Lægh mac Riangabra. (1723) 'Ced on<sup>1)</sup> cia dana céile thusa, a ghilla?' bur Mac Roth. (1723) 'Isam ceile si don oglach su, don ghilli ud tis' bar Lægh. (1724) Is annsin im tainic Mac Roth reimhe go hairm i mboi CuChulainn. (1725) 'Ced on<sup>2)</sup> cia dana comainm ceili siu 7<sup>3)</sup> a ógláigh?' ar Mac Roth. (1726) Robsa ceile si do Chonchobur mac Fachtna Fáthaigh mic R. R. mic R., do airdrigh in chuigidh si.' (1728) Ar fir do ghaisgidh 7 do ghoile rit, ma do'fedarais, innis dam sa, ca hairm i'fuil<sup>4)</sup> in CuChulainn oirdheire ma'n-iadhaid beoil 7 raiti fer<sup>5)</sup> nErenn.' (1730) 'Gach ni adértha sa ris' bur Cuchulaind, 'abair rim sa é'. (1731) 'Tanag sa re sith 7 re comhaid dhó'. 'Carsad coma sin aile?' bur CuChulainn. (1732) 'In-asess don alaigh duid 7 in-as diér don broidi (so!), 7 coisg do cranntabail dona sluaghaib. Doigh amh ní suirc leo an tarannchleas do'gni siu forro, o'thlig adhaigh.' (1733) 'Ni'ghébh sa no<sup>6)</sup> comhada sin' bur CuChulainn. 'Ced on aile?' bur Mac Roth. 'Doigh muirfidid Ulaidh a sesgraidi,<sup>7)</sup> in tan nach·biadh bleachtaighi aco da n-imghuineadh ar gréasaib 7 ghlamaib<sup>8)</sup> 7 chuidechtaib 7 ceithernaib.<sup>9)</sup> 7 do·berdais a ndæramni<sup>10)</sup> ar feis lepta<sup>11)</sup> 7 laimdhéraidhtí daib, gomsa dærbésacha macneda Uladh i-lleth o maitheachaibh da eis. 7 ní suaic leam sa oil mur sin [341 b] do gabail<sup>12)</sup> ar Ulltaib ar mh'eisi fein' bur CuChulainn.

(1740) Is annsin tainic Mac Roth reimhi dochum dhunaidh bfer nErenn go hairm a'mboi Oilill 7 Medhbh 7 Ferghus. 7 con·fochtais Oilill sgela dhe. (1740) 'In·fuarais<sup>13)</sup> in fer sin?' bur Oilill. (1741) 'Nad·edar am aile' bur Mac Roth, 'acht do·fuarus inni n-æinfir arin tsnechta etir Ochain 7 muir ar nemhfaghbail chodalta na hoidhchi areir dho. (Vgl. 1707) Do·dhilegh in snechta tricha fertraighed bur gach leth uadha 7 ba'sredha<sup>14)</sup> a hsecht<sup>15)</sup> cneisléinti fichet ciartha clártha dhe. 7 tarrusdair a ara re headh n-imcian uadh,<sup>16)</sup> doigh nis·ribloingesdair do beth 'na farradh re

<sup>1)</sup> ón W.<sup>2)</sup> ón W.<sup>3)</sup> del.<sup>4)</sup> fuil W.<sup>5)</sup> fer W.<sup>6)</sup> na W.<sup>7)</sup> sesgraidi W (sesg-idi Hs.), doch siehe unten.<sup>8)</sup> ghlamaibh W.<sup>9)</sup> So W<sub>1</sub>. ceitheraib meine Kopie.<sup>10)</sup> lies ndærmua(i)<sup>11)</sup> leptha W.<sup>12)</sup> dh'aghhbail W.<sup>13)</sup> fuarais W.<sup>14)</sup> basredha Hs. mit Punkt unter o.<sup>15)</sup> hsecht W.<sup>16)</sup> uadh W.

med brotha in curadh 7 in cathmhiledh ad·connarc sa ann.' (1744) 'As eisiun do·fuarais ann' bur Oilill 7 bur Ferghus. (1743) 'An·gabhann na comhadha sin?' bur Oilill. 'Ni·ghabann ámh aile' bur Mac Roth. 'Ced on aile?' bur Oilill. 'Doigh muirfidhid Ulaidh a sesgraidhi, in tan nach·biad a mbleachtaighi aco da n·imgaineadh da n·gresaihb 7 chuidechtaib 7 ceternaihb, 7 do·berdais a ndærmna ar feis lepta 7 laimderaighthai, gomsad dærbhesacha macneda Uladh leth o máithreachaibh da éis'.

(1746) 'Berar coma eile uainn do' bur Oilill. (1746, vgl. 1610) 'Cársad <sup>1)</sup> coma sin aile?' bur Mac Roth. (1611) 'Imdhéntar leis ar·milled <sup>2)</sup> dha ferann 7 da forba, argon·ictar ris e do reir Uladh 7 Ferghusa 7 mhaithi bfer nEreenn fuiled <sup>3)</sup> isin dunadh <sup>4)</sup> 7 isin longport sa. (1614) Tigid as im géillsine sea, doigh is ferr do beth im geilsine na beth i ngéillsine [342 a] in oigthigerna aga·da .i. Concobur mac Fachtna Fathaigh.' (1616) Gurab i sin in briathur 7 <sup>5)</sup> is geonu do·raidhed ar tain bo Cuailghni .i. oigthigerna do dhenamh do Choncobur. (1746) 'Berar coma eile uaindi do' bur Medhbh. (1746) 'Carsad coma sin aile?' bur Oilill. (1746) 'In·as blicht don alaidh 7 in·asær na broidi. 7 caisged a cranntábhaill dona sluaghaib, doigh ní suaire linní in tarannchles do·ni forainn, o·thig adhaigh.' (1749) 'Cia rachus risna comadaib?' ar siad. (1749) 'Cia acht Mac Roth in rimeachlach?' <sup>6)</sup> bur Medhbh, 'oir is e e eolach ann'.

(1751) Is annsin do·eiridh Mac Roth 7 do·imidh roimhe go hoirm a mboi CuChulainn. (1752) 'Tanag sa re comaidh eile duid si fos, doigh do·fedar, gura tú CuChulainn.' (1753) 'Cia comadha sin aile?' bur CuChulainn. (1753) In·us blicht in alaigh duid 7 sin <sup>7)</sup> sær na broidi. 7 caisg do cranntábhaill dana sluaghaibh, doigh ní suaire leo in tarannchleas do·gni siu fortho, o·thig adaigh.' (1756) 'Ni·geb sa na comadha sin etir' bur CuChulainn. 'Doigh muirfidhid Ulaidh a mbleachtaighi, an tan nach·bia sesgaidi aca da n·imghuineadh da n·gresaihb 7 glamhaib <sup>8)</sup> 7 gnathaidhedaib 7 chuidechtaib. (1759) Do·berad sa[n] a særmna ar brointib 7 loisdib 7 oghnamaib, 7 robadh aithis lem sa ail mar sin d fagbail ar Ulltaibh ar m'eisi fein.' (1762) 'In·b·fuil coma geba?' ar Mac Roth. (1762) 'Ata ámh eigin' ar CuChulainn. 'Carsad coma sin?' bur Mac Roth.

<sup>1)</sup> Carsad W.      <sup>2)</sup> milledh W.

<sup>3)</sup> dúnadh W.      <sup>4)</sup> del.

<sup>5)</sup> So meine Kopie, inas W.

<sup>6)</sup> fuilead W.

<sup>7)</sup> righeachlach W.

<sup>8)</sup> glámhaib W.

(1764) 'Ad·biur sa dom breithir ris' bur CuChulainn, 'nach misi rodus·fuighbhe<sup>1)</sup> etir [342 b] duib i<sup>2)</sup>, acht mata i ndunadh no a longport agaib nech do·feidir abradh rib'. '7 mana·fuil etir?' ar Mac Roth. (1767) 'Mana·fuil etir' ar CuChulainn, 'na·tiged nech re sith no re comaidh dam sa go bruinne bratha 7 bethadh da eis'.<sup>3)</sup>

(1769) Is annsin tainic Mac Roth reimhi docum dunaigh 7 longpoint bhfer nEreun go hairm a mboi Oilill 7 Medhbh 7 Ferghus. (1770) 'Nar·gab na comadha sin aile?' bur Oilill. (1770) 'Nad·gabann aile' bur Mac Roth. 'Cedh on aile?' bar Oilill. (Vgl. 1626) 'Ad·bert san da breithir ris, nachas·rinna CuChulainn brathair a mathur etir anail dogres.' (1771) 'In·fuil coma ghebbhus aile?' bar Oilill. (1772) 'Ata amh eigin' ar Mac Roth. 'Carsad coma sin?' bur Oilill. (1773) Ad·bert san da breithir ris, nachbadh eisin radus·fuighbhedh duibh i, acht mata a ndunadh no a longphort agaib fein nech da·fedir abradh rib'. '7 mana·bhfuil etir?' bur Oilill. (1775) 'Mana·b[fuil etir]' bur Mac Roth, 'na·teighedh nech re sith no re comaidh doson go bruinne bratha 7 bethadh da eis'. 'Doigh a físin d Ferghus aile' bur Oilill.<sup>4)</sup> (1780) 'Nad·fedar sa amh aile' bur Ferghus, '7 ad·bert sa doma breithir ris, nach·tig sochur no somháine dáibh si don[a] comadhaibh iarus'. (1781) 'Carsad coma sin aile?' bur Oilill. 'Ni hannsa' bur Ferghus, 'in-us blicht in alaidh 7 in-asær na broidi dhó, (1782) 7 fer ar áth gach læi dō do chomhlann 7 do comhrag ris. (1784) 7 in tan tairgfí do<sup>5)</sup> in fer sin do marbadh, fer eile bur ath do<sup>5)</sup> no dunadh 7 longphort d agbail daib si bur culu darisi do. Aneoch gonfaidher [343 a] 7 crechtnaidhfídh d Ulltaibh ina arrad, bur lega sa da n-ic 7 go n-ic luacha leighis<sup>6)</sup> uaib si daibh. Aneoch charfus d ingenaibh righ 7 taisech bhfer nEreun e, a n-idhlacadh chuigi uaib si go n-ic<sup>7)</sup> luacha 7 chaibhchi dara cenn. (1786) A bhiathadh 7 a eided in fad bheas ar tanaidh. 'In·maithend se ní dona comadhaib sin aile?' bur Oilill. 'Maithfidh amh<sup>8)</sup> eigin' bur Ferghus, 'i. ní·cuinneocha do biathadh no dh eidedh oraib si acht se fein do bhiathadh<sup>9)</sup> 7 do eidedh'.<sup>10)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> fuighbhe W.<sup>2)</sup> i W.<sup>3)</sup> eis W.<sup>4)</sup> Oilur Hs.<sup>5)</sup> dó W.<sup>6)</sup> goníc luadh léighis goníc luacha leighis (léighis W) Hs.<sup>7)</sup> ic W.<sup>8)</sup> ámh W.<sup>9)</sup> biathad W.<sup>10)</sup> éidedh W.

1) 'Maith, a Férghais' bur Medhbh, 'nachan aichnidh dam fein gidh etir CuChulainn'. 'Maith a Fiacha mic Fír Feabha' bur Fergus, 'dò dhuid si romad ar cenn ConCulainn, con'aigillter duinn man gleann e.'<sup>2)</sup> (1619) Is annsin tainic Fiacha roimhe<sup>3)</sup> go hairm a'mboi CuChulainn. 'Mocen do thecht 7 do thorrachtain, a Fiacha' bur CuChulainn. (1620) 'Tairisi lem sa in failti sin amh' bar Fiacha. (1620) 'Tairisi dhuid si on' bur CuChulainn, '7 rod'fia sa ædhaidhecht na hoidhchi anocht de'. 'Rod'fia buaidh 7 benachtain, a dhaltain' bur Fiacha, '7 nacha d'ædaighecht tanag sa acht da radha rit sa techt a ngleann. 7 do'riacht Medhbh i n-airis duid ann, con'aigilled thu.' 7 tainic CuChulainn man ngleann, 7 do'bi Medhbh ag tairgsi na comadh sin do. 7 cuma do'bi aga radha 7 ad'bert in læidh ann asa haithli:

(1655) 'A ChuChulainn caraid raind. dingaib dinn do  
[cranntabhaill.

amhnus duinn do gnim garb gle.<sup>4)</sup> rinn brisder bru  
[redbhaigne.'

(1659) [334 b] 'A Mhedhbh do Mhur mac Maghach. nirsum  
[drochlæch dimbágach  
nachatreiged duid rem ré. imain tana bhó Cuailghue.'

(1671) 'Ni haithis duid a mberi. a maic drongaigh Deightine.  
forba ar n-ech is forbha ar sed. arai æinfe  
[d imchoimhed.'<sup>5)</sup>

(1667) 'Osamé re recht rubadh. airsidh imdheaghla Uladh.  
nachagébh go'tardtar dam. gach bo blicht gach  
[bangæidheal.'

(1679) 'Ni haithis duid a mberi. a maic drongaigh Deightine.  
is forborach duid a roinn. a Chu comromach Culainn.'

A. C. C.

'Maith, a Fergais' bur Medhbh, (1632) 'inn esiud<sup>6)</sup> in CuChulainn oirdeirc iderthi si bur nUlltachaib nach'bfuil a nErinn<sup>7)</sup> læch danach comlann 7 danach comrag mor é?'

'Nachan a n-Erinn amhain<sup>8)</sup> adermaird' bur Fergus, 'acht nach'fuil isin bith læch danach comlann 7 danach comrag mor e'.<sup>9)</sup> (1631) Ceisis Medhbh go mor air iarna faisgin.

<sup>1)</sup> Siehe oben S. 544, Anm. 5. Mit den folgenden Sätzen verschafft sich der Redaktor die Möglichkeit, einen großen Teil der vorher übersprungenen Partie hier einzuschalten.

<sup>2)</sup> é W.

<sup>3)</sup> roime W.

<sup>4)</sup> glé W.

<sup>5)</sup> imchoimhéd W.

<sup>6)</sup> ésiud W.

<sup>7)</sup> n-Erinn W.

<sup>8)</sup> amháin W.

<sup>9)</sup> é W.

1) 'Maith, a Ferghais' bur Medhbh, 'in maithenn se ni dona comadhaib?' 'Maithidh amh eigin' ar Ferghus; 'ni'chuinneocha se a biathadh no a eidedh oraib si'. 'Maith, a Ferghais' bur Medhbh, 'geib siu ort na comadha ud' 2) ima fíradh 7 comilled ris'. (1792) 'Ni'ghebh' 3) am eigin' bur Ferghus. (1793) 'Cidh on' 4) aile?' bur Medhbh. 'Ad'aghur gan a fíradh 7 gon a comalladh daib si tar mo chenn.' 'Coimeltar amh' 5) eigin' bur Medhbh.

(1798) Is annsin do'gabadh a eocha d Ferghus 7 do'hinnleadh a charbad. O'd'chonnaire sin im mæthoglach 6) do mluinnter Oilella 7 Medhbha darsad comainm Eadarcomall mac Ædha Leithrinne, . . . 7) (1800) 'Cred teigi siu [334 a] etir, a Eadarcomhall?' bur Ferghus. (1801) 'Teigim lad sa aile' bur Edarchomhall. 'Créd' 8) ma'tigi siu lem sa?' bur Fergus. 'Da taibhredh crotha 7 dealbha ChonCulainn, oir' 9) ni haithnidh dam e. 10)' 'Ni'thicfa lem sa amh eigin' bur Ferghus. (1803) 'Cidh on' 11) aile?' bur Edarchol (so!). (1803) 'Do hotlacht 7 do hoghenacht su, a luinne' 12) 7 a dheine' 13) 7 a dhluthfergaigi siun, 7 ad'agur sa tachur daib.' (1806) 'In tualaing thusa mh'anacul etir?' bur Eadarcomhal. (1806) 'Robsum tualaing am eigin' bur Fergus, 'acht nach' iara fein fidhratacht.' (1807) 'Ni'sirem amh aile' bur Eadarcomal.

(1809) Is annsin tangadur rompa. 7 is ann ro'boi CuChulainn in la sin 7 a druim risin cairthi a crich Rois 7 se ag imirt buanfaidh re 'araidh ann. 7 do'bered' 14) a ara leth air .i. gachre cluichi air 7 ni'theighed bethadhach darsan magh uile gan faisgin do. (1813) 'Aencairpthech sunna inosa darsan magh, a mo phopa, a Chugagain' ar Lægh. (1813) 'Cinnus carbaid sin aile?' bar CuChulainn. (1814) 'Carbad cain mor ann' bur eisiun, '7 ba samalta lem re hinna righratha romhoire do ráthannaib in chuigidh in carbad fuil i n-eachadhbadaib' 15) na n-ech sin. (1815) Ba samalta lem re doisbile os fidhbaidh ardmair in folt drongach dualach donnchas donnbhuidhi ata forsan oglach fuil isin carbad sin. (1817) Brat uaine i foircibal uime. (1818) Casan gealairgid isin brut osa bruinne. (SK 1157) Leine [334 b] gleghel' 16)

1) Mit diesem Abschnitt schenkt der Redaktor in die oben S. 548 unterbrochene Reihenfolge wieder ein.

2) úd W.

3) ghéb W.

4) ón W.

5) ámh W.

6) mæthóglach W.

7) Der Hauptsatz fehlt.

8) Cred W.

9) óir W.

10) é W.

11) ón W.

12) luinne W.

13) dhéine W.

14) beredh W.

15) inecadhbadaibh W.

16) glegheal W.



culpaitech fa derginnled do dergór i cusdal fria gheilchneas. (1819) Geilsgíath go tudhmhilaibh<sup>1)</sup> dergóir<sup>2)</sup> fair. Da sleigh cruadhacha coigrinnaithe isin carbad ina arradh. Ba saine samalta<sup>3)</sup> lem re lai morchuraigh moir i n-adhaigh mhoranfaidh indtech na laidhedh moiri ro-fuil leis. (1825) Ad-ciu sa carbad eile ina diaidh'. 'Cinnus carbaid eisen aile?' bar CuChulainn. 'Is lor<sup>4)</sup> a ainius 7 a súarcus con-riadh na heich imon carbad. Mæthghilla og eidedhach isin carbad.'<sup>5)</sup> (1826) 'Cia eigin d feraibh Erenn sin aile' bar CuChulainn 'ag toidhecht do dhécain mo crotha sa 7 mo dhelba? (1828) Doigh isum ain siu 7 isum urdheirc isin am sa a ndunadh 7 a longphort fer nErenn. Oir ni haithnidh daib siun misi gidh etir.'

(1829) Is annsin tainic Fergus roime 7 ferais CuChulainn fírchainfailti fris. 'Mocen do thecht 7 do thorrrachtain, am popa, a Fergais' bur CuChulainn, '7 rod-fia sa ædhaidecht<sup>6)</sup> oidhchi sunna anocht'. (1831) 'Tairisi lem sa 'n ædhaidhecht 7 in failti sin aile' bar Fergus. (1831) 'Tairisi duid si on aile' bur CuChulainn. 'Da-doighli<sup>7)</sup> liath léna (so!) in magh, rad-fia su cadhan go leth araile; da-toighli iasg i n-allaib no a n-eaib, rad-fia su eigni go leth aroile; dorn bilair 7 dorn femnaighi 7 dorn focluca 7 deoch<sup>8)</sup> [345a] a gaineamhain da eis 7 feis ar osarleabaidh urluachra,<sup>9)</sup> go-toiti do tromthoircim suain 7 codalta fort. (1835) Comlann 7 comrag re læch ar do chenn is misi con-airgebha,<sup>10)</sup> nogo-ris imslan<sup>11)</sup> a ndunadh<sup>12)</sup> 7 a longport bfer nErenn amarach.<sup>13)</sup> Is agum sa do-gebha'. (1837) 'Rod-fia buaidh 7 benachtain, a daltain' bur Fergus. 'Nach a d ædhaidhecht ort tangamair ni etir, acht na comadha do hiaradh uaid<sup>14)</sup> ima fíradh 7 ima comalladh duid.' (1840) 'Geibh ort a snaidhm sin aile' bur CuChulainn. 'Con-snaidhim sea on<sup>15)</sup> aile' bur Fergus. (1840) 'Gebad sa na comadha sin' bur CuChulainn, 'acht gon-damthar fir fer 7 comrag æinfr dam.' (1841) Is annsin tainic Fergus uadh, nach-abradais fir Erenn, gomad aga mbrath no aga tregan, da-mbeth ni badh sia ag imagallaib re CoinCulainn.

<sup>1)</sup> tu[a]dhmhílaib W.

<sup>4)</sup> lór W.

<sup>7)</sup> toighli W.

<sup>10)</sup> conairgébha W.

<sup>13)</sup> amárach W.

<sup>2)</sup> dergóir W.

<sup>5)</sup> Über b ein Punkt.

<sup>8)</sup> deoc W.

<sup>11)</sup> imslán W.

<sup>14)</sup> úaid W.

<sup>3)</sup> Über t ein Punkt.

<sup>6)</sup> oedhaidecht W.

<sup>9)</sup> uurluachra Hs.

<sup>12)</sup> ndúnadh W.

<sup>15)</sup> on W.

(1845) Is annsin do anusdair Edarcomhal mac Æda Lethrinne ar eis Fergusa ag taibred crotha ConCulainn. (1846) 'Cid feighai siu etir, a Edarcomail?' bur CuChulainn. (1846) 'Feigaim si thusa' bur Edarcomal. (1847) 'Nirbo dergta suil fri sodhain duid si sin' bur CuChulainn; 'ni cian uaid i-rradharc ad'chi<sup>1)</sup> suil<sup>2)</sup> ni is lugha inusa 7 ad'chi ni is mo anas. (1849) 7 cinnus lat atu sa aile?' bur CuChulainn. (1850) 'Is maith atai aile' bur Edarcomal, 'isad macam<sup>3)</sup> og<sup>4)</sup> alainn<sup>5)</sup> oireda thu go cleasaib ana imda ilarda uasad. Acht madh t'áirem etir deagaib<sup>6)</sup> no [345 b] dheghogaib<sup>7)</sup>, nid'airmim<sup>8)</sup> si.' (1853) 'Fir<sup>9)</sup> amh sin' bur CuChulainn, 'acht minbadh ar bhithin einigh Ferghusa thisdá<sup>10)</sup> sa a dunadh<sup>11)</sup> 7 a longphort bfer nErenn, is at aighedhaib minta 7 ad chethrúnaib<sup>12)</sup> fodhalta do-roisde sa i ndiaidh th'ech 7 do charbaid bur cula dorisi.' (1857) 'Nacham togha sa dot soighthin etir, a CuChulainn' bur Eadarcomhal. 'Doigh am na curu amhra sa do hiarradh uaid si ar feraib Erenn im fír fer 7 im comrag einfir do dhamhastain<sup>13)</sup> dhid, bidh misi<sup>14)</sup> cetna læch<sup>15)</sup> do ragha<sup>16)</sup> do comhlonn 7 do comhrag rit sa bur áth re huair na maidni mucha amárach.' (1860) 'Tarras diu' bur CuChulainn, 'doigh ní rugusa troidh theithidh re nech má guse ar sluaighed thana bo Cuailghni 7 ni mo berad romhad sa'.

(1861) Is annsin tainic Eadurcomhal mac Lethrinni i ndiaidh Ferghusa 7 bar egaim comradh do 7 da ara charbaid. (1865) 'Maith, a ghilla', bur Eadarchomhal, 'cia badh airdhirci dhuinne, comhlann do dhenamh amarach re CoinCulainn no a dhenamh anocht ba chetoir?' (1865) 'Olc é re dhenamh amarach' bur in gilla, '7 is miraghu a denamh<sup>17)</sup> anocht, doigh as fáisgi d agh 7 d imned duinn a dhenamh anocht.' (1868) 'Gidh ed sin tra' bur eisium, 'till duinn na leich 7 in carbad, go-roismis go háth in comlainn.<sup>18)</sup>

[346 a] (1873) 'In carbad deighenach do luidh uainne o chianaib' ar Lægh. (1874) 'Cid eisdhein?' bur CuChulainn. (1875) 'Edarcomal mac Ædha Lethrinne sin ag tocht do comlann

<sup>1)</sup> chí W.<sup>2)</sup> óg W.<sup>3)</sup> dheghogaib W.<sup>4)</sup> thisdá W.<sup>5)</sup> dhamhthain W.<sup>6)</sup> do doragha Hs.<sup>7)</sup> súil W.<sup>8)</sup> álainn W.<sup>9)</sup> ní airmim W.<sup>10)</sup> dúnadh W.<sup>11)</sup> misi W.<sup>12)</sup> dhenamh W.<sup>13)</sup> macæm W.<sup>14)</sup> lies deaghlæchaib.<sup>15)</sup> Fír W.<sup>16)</sup> chethrúnaib W.<sup>17)</sup> læch W.<sup>18)</sup> comlann W.

7 do comrac rim sa. (1876) 7 ni loinn lem sa comlann 7<sup>1)</sup> comrag do denamh ris, doigh is ar bhithin einidh Ferghusa tainic se a dunadh 7 a longphort bfer nErenn. (1878) 7 gidh ed sin, tabair mh'ech 7 mo charbad am diaidh, gonach·tartha<sup>2)</sup> in t-aitheach in t-ath<sup>3)</sup> ar tus romum.' (1879) 7 tainic Cuchulainn roime dochum an atha. (1882) 'Cid iarai<sup>4)</sup> siu, a Edarcomail?' bur CuChulainn. 'Do comhlann 7 do comrac rit sa aile' bur Edurcomal. (1883) 'Ni loinn lem sa comhlann na comrag do denamh rit sa, a Edurcomail' bur CuChulainn, 'doigh is ar bhithin einidh Ferghusa tainic tu a dunadh 7 a longphort bfer nErenn.' (Vgl. 1894) 'Arai sin tra' bur Edurcomal, 'nacha·rach sa as, gom·rala duinn 7 go. rucar sa do chenn sa lem 7 do chosgar 7 do comméidhemh no nogo·rugair si mo chenn sa 7 mo cosgar 7 mo coméidhemh let.' (Vgl. 1896) 'In·dhébartais ma dheiredh, ised do·gentur ann' bur CuChulainn, 'uair berad sa do cenn sa 7 do cosgar 7 do coméidhemh lem'. (1890) Is annsin tesgais CuChulainn fodalbheim do go foghaith fair, gur·ben a folt 7 a fínnfadh de on chluais góa cheili, mar badh d altain imger<sup>5)</sup> ras·bérrtha é, conach·forgaibh drisiu fala fair. 'Coisg, a fáthaigh' bur CuChulainn; (1893) 'do bertus [346 b] gen fort'.<sup>6)</sup> 'Ni·racam' bur Edurcomal, 'guma·rala duinn fos'. (1885) Is annsin tesgais fodalbheim eile do .i. in fód do·bhi fa a bonn, go·mbai fora ucht 7 se fæn fo tharsna 7 a gabhaidi clis i n-airdi fair. (1888) 'Coisg, athaigh' bur CuChulainn, 'doig do·bertus robudh dhuit'. (1889) 'Ni·racham aile' bur Edarcomal, 'gom·raladh duinn fos'. (Vgl. 1898) Is annsin cinnis CuChulainn do sadhlar talman, go·mboi for cobra sgeith Edurcomail, 7 bertais beim do, go·tobhacht a chenn de, 7 ath·buailis<sup>7)</sup> in meidhi, gurab a n-aineacht do·thuit in cenn 7 leth na colla docum lair<sup>8)</sup> 7 lantalman i n-ænuair.

Is annsin tainic ara carbaid Edurcomhail reimi a ndiaidh Ferghusa. (1903) Oir ón ló do·gab Ferghus airm læich ina laimh, nir·féghusdair ara ais riamh in<sup>10)</sup> ana dheghaidh, acht mana·tegmadh neach aird i n-aird ris. (1907) Et o rainic ara Edarcomhail aird i n-aird re Ferghus: 'Ca hairm a·fuil do thigerna,

<sup>1)</sup> no W.<sup>2)</sup> tártha W.<sup>3)</sup> áth W.<sup>4)</sup> Das Abkürzungszeichen über r ist das, welches sonst ach oder adh bedeutet.<sup>5)</sup> imger W.<sup>6)</sup> Aus fost korrigiert.<sup>7)</sup> a athaigh W.<sup>8)</sup> athbuailis W.<sup>9)</sup> láir W.<sup>10)</sup> lies na.

a ghilli?' bur *Fergus*. (1909) 'Do'rorchair re CoinChulainn tís ud arin áth anoisí' bur in gilla. (1910) 'Cidh don clénsiridi siabhardha mo sárugadh do dhenamh' ar *Fergus* 'mante<sup>1)</sup> tainic ar fásadh 7 ar mo chumairci a dunadh 7 a longport bhfer nErenn? (1912) 7 arai sin turtha dhuinn na heich 7 in carbad go háth in comhlainn 7 an comraic.' (1914) Is annsin turthois in gilla na heich 7 in carbad [go háth] in comlainn 7 in comraig. (1915) 'Cid duit, a cléin siridi<sup>2)</sup> [347a] siabhardha bhig mo sárugadh sa do dhenamh arinti tainic ar mh'asamh 7 ar m'oineach 7 ar mo chumairci a dunadh 7 a longphort bfer nErenn?' ar *Fergus*. (1917) 'Arin altrom do'bertaisiu form sa 7 do'bertadur Ulaidh 7 Conchobur, cia badh ferr let sa, Ulaidh i n-imgabadh gan nech aga n-imgainiudh acht mhisi m'áenar 7 Edarcomal doma mharbadh sa no misi do marbadh Edarcomail? (1921) 'Is ferr lem indearnadh ann, a dhaltain' bur *Fergus* 'i. Edarcomal<sup>3)</sup> do mharbadh, 7 benocht arin laimh<sup>4)</sup> ris'faraill. Doig is 'na cintaib fein idrochair.' (1920) 'Fiadhfraidh siu da ghilla fein,<sup>5)</sup> cia againn is cintach' bur CuChulainn.

(1923) 7 ní-roibi dhe ámh acht sin. 7 do'cengladh i ndiaidh a ech 7 a charbaid e.<sup>6)</sup> (1924) 7 intan ba réidh daibh, do'cumaisged se<sup>7)</sup> i. ina dhibh lethibh iman carbad, 7 an tan ba haimhreidh dhaib, do'leandais a sgaimhi 7 a tromai ar ceapaib 7 ar coirtheib in talman. (1927) 7 tangadur rompa ar lar dhunaigh 7 longphuirt bhfer nErenn. (1930) Is annsin do'riacht Medhbh amach 7 do'rad a guth n-ard n-áibeoil<sup>8)</sup> n-imsgailti bur aird. (1931) 'Gérsa mæthmacamh<sup>9)</sup> go mbruth 7 go mbrigh 7 go mbarainn ag tocht uainn i tus<sup>10)</sup> lai o chianaib thu, ní himirt mæthmacaib<sup>11)</sup> do'berar ort adrasda.' (1934) 'Créd do'mhear in gilla úd etir aile?' bur *Fergus*. (1935) 'Carsa dúal don aithechmhadudh úd tocht do ghleo 7<sup>12)</sup> d imrisin risin árchoin irghaile nach [347b] fedaid curaidh no cathmhileda do tadhall na tasgadh dho<sup>13)</sup>?' (1937) 7 ní-boi dhe acht sin. (1939) Gurab comrag Edarcomhail ar tanaidh annsin.

(1941) Is annsin ro'himráidhedh ag feraib Erenn, cia badh coir do comlann 7 do comrac re CoinCulainn<sup>14)</sup> 7 da dthingmhail<sup>15)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> manté W.

<sup>4)</sup> láimh W.

<sup>7)</sup> sé W.

<sup>10)</sup> tus.

<sup>13)</sup> dhó W.

<sup>2)</sup> éiridi W.

<sup>5)</sup> féin W.

<sup>8)</sup> n-áibeoil W.

<sup>11)</sup> mæthmacaib W.

<sup>14)</sup> Coin. C. C. Hs.

<sup>3)</sup> Edurcomal Hs.

<sup>6)</sup> é W.

<sup>9)</sup> -macámh W.

<sup>12)</sup> no W.

<sup>15)</sup> dthingmhail W.

dib ar ath<sup>1)</sup> in comlainn re huar maidni mucha arnamharach.<sup>2)</sup> Ised ais-<sup>3)</sup> raidhsed<sup>4)</sup> uile, gomadh e<sup>5)</sup> Naderandain. Is annsin congaradh Naderandain i pupall Ailealla 7 Medhbha. 'Cidh am aram tucadh sa chugaib si?' ar Naderandail. 'Maith linn aile' bur Medhbh 'do comlann 7 do comrag duit re CoinCulainn ar ath 7 da dthingmhail dinn re huair na maidni mucha amarach.' Do'ghabh san do laimh<sup>6)</sup> in comlann 7 in comrag do dhenamh. 7 deisidhedar in oidhchi sin. 7 do'eirigh Naderandain go moch arnamhárach docum in comlainn 7 in combraig. 7 is amlaidh ro'eirigh 7 rugusdair a trealabh gaisgidh leis docum in comlainn. 7 gidh moch do'eirigh siun, is mucha do'eirigh CuChulainn. (1943) Mara'facaigh siun CoinCulainn, beris tri nai mbera<sup>7)</sup> cruaidhcuilinn<sup>8)</sup> leis 7 siad fuachdha faillsgidhi. (1947) 7 mara'facaigh Naderandain CoinCulainn, tarraic bir air fo chetoir. (1947) Cinnis CuChulainn do sarlár thalman, go'mboi<sup>9)</sup> a-rinn in chetbera tarlaig Naderandain in bir tanaidsi ar CoinCulainn. Tarraic Naderandain in treas bir ar CoinCulainn. Cinnis CuChulainn do inn in bera tanaidsi,<sup>10)</sup> gom...

Das zweite Fragment der Táin in dieser Handschrift findet sich, wie Windisch gezeigt hat, auf S. 334. 335. 111—114. 348. 349. 115—118. 350. 351. Es entspricht dem Abschnitt in Eg 93, der in Nettlaus Abdruck mit § 43 beginnt (Anfang: *bfer nEr-tainic go pupall*) und mit § 222 schließt (letzte Worte: *d eraib Er-*). Es enthält also nicht mehr als Eg außer dem Stammbaum CuChulinn, den Windisch S. 389 Anm. 2 abdruckt, während in Eg (§ 173) die Namen, die hier zahlreicher waren als in H. 2. 17, ausradiert sind. Die Seiten 334, 111 und 351 sind sehr dunkel geworden und zum Teil völlig unleserlich.

<sup>1)</sup> áth W.<sup>2)</sup> arna mhárach W.<sup>3)</sup> Is annsin W. Is ais (zu lesen aithesg?) meine Kopie.<sup>4)</sup> ráidhsid W.<sup>5)</sup> é W.<sup>6)</sup> láimh W.<sup>7)</sup> mb- Hs.<sup>8)</sup> Hs. cher curaigh-<sup>9)</sup> gombói W.<sup>10)</sup> tanaidsi W.

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## ON A PASSAGE IN SERGLIGE CONCULAIND.

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The second version of the *Serglige Conculaind*, of which the beginning is wanting, opens with the words *Imthusa immorro Conculaind issed adfiastar sund coleic* 'the doings of C. will now here be described' (LU 46 b 37 = Ir. Texte I 214, 18). Cuchulainn sends Laeg to Emer to announce his sickness and to summon her to his sickbed. She reproaches the charioteer who, though he has access to the *síd*, does not seek a remedy for his master. She comes to Emain and sings to him a lay of exhortation. 'Then Cuchulainn arose and he passed his hand over his face, and he laid aside his weakness and his heaviness and he stood up and came *co mbói in airbi roir*' (LU 47 b 15). What is *airbi roir*? Windisch op. cit. p. 200 translates 'bis er sich an dem Orte befand, den er suchte'. Thurneysen in his 'Sagen aus dem alten Irland', p. 92 renders 'bis er zu der Einfriedigung kam, die er suchte', and adds the remark that the first meeting with the women of the *síd* appears to have taken place in an enclosure which Cuchulainn afterwards sought (p. 89). In Kuno Meyer's Contributions, s. v. 4 *airbe*, our passage is cited and translated 'till he was on the track which he sought'.

All these renderings are erroneous. As Mr. T. F. Rahilly first pointed out to me, *Airbe Rofir* is the name of a place in Conaille Murthemne.<sup>1)</sup> It occurs in the dindsenchas of Lecht Oenfir Áife (RC XVI p. 47) as the spot where Conla was buried by his father: *rosfuc leis Cúchulainn iarsin co roadnacht oc*

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<sup>1)</sup> The name is not found in Dr. Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*.

*Airrbe Rofir*, and in a poem ascribed to Cendfaelad mac Ailella as that where Cuchulinn fell (LL 121 b 43):

*doceir Cúchulainn cáin tuir-trénfer inn-Airbiu Rofir.*

The origin of the name is given as follows in LL 122 a 24 ff Conall Cernach put his foot into the footprint of the dead Cuchulinn and said: '*rop airrbe rofir inso*', whereupon the druid answered: '*bid ed ainm in tíri-seo co bráth Airrbe Rofir*'. Another explanation of the name is given in the modern version of the Cuchulainn-Conlaoch story, see *Éigse Suadh is Seanchaidh* (Gill & Co. 1910), p. 70.

Mullingar.

PAUL WALSH.

## VOX NIHILI.

In looking at 'Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus' II, p. 44, I see that a sentence of Isidore Etym. X, 129 has been printed as an example of an Irish gloss *úr*.

Isidore writes: *Iracundus dictus quia accenso sanguine in furorem compellitur: ur enim flamma dicitur, et ira inflammat.* All the good MSS. have *ur*; later MSS. substitute *πῦρ*.

St. Andrews.

W. M. LINDSAY.

## BÉRLA NA FILED.

Oben auf S. 102 habe ich unter dem Titel 'Abenteuer Königs Aed Oirdnide' einen Text veröffentlicht ohne mich daran zu erinnern, daß Edward Gwynn denselben in *Ériu* II 186 schon aus einer anderen Handschrift herausgegeben und übersetzt hat.<sup>1)</sup> Die von mir gedruckte Version unterscheidet sich nur darin, daß sie öfters an Stelle von Wörtern der gewöhnlichen Sprache (*gnáthfocuil*) die entsprechenden Wörter aus *bér-la na filed* setzt. Manches was ich nicht verstanden oder falsch gedruckt habe, läßt sich nun nach Gwynns Version leicht richtig deuten und verbessern.<sup>2)</sup> Da ich Zeitschr. V 490 eine größere Anzahl Wörter aus *bér-la na filed* alphabetisch zusammengestellt habe, so will ich die dort nicht verzeichneten Wörter aus unserem Text hier nachtragen. Die Ziffern beziehen sich auf die Zeilen.

ab 16 = aimser; s. am, Contrib.	arcc 10 = lestar
aidchi fiado 7 = adhaig domh- naigh	art 27 = dia 'Gott'
ailcne 18 = cloch	bé 15 = ben
arbar 10 = slúag	ben 1, 22, gen. bein 15 = mac

<sup>1)</sup> Ich habe Gwynns Ausgabe mit der Handschrift (Liber Flavus Fergusiorum fol. 92b1) kollationiert und folgendes angemerkt. In Z. 2 ist mit Gwynn *for cuiged* zu lesen. Z. 11 hat die Hs. richtig *seitidh*; Z. 24 *na cuirn sin*; Z. 26 *altaighis buidi*. In der Übersetzung muß es Z. 7 statt 'Sunday night' 'Saturday night' heißen (s. Aisl. Meic Congl. S. 134) und Z. 27 statt 'the second foster-brother' 'one of two foster-brothers'. Der Name des Trinkhorns *Cam-chorn* erinnert an den eines anderen *Cam coraind* genannten. S. AU 1197.

<sup>2)</sup> S. 102 Z. 3 l. *fuis tesci*; Z. 6 *tuiri[d]uibh*; ib. *impod*; Z. 9 *dobáthad*; Z. 11 *rodelig*; Z. 12, 17 &c. l. *Angal*; S. 103, Z. 3 l. *coiclie*.



bla, gen. an bla 18 = ráith	fétaim: rofét 23 = rofritha
bréo ('Flamme') 25 = náem	fethal 3, 9, 20 = corn
búaignech 8, 24 = corn; vgl.	fim 8 = deoch; s. Corm.
buaighnech .i. escra, Corm.	fó 6 = ri; vgl. fo .i. tigerna
Ir. 27	Zeitschr. V 491
buss 'Lippe'; for buss 19 = ar	frac 13 = lám
bélaib	
	Núall in domain 31 = Domnall
carn 2 = cúiged	onn 19 = cloch
coiclie 21 = comalta	poi 18 = coss
corbaim: roscorb 8 = roloing	rian f., acc. réin 22 = muir
cuine 12 = séitig	
da 28 = dobert	saoglann 12 = ri
daif 10 = deoch	sin 10 = amlaid
Dea 7 = Aed. Lies 6: <i>impód</i> an	tene aonbéime 7 = Aed
anma is Dea 'Umkehrung des	tesc, gen. tesce 3 = mias
Namens Dea'. Vgl. Zeitschr.	toirthim 14 = codlad
V 487 § 14	triath 12 = ri
Fecht, gen. Ehta 29 = Connacht	trist 12 = brón
ecnaig 26 = foillsig	trogan (f.) maidne 14 = maten
Él 13 = Dia	tuiridin 6, 26 = ri
Elga 20 = Ériu	

KUNO MEYER.

# MITTHEILUNGEN AUS IRISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN.

## *Elfenbegräbnis.*

*Aus dem Liber Flavus Fergusiorum, fo. 92 b 1.*

Laa n-æn robāi Mac Coisi for brū Locha Lēbind<sup>1)</sup> co  
faca an ōenmnāi ina suidhi<sup>2)</sup> ōsin loch 7 fūadan guil aisti.  
Bratt ūaine impe, trillsi taitneacha um a ceand. Āille do  
mnāibh an domhain a dealb. Ba mōr 7 ba dīairmhe a mēd  
5 seoch mnāib a haimsire.<sup>3)</sup> ‘Cīdh tāi a[g] gul?’ ar Mac Coisi.  
‘Fil a domhna occum’, or sisi, ‘i. mo chētsearc 7 mo chēt-  
leannān do marbad andiū a Sīth Codhail 7 a breith dia  
adhnacadh co Cluain mic Noisi co rusadhnacht innti.’ Ceileab-  
rais Mac Coisi dī iar sin 7 tēit co Rubha Conaill co hairm  
10 a mbāi ri Eirenn i. Congalach mac Māilmithig 7 atfēt<sup>4)</sup> an  
scēl sin uile dó. ‘Gu Cluain dūind ambārach!’ or Congalach,  
‘dia fīs an fīr an sgēl sin.’ Tiagaid co Cluain arambārach  
i. Congalach 7 Mac Coisi. Fīarfaighthir leo dona cleirc[h]ibh  
an roadhnacht fer na deilbi sin occa isan trāth sin. Atpertsat  
15 na cleirig nā roadhnacht duine oca isin trāth raithi sin uile.  
Gabaidd Congalach for eilingud Mic Coisi 7 a chluiche<sup>5)</sup> ime.  
Teacaid a cCluain an aidhche sin. Docūaladar an clog mairb  
isan madain arnambārach. Manach ba marb isan baile 7  
tucadh dia adhnacal cor claidhedh derc dó ait a fuil Leacc  
20 na nDrūadh<sup>6)</sup> andiū. Ō rāncus sealad sis isin tochailt frīth  
fuil 7 duille ūrbethe ann. Ba hingnadh mōr leo-som sin.

<sup>1)</sup> andeiridh (*ausgestrichen*) *add. MS.*

<sup>2)</sup> haimhsire *MS.*

<sup>3)</sup> cluithe *MS.*

<sup>4)</sup> suighi *MS.*

<sup>5)</sup> aatfet *MS.*

<sup>6)</sup> ndrūagh *MS.*

- Cech doimne noroisidh an t-adhnacul ba mō sa mō nogeibthi an fuil 7 an duille. Innisder do c[h]äch an sgel sin. Tecaíd cách dia féghadh co mbádar ós cenn an adhnacuil. Atpert 25 Congalach friu: 'Tochlaid an adhnacul an g[c]ein nogebthai an fuil 7 an duilli.' Dogníther an clais co domain. Fogabar sgúab beithi 'na hÍchtar 7 duine ana meadhōn 7 a bēl sīs. Indistír do Chongalach 7 do Mac Coisi sin 7 do c[h]äch archena. Tecaíd uile ós cinn an adhnacuil. Tógbaid<sup>1)</sup> anís 30 iarum an corp asan adnacal. As e tra ba cáime cruth 7 delb d'fearaib an betha. Folt buidhe fair. Áenguin adhbúl ana c[h]neas. Coic traighthi fiched<sup>2)</sup> ana airde. Seal dóib ag a féchsain. Claitír an fert fair iarum. Tic cách arambárach dia féchsain 7 docinnedd comairle cidh dogēdis fris. Tochailter 35 an fert doríssi 7 ní frith ann an corp 7 ní fes a sgēla iarum.

F. i. n. i. d.

### *Patricius segnet Irland.*

*Aus dem Buch von Lecan, fo. 191 b 1.*

Patricius benedictionem<sup>3)</sup> pro habitatoribus Hibernia[e] insola[e] deidit, conid adbeart Patraic andso.

- Beandacht De foraiḃ nílí fearaib Érenn maccaib mnaib sceo ingeanaib. Flaithbeandacht, balbeandacht, búanbeandacht, slánbeandacht, sárbeandacht, sírbeandacht, beandacht 5 nime, nēlbendacht, beandacht mara, mescebeandacht, beandacht thiri, toradbeandacht, beandacht drúchta, beandacht ai[d]chi, beandacht gaili, beandacht gaiscid, beandacht gotha, beandacht gnima, beandacht orda[i]n, beandacht áine foraiḃ nílí 10 læchaib cleirchib cēin forcongraid beandacht fear nime is mō ebert ós bithbeandacht.

Bend.

### *Finns Stammbaum und die Fiana.*

*1b. fo. 183 b 1.*

Find mac Cumail mic Suailt mic Eltaim mic Baiscne mic Nūadad Neacht mic Setna Sithbaic. Ailiter: Find mac Cumail mic Baiscne mic Fír da roth mic Guill mic Irguill

<sup>1)</sup> togbaidh MS.

<sup>2)</sup> fichid MS.

<sup>3)</sup> bēcōnem MS.

mic Dáiri mic Deaga mic Sin mic Rosin. Ocus is aici sin  
 5 rotinóilead coin ar tús i nÉrinn. Trí cōica[i]d rigfeinnid  
 badar aræn re Find. Erroi nōnbair cach fir dīb. Lānflidecht<sup>1)</sup>  
 cach fir dīb 7 ceard manchani la cach fir dīb ut fuit la  
 Coinculaind.

It ē na fianda sa uili fichsedar cath Cuillind 7 cath  
 10 Clíach 7 cath Comair trí n-usce 7 cath Muigi Inis 7 Sleibi  
 Mis 7 cath Lúachra 7 cath Síde Femin 7 cath Fea 7 cath  
 Crinda 7 cath Sídí dā bolc. It ē dofichsedar<sup>2)</sup> iarsuidiu  
 Indsi nDerglacha i sidaib la Find for Rudraige<sup>3)</sup> mac mBoidb  
 7 for Dearcroichniu. Nach rí<sup>4)</sup> tra lasa ndeachadar i cath,  
 15 is roime romuited. Finit.

### *Cormac cecinit.*

*Ib., fo. 173 b 1.*

1 Mac nach lium līthir<sup>5)</sup> form-sa, a Dē, dithig dom chind-sa:  
 nā roib corait<sup>6)</sup>her immom do bara findoll find-sa.  
 2 Nī fuil tūa[i]th ina bailiu<sup>7)</sup> thair, thīar, thes, deilm as  
 [druiniu,<sup>8)</sup>  
 adbiur fīad meic Dé athar: nidom athair do duiniu.<sup>9)</sup>  
 3 Dīa dúileach, dīn na mbocht-sa, Ruiri rūineach romalt-sa,  
 is re lēigind robeithi acht ge dogneithi in mac-sa.  
 Mac.

### *Sadb ingen Chuinn Chēthathaig cecinit.*

*Aus MS. Additional 30, 812, fo. 55 b 2.*

Bec cech tīr is gach talam, bec cech brigh is cech bunad,  
 bec cech glór is cech gredhan acht medar<sup>10)</sup> mór na Muman.

### *Aus der Kindheit Jesu.*

*Aus dem Buch von Hui Maine, fo. 115 a 2.*

1 'Sa ráith-sea rucadh Muiri, mathair Ísu foltbhuidhi,  
 in ōg is fearr rugad ríamh ō tucad ceand 'sa cédrian.

<sup>1)</sup> filigect *MS.*

<sup>2)</sup> rig *MS.*

<sup>3)</sup> baile *MS.*

<sup>4)</sup> medhair *MS.*

<sup>5)</sup> dofithsedar *MS.*

<sup>6)</sup> liter *MS.*

<sup>7)</sup> is druine *MS.*

<sup>8)</sup> rudraidi *MS.*

<sup>9)</sup> umam *MS.*

<sup>10)</sup> duine *MS.*

- 2 Ar in leic tana-sa tsair da scar Muiri re mǎthair,  
tucad ō ħndĀdham ind a himbǎthad<sup>1)</sup> do hIac[h]im.
- 3 Re slis in teampuill-sea tiar tǎinic da guidhi Gabrial,<sup>2)</sup>  
ō tǎinic lín Gabhrial gil ba beangíall Rígh in ríchidh.<sup>3)</sup>
- 4 Ar scǎth na tuireadh-sa thall da scuch in rígan roscmhall,  
rob imnār le Muiri mōir guide d'imrad ar fíróigh.<sup>4)</sup>
- 5 Ar in leic luim-sea lǎim rind tǎinic Críst ina c[h]olaind,  
darōine ar síth mar sin gan dith ōige donn inghin.
- 6 In dā tulaigh-sea aratām da cuir doc[h]ur don domhnān,  
dībh ro cabradh cland Ādhaim, adbar rand as roc[h]rǎbraidh.
- 7 Dā mac is fearr rugad riamh, Eōin baisdi is Issu ar  
[ǎenrian,  
ro bo cubaidh a cagar, ōn dā thulaigh tangadar.
- 8 Mathair Ísu as tulaigh túaidh, rosc mall gas<sup>5)</sup> ōs a geal-  
[grúaidh,  
mǎthair Eōin is tulaigh teas, sceōil reis nǎch cubaidh  
[coimeas.
- 9 Mathair Eōin būadaigh baisdi, bean gan adbar dhic[h]aisgi,  
a rosc mongach nār mōr reacht, torrach 's an Ōgh a  
[n-ǎenfeacht.
- 10 Āen da lǎ dacúaidh ar cúairt mǎthair Ísu nǎrbh anśúaire  
d'ĥis na mnā 'sa tulaigh teas, ro bo cubaid a cairdeas.
- 11 Nir duine and mac Muiri a mbroind na cnō cubraidhi,  
nir abaigh a feoil nā fuil fa Eōin, fan abaid n-úasail.
- 12 Bidhgas a mbroind a mhǎthar Eōin baisti is nir bǎeth-  
[lǎthar,  
ō dha airígh a athair isin maigin mInscathaigh.
- 13 Leigis Eōin ē ar a gluinibh tall isin gil gormsúiligh,  
beg nǎchar toll a tǎeb<sup>6)</sup> geal in crǎeb<sup>6)</sup> dond gusin dú-  
[leamh.
- 14 Tig Muire da tig atúaidh<sup>7)</sup> gusan dūn-sa gan dimbúaid,  
a slis bláith-si 's a barr glan tall isin raith-si rugadh.
- 15 'San raith-sea darindead fos oileamain Críst fa chetnōs,  
da bi Rí<sup>8)</sup> nimi in seang sér<sup>9)</sup> treall as nir miri macámh.
- 16 Lǎ dacúaid mac Muiri amac[h] 'na macām data dimsach,  
fear feadhma deas ar gach ndān da nderna cleas na crocān.<sup>10)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> himmbatudh, mit punctum delens über dem zweiten m.

<sup>2)</sup> gabriel MS. <sup>3)</sup> righthigh MS. <sup>4)</sup> fíroigh MS.

<sup>5)</sup> tǎeb MS. <sup>6)</sup> crǎeb MS. <sup>7)</sup> atúaidh MS.

<sup>8)</sup> rígh MS. <sup>9)</sup> sér seang MS. <sup>10)</sup> crochan MS.

- 17 Crocān a lāim gach leinim gusin fūarān foithreamail,  
cuiris Muiri mear nār tuig fear a toigi don tibraid.
- 18 Brisis Crīst a c[h]rocān fein risin macraidh co mic[h]eill,  
airead copān mīn don muigh do c[h]rocān dīb nī deac[h]aid.
- 19 Ēirgid co Muiri mnā in tslūaigh da c[h]asaid Isu a n-ændūair,  
teagaid don bondbāin bāghaid congāir 'mana crocānaib.
- 20 Ēirgid mac Muiri mōiri re greasacht na glanōighi,  
nī rūacht bas leabur nā lām ōn leanam chas gan crocān.
- 21 Blog <sup>1)</sup> don c[h]rocān na ceili da cuiread flaith findgreīni,  
ger tseang a trāth is a traigh, nīr fearr a t[h]āth ō  
[t[h]osaig.
- 22 Aig sin r[e]abrad darōini macām mīn na mōrōigi,  
in blath derg, in bili bān, mo c[h]raidi ceard na crocān.
- 23 Leim beg ele tug a thraigh asa beind-sea ar ar mbelaib,  
leim don beind fuair d'araile ina stūaigh t[h]eind tseabcaidhi.
- 24 Mac fir in baili-sea abus tāinic tām dō da dīumus,  
fūabris fein in cleas cētna, beas ro bo reim rodēdla.
- 25 Leingis a ndiaidh meic Muiri, nī toracht trian conairi,  
fūair ar sās na fatha in fear bas, ca fatha um nāch  
[fuigbeadh?
- 26 Ēirgid sūas co Muiri mōir lucht na cathrach a cedōir,  
teagaid a n-aigid uili <sup>2)</sup> ar in raghil rignaidhi.
- 27 'Nā measgaid ar mu māthair!' ar Isa in fuilt c[h]læn-rāthaigh,  
'tiucfa in mac cetna ar bar cloind', ar in tslat dedla  
[digaind.
- 28 Dechain ro dechsat na slūaigh re hoir in maighi mongrūaidh  
adcid mac Muiri 'sin magh, 's an tslat oile 'na adrad.
- 29 Airsin gairthir a gairm rīgh do mac Muiri na mōrgnīm,  
rāiti rī risin ngīall nglan, da bī riam arna rīgad.
- 30 Teagar in tulach atām da Muiri cona macāmh,  
port sēr (fo. 115 b 2) a raibhi rabhaigh, baili na nām  
[Nesarāith. S.
- 31 Adloc[h]ur da Muiri mōir in leac da bī fan mbānōigh,  
in stūag-sa da bhī fa bond, in clī trūag-sa 'ga tadall. <sup>3)</sup>
- 32 In feoil beg-sa 'sa bruindi da c[h]um Isu umainni,  
in corp tlāith-sea nāch dūal damh, trūagh nāch 'sa rāith-  
[sea rugadh!  
Sa rāith.

<sup>1)</sup> blad MS.<sup>2)</sup> uile MS.<sup>3)</sup> tadgall MS.

*Forfess Fer Fálgae.*

*Aus Egerton 1782, fo. 19a mit den Lesarten von Harleian 5280, fo. 74a und Egerton 88, fo. 11a.*

Incipit forfess Fer Fálgae .i. Fer Mano,<sup>1)</sup> iss isidi<sup>2)</sup> foilsigti<sup>3)</sup> do Oultaib a hEmuin Machae dia tubart<sup>4)</sup> ind heún-grip<sup>5)</sup> in scoith<sup>6)</sup> milidę doib ocus iss iarum luid Cuculaind ocus fiu forfes<sup>7)</sup> Fer Falchae 7 selaig firu Faal huli ar galuib oinfir. Tanic do asennath<sup>8)</sup> gussin righ fadeisin.<sup>9)</sup> Get<sup>10)</sup> a ainm sidein.<sup>11)</sup> Is iarum cid cotránicc Get<sup>10)</sup> ocus Cuculaind. Is iarum cachain Airnbertach bui isin tig de<sup>12)</sup> Uлтаib ind láid si<sup>13)</sup> do chomrace Conculaind<sup>14)</sup> 7 rig Fomoiri.<sup>15)</sup>

‘Gala nisfer foirndut.<sup>16)</sup> fer claine<sup>17)</sup> ar gale<sup>18)</sup> gnim. Get arfeimtha<sup>19)</sup> imeburach<sup>20)</sup> baig.’

Dixit q̄q Gett:

‘Baag<sup>21)</sup> ban beirid for huathbasai<sup>22)</sup> éc mar arbeir<sup>23)</sup> bith narm<sup>24)</sup> atumbelud<sup>25)</sup> in forcle<sup>26)</sup> fer. fardumderet<sup>27)</sup> debruinnet<sup>28)</sup> droingtum<sup>29)</sup> doloine<sup>30)</sup> lind. Fumda<sup>31)</sup> locharna laiss<sup>32)</sup> lethet<sup>33)</sup> hoath<sup>34)</sup> hontimne.<sup>35)</sup> namtha<sup>36)</sup> fer fiu fert ar gaili<sup>37)</sup> gnim. goisem<sup>38)</sup> ara cumachta corp dag<sup>39)</sup> Cuculaind cotamidedar met.<sup>40)</sup> midtir<sup>41)</sup> oim fri uatha<sup>42)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> manod *H*, manant *E*.

<sup>2)</sup> eidsidhe *E*.

<sup>3)</sup> foillsigthi *HE*. <sup>4)</sup> diandubart *H*, tiatubairt *E*.

<sup>5)</sup> éngrib *H*, engraibh *E*.

<sup>6)</sup> scoth *E*.

<sup>7)</sup> forbz *H*. <sup>8)</sup> asendad *H* asendath *E*

<sup>9)</sup> fodesin *H*.

<sup>10)</sup> ged *H*, gett *E*.

<sup>11)</sup> sidhe *H*, sidhen *E*.

<sup>12)</sup> do *HE*.

<sup>13)</sup> siu *H*, so *E*.

<sup>14)</sup> coinculaind *MS*. concul- *HE*.

<sup>15)</sup> fomóre *H*, fomoire *E*.

<sup>16)</sup> forndat *H*.

<sup>17)</sup> cloine *H*.

<sup>18)</sup> gaili *H*, gaile *E*.

<sup>19)</sup> arfemthi *H*, arfeimthea *E*.

<sup>20)</sup> imbebúruach *H*, imbebuarach *E*.

<sup>21)</sup> buagh *E*.

<sup>22)</sup> uathbasai *E*. <sup>23)</sup> airbir *HE*.

<sup>24)</sup> narmb *HE*.

<sup>25)</sup> atombelad *H*, atambelud *E*.

<sup>26)</sup> forcliu *H*.

<sup>27)</sup> fordonderet *H*, fordimderet *E*.

<sup>28)</sup> dobruindind *H*, dibruinnet *E*.

<sup>29)</sup> drongthamh *H*, droingtium *E*.

<sup>30)</sup> diloine *E*.

<sup>31)</sup> fomta *H*.

<sup>32)</sup> lass *H*.

<sup>33)</sup> lethiud *H*, lethsed *E*.

<sup>34)</sup> huath *H*.

<sup>35)</sup> honteimne *E*.

<sup>36)</sup> namthá *H*.

<sup>37)</sup> gaile *E*.

<sup>38)</sup> gnim (get) goissem *H*, goisim *E*.

<sup>39)</sup> cumachta (cobh corpdha daig) *H*, daig *E*.

<sup>40)</sup> cotamidethir meid *H*, codomidhethar meid *E*.

<sup>41)</sup> mitir *E*.

<sup>42)</sup> oimh fri uath *H*, oim (no aon) fri huatha *E*.

almna almaca<sup>1)</sup> ma<sup>2)</sup> ansu<sup>3)</sup> aitherrach<sup>4)</sup> aitherrach<sup>5)</sup> nde nitho nauth.<sup>6)</sup>

Mulier dixit hoc:<sup>7)</sup>

‘Ni maith immongoin<sup>8)</sup> Get. ni maith immon Get goin.

Cuculaind<sup>9)</sup> dixit:<sup>9)</sup>

‘Cotom gai bolgai ben fortom claidiub fortben fortom chaindil diibti.<sup>10)</sup> cotum<sup>11)</sup> cletiniu<sup>12)</sup> cumban<sup>13)</sup> fer dia clechlat<sup>14)</sup> a da nind ni roisur<sup>15)</sup> fris. Firfithir<sup>16)</sup> бага baigfithir<sup>17)</sup> fir<sup>18)</sup> find ar foidne feis. fiibthir<sup>19)</sup> Falchaoe<sup>20)</sup> feis.<sup>21)</sup> feis hi crolecht Caunrai rœ i ngalne<sup>22)</sup> Get aicillni<sup>23)</sup> do Chonchobur crich iar ndegha<sup>24)</sup> dail.’ Finit.

<sup>1)</sup> almnai almacu *E.*

<sup>2)</sup> madh *E.*

<sup>3)</sup> ansa *H.* ansan *E.*

<sup>4)</sup> om. *H.* atharrach *E.*

<sup>5)</sup> aitherruch *E.* <sup>6)</sup> nitha noath *H.* nitha nouth *E.*

<sup>7)</sup> cucul- add. *H.* <sup>8)</sup> dixit ni maith imonguin *H.*

<sup>9)</sup> om. *E.*

<sup>10)</sup> cotam gai bulgæ ben fordom cloidemh foirtben fordom coindil dibithi *H.* fortben fortanic a inndeil diibthe *E.*

<sup>11)</sup> cotam *E.*

<sup>12)</sup> cleitine *HE.*

<sup>13)</sup> cumben *E.*

<sup>14)</sup> docechlad *H.* diacechladh *E.*

<sup>15)</sup> roseir *H.* roisiur *E.*

<sup>16)</sup> firfithir *HE.* <sup>17)</sup> baigfidir *H.*

<sup>18)</sup> firu *E.*

<sup>19)</sup> arfoid(b)ne *H.* <sup>20)</sup> fiibthir *H.*

<sup>21)</sup> falgoe *H.* falcho *E.*

<sup>22)</sup> fes *H.*

<sup>23)</sup> fese crolecht- conrai *H.* feis a crolecht conrui *E.*

<sup>24)</sup> ré imgailne *H.* rœ in galne *E.*

<sup>25)</sup> aicillnoe *H.* aicillne *E.*

<sup>26)</sup> ndedhai *H.* ndeath *E.*

Berlin.

KUNO MEYER.



## IRISH COMMENTARIES ON MARTIANUS CAPELLA.

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In the *Zeitschrift* (VII p. 449) Mr. Esposito claims for Irish authors three of the existing commentaries on Martianus Capella. The arguments of Hauréau in the article there cited (p. 450, note 3) seem to establish the claim of Johannes Scottus. The other two attributions have no such evidence to justify them.

In the first case, the anonymous commentary described by Hauréau, there is no evidence suggested stronger than the frequent occurrence of interpretations of Greek words. Mr. Esposito is bolder than Hauréau in supposing this to be a certain proof of Irish authorship. Hauréau does no more than suggest the possibility, and there, pending further evidence, we may well be content to leave the question. Knowledge of Greek was not confined to Irishmen in the IX<sup>th</sup> century.

In the other case, the attribution of the commentary in Brit. Mus. Roy. MS. 15 A. XXXIII to the Irishman Dunchat can scarcely be upheld. Dunchat's name appears in a title on f. 3 and covers only the note on the *Computus* contained in that leaf. The real commentary begins with its proper title on f. 4. And in the passage of the text dealing with the *Computus*, the comment on Bk. VIII of the 'De Nuptiis', the treatment is entirely different. The leaf in question (f. 3) is an inserted leaf outside of the quire-arrangement of the volume (gatherings of eight leaves). The writing differs from any of the other hands found in the volume, which is the work of several scribes, not, as Mr. Esposito supposes, of one, Gifardus.

On the evidence of this volume then we can only assert that the Irishman, Dunchat, lectured on Martianus Capella at

Reims. His lectures, except for the fragment on the Computus, have not come down to us or have not been identified yet. The commentary in the Royal MS. seems to be the work of Remy of Auxerre. It appears to be identical with a commentary, portions of which have been edited by Hauréau in the article cited. It would not surprise us to find a work of Remy's transcribed at Reims in the early X<sup>th</sup> century. For it was only in 900 that he left Reims to lecture at Paris.

London.

ROBIN FLOWER.

## THE TOPOGRAPHY OF *BETHA COLMÁIN*.

*Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin* is the title of a good-sized volume of 136 pp. recently edited with his usual care and erudition by Dr. Kuno Meyer for the Royal Irish Academy. Colman was a Westmeath saint whose foundation was seated at Lynn near Mullingar in that county. In the following notes I propose to deal with some of the interesting topographical problems suggested by his Life.

Judging from linguistic evidence alone Meyer thinks the prose portion of the text belongs to the first half of the twelfth century. In 1122, according to the Annals, the shrine which contained the relics of Colman was discovered, and the editor thinks it not unlikely that the discovery was the immediate cause of the composition of the Life which we now possess. It is, of course, of a composite character, but it can, I think, be shown from evidence of another class that it cannot have been reduced to its present form prior to the period to which Meyer refers the general character of the language.

In § 50 the following passage occurs: *An carrage-sa tra port ríg Fer Tulach hí dogrés co tánic ingen meic Conchubair .i. ben Conchubair húi Maelsechlaim co ruc an rí ar éicin hí agus an rígan ó ríg Fer Tulach .i. Cúchaille mac Dublaide ésidein co rosáruiged uimpi .i. a athrígad nó a dílsingad do rígain Midi .i. isí-sin céiben díb ruc hí agus cách ar a slicht-sin ó sin alle agus ní díles hí ó ríg Fer Tulach.* This should be translated as follows: 'This Carrick was ever the residence of the Kings of Fartullagh until the time of the daughter of the son<sup>1)</sup> of Conchubar viz.

<sup>1)</sup> This was probably Congalach d. 1017, son of Conchubar d. 979, a quo Húi Chonchubair, lords of Húi Fáilge; v. FM and AU.

the wife of Conchubar Ua Maelseachlainn when the King (of Meath) and his queen wrested it from Cuchaille, son of Dublaide, King of Fartullagh, and it was outraged by depriving it of its king and giving it to the queen of Meath. She was the first of the queens of Meath that took it and every one after her has since held it, and it is their own special property, free from the King of Fartullagh.' <sup>1)</sup> Cuchaille mac Dublaide died according to the Four Masters in 1021. Conchubar Ua Maelseachlainn was King of Meath 1030—1073. The author of the Life was thus mistaken regarding the name of the King of Fartullagh who surrendered Carrick. Such a mistake cannot well have taken place for about a century after the seizure, and accordingly we are justified in concluding that Betha Colmáin was not compiled before 1100.

I now proceed to deal in detail with those place and tribe names mentioned in this Life regarding which something may be added to present knowledge. As a native of Uí Thigernáin I may perhaps have an advantage of personal acquaintance with these places, which is of importance in any study of our ancient topography. I shall, I think, identify for the first time places both within and outside of Meath's ancient limits,<sup>2)</sup> and if I have been unable to fix the location of others time and further study may clear up some of the difficulties which yet remain.

*Áth in Daire* 'ford of the grove' said by the editor to be 'in Fartullagh on the Brosnach' p. 131. This is not stated anywhere in the Life and is impossible. *Áth an Daire* was at Cell Bec § 29, and the latter place was east of Fíd Dorcha (cf. l. 19) where Lynn monastery was founded; but the only part of the Brosna of which there can be question is all north of Lynn. Nay more, the *Lám Airgit* or 'Silver Hand' of the Brosnach was north-west (*siarthúaid* § 13) of Cell Bec, and hence the latter place and *Áth in Daire* cannot be on that river. Cell Bec is identified below with

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. p. 38, l. 14.

<sup>2)</sup> Einige der von Herrn Walsh vorgebrachten Aufstellungen sind gleichzeitig von Herrn J. C. Mac Erlean gefunden und in seiner Besprechung meines Buches in *Studies, an Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. I, p. 183 ff. veröffentlicht.

K. M.

Kilbeg beside Kinnegad; Ath in Daire and Less in Daire were in the immediate neighbourhood of the same village, and the stream with 'its fish and water' referred to p. 28, l. 9 is the Kinnegad river which enters the Boyne at Clonard. Bun Daire, a name not found on the official maps, is the name of a small district a short distance west of the same river.

*Bréchnag.* This name is erroneously described p. 131 as the plain of Bregia. The name is analysed *bréch-mag* 'wolfesfeld' Thes. Pal. ii. 270. *Bréchnag* was in Mag Findabrach (Onom. 123) which, notwithstanding the identification usually given for Crinna (ib. 307), is clearly the present baronies of Moyfenrath Upper and Moyfenrath Lower extending from the south-western corner of Co. Meath as far as Trim. *Ráthín na Bréchnaigí*, said to be *i fus* § 74, was not far from Clonard, Kinnegad, and Ballynabracky (*Baile na Bréchnaigí*).

*Bretach* 'near Clonard' p. 131. The tribe is mentioned in D. 4. 2 fº 25 b as one of the *tricha cé*t of Meath. The name is preserved in *Bóithrín Breadach*, a laneway near Kinnegad 3 miles from Clonard.

*Brosnach* 'the river Brosna' p. 131. 'In this parish (of Leny) on the high road leading from Longford to Mullingar stands the little village of Bunbrosna. This village hath its name from a well which lies close to the east side of it in which the river Brosna hath its source. The stream sent out by this well flows a quarter of a mile in a south-east direction and falls into Lough Owel at its northern point' (Ordnance Survey Letters, Westmeath ii. 287). Sir Henry Piers was mistaken about this river which, he says, 'riseth in Lough Foyle' (= Owel) (*Vallancy, Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* i. 6). He was, moreover, mistaken regarding the Silver Hand (*lám airgít* p. 16 n. 1) which he thought was a stream issuing from the northern end of the same lake (l. c. 17). At the present time there is no opening from it on the northern or southern side, the Brosna exit having been shut up over a century ago. That portion of the river between the ancient source and Lough Owel was the scene of the pretty incident described in §§ 13, 14. It is about 17 miles northwest (*síarthúaid* § 13) of Cell Bec, q. v.

*Caille na hIngine* 'woods of the maiden' § 89, where the name is explained. They extended along the northern boundary of Offaly from near Kinnegad to Rahugh, Co. Westmeath; v. *Áth* in *Daire supra* and *Ulaid Epscoip Aeda*.

*Carrac*, with the article *An Charrac* §§ 50 *bis*, 51, to be distinguished from *Carrac Léime* ind *Eich* p. 14 n. 1 = *An Charrac* p. 44 l. 5, as to which see *Uí Forannáin infra*. The *Carrac* referred to in §§ 50, 51 is the old parish of Carrick now included in the parish of Rochfort Bridge and situated in the barony of Fartullagh on the eastern side of Lough Ennel. Fland m. Onchon m. Saran § 65 a quo *Uí Flaind* *ibid.*, who was with the King of Meath on *Inis na Cairrce*, was King of Fartullagh, and his name appears in the pedigree of the kings of that territory, v. *Fir Tulach*. Carrick is about 3 miles south of *Lann maic Lúacháin* q. v. With it are to be connected both *Dún na Cairrce* §§ 48, 50 and *Inis na Cairrce* §§ 41, 48, referred to as *Ind Inis* pp. 50, 52; also *Port na hIndsi* §§ 50, 64 and *Port Indsi na Cairrce* § 41. The name of the townland which gave name to the parish of Carrick was in 1837 *Carraic an Raince* 'Rock of the dance' (*O. S. Letters* i. 182). There are two small islands on Lough Ennel (*an loch* § 64) which belong to Carrick townland, but as *Inis na Cairrce* is said to have been swallowed by the lake § 68 it may not be right to identify it with either of them; v. *Onom. s. v. Inis Cróne*.

*Carrac Léime* ind *Eich* v. *Uí Forannáin*.

*Cell Bec* is said by the editor p. 131 to be in *Uí Thigernáin*, but n. 1 p. 14 need not have this meaning. *Uí Thigernáin* q. v. was to the north of Lynn, whereas *Cell Bec* was east of *Fid Dorcha* (cf. § 29) in which Lynn is situated. *Kilbeg* is the name of a small field, in which there was once a graveyard, beside Kinnegad about 11 miles nearly due east of Lynn; v. *Cogan's Diocese of Meath* ii. 437 (= *Dm. of Onomasticon*, not given in the list of abbreviations). This is the place referred to. It is said to be *hi cind Átha Daire* §§ 8, 29. *Cend átha* is represented in the first part of the name Kinnegad, near which place there is a small district called *Bun Daire*; cf. *Áth* in *Daire* and *Less* in *Daire*. It is not to be inferred from § 89 that *Áth an Daire* was in

Fir Tulach. Kinnegad is in Farbill, the neighbouring barony. That Fursa could be said to hear the toll of a bell at Lann § 97 though, according to the identification here made, he was eleven miles away, will not surprise any student of Irish hagiography. There is no authority for putting Áth an Daire on the Brosna, nor is it near Ulaid Epscoip Aeda pp. 131, 4.

*Cell Chachán* § 39, perhaps the name should be so extended. There is a Coolcahawn (= Cúl Cacháin) near Clonfad in Farbill and close to Fartullagh. Uí Dubáin may have extended to this place.

*Cell Uidrin* §§ 79, 89. The second part of the name may be preserved in Derry-iron townland which like Dronn q. v. is in Warrenstown barony, King's Co. Derryiron and Knockdrin are quite close to each other and both are near Rossan (v. Ross Omna infra); but it is probable that Tobar Odráin (Cogan op. cit. II 396), which is nearer still to Rossan and in the barony of Moyfenrath Upper, Co. Meath, marks definitely the situation of the church of Uidrin.

*Clann Cholmáin* §§ 34 (sic leg. with D.), 78, referred to as *túath nách tréith* § 14. The following belonged to this race according to Mac Firbis: *Uí Maoilechlainn cona fflaithibh agus cona ccoibhneasaiibh agus Uí hAodha i. flaithe Ua mBecon, Uí Fiachrach, Fir Muighe Locha cona fflaithibh, Uí Domnallán a bhFeraibh Tulach, Húi Charraig, Muinter Muirigen, Muinter Mailchén i cCineul Fiachach mic Néill* (Genealogies R. I. A. transcript p. 161; cf. Onom. p. 238). From Betha Colmáin we can add Uí Maenacháin § 8 (= Uí Mancháin § 36), Uí Maelumae §§ 8, 36, Uí Leccet § 37, Meic Airechtaig, descendants of Cummine m. Leda § 37, and Uí Forannáin or Clanna Forannáin whose ancestor is twice stated to be grandson of Mane m. Colmáin Móir §§ 43, 69.

*Clanna Forannáin* v. Uí Forannáin.

*Clanna Néill (Nóigiallaig)* 11, not indexed.

*Clann Onchon* rulers of Fir Tulach. They were descended from Enna Cennselach and their principal branch were the Uí Dublaide or O'Dooleys, Kings of Fartullagh (Mac Firbis 474).

*Cluáin Gamma* = Cluáin §§ 8, 36 (not = Cluáin Colmáin Móir as index) held by the Uí Maeluma and the Uí Maenacháin

(= Uí Mancháin § 36) is rightly identified with Clongowney 3½ miles N. E. of Lynn.

*Cluain Gilli Fínáin* § 74 can hardly be Clongill in the barony of Moregallion, Co. Meath, as it is too far (about 50 miles) from Lynn. The narrative says the place is *i fus*, on the meaning of which v. *Intro.* ii. and *Uí Forannáin infra*.

*Comraire*. There is great confusion in the statements of the commentators regarding the situation of this place. When O'Donovan visited in 1837 the parish of Kilcomreragh (accented on the penult), baronies of Clonlunan and Moycashel, Co. Westmeath, he found that it was always called the Parish of Kill — *paráiste na Cille* — and that the ancient saint had been rejected, and St. Thomas, an Anglo-Irish favourite, set up in his place (*O. S. Letters* i. 102). Yet he had no hesitation in asserting with every confidence that this was the church of Comraire near Uisneach, where in primitive ages St. Colman, i. e. Colmán Comraire was venerated on the 25th September (*ibid.* 103). He not only passes over Conra without a mention of Colmán (*ibid.* 117), but he argues from the presence of Tobar Maodhóg at Carn Fiachach<sup>1)</sup> that Maodhóg must have been patron of Conra (*ibid.* 118). That he held the same view many years later is evident from his edition of the *Four Masters* vol. i. pp. 33, 360. Kilcomreragh is about 6 miles S. W. of Uisneach hill; that *ag Uisneach* applied to Comraire, and found in a few passages, does not imply immediate proximity we can gather from an entry in *FM* i. 250, where we have *Loch Trethin oc Frémáinn* though Lough Drin is more than 5 miles from Fremhainn Hill.<sup>2)</sup> The entry Comraire = Conry in O'Donovan's Index is contradictory of his former statements, and may be due to the fact that Conra or Conry parish

<sup>1)</sup> This place is referred to in *Betha Colmáin* § 91. The modern name is Carn, situated between Loughnavally and the railway line. O'Donovan by an oversight says *FM* i. 364 that it is in the barony of Moycashel, but he corrects this *ii.* 1192. Carn is in the barony of Rathconrath. The error was copied by Hennessy, *Annals of Ulster* i. 231, and by Mac Carthy, *ibid.* iv. 48.

<sup>2)</sup> O'Donovan's statement that the places are only a mile and a half apart is wrong, as a glance at the map will show. The mistake is repeated by Hennessy *AU* i. 101 and Hogan *Onom.* 504.



surrounds Uisneach. At all events it seems to have suggested Hennessy's note Annals of Ulster i. 227; see also Tigernach's annals, *Revue Celtique* XVII. 261. I believe that O'Donovan's first view was right, and that Comraire is identical with Cumreragh in Kilcumreragh. This is also the view of Cogan Diocese of Meath iii. 557. It is true there are other names which are equated with Kilcumreragh (Onom. 185) but the large number of variants suggest that these may be due to etymological speculation.

*Cró-inis.* O'Donovan identified Cormorant Island near the western shore of Lough Ennel with Cró-inis just before the old name was lost. He says the ancient intelligent inhabitants in 1837 always styled Cormorant Island Cró-inis and foretells that in twenty years the old designation would be forgotten (O. S. Letters i. 159). There is evidence in our Life that not only Cró-inis but also other islands on Lough Ennel were used as royal residences in the seventh century (v. § 62 and the references under Carrac supra).

*Domnach Mór* §§ 73, 104; this is the Domnach Mór Maige Echnach of the Trip. Life which is usually identified with Donaghmore near Navan in the barony of Lower Navan, Co. Meath. Hogan Onom. s. v. erroneously states that O'Donovan FM iii. 128 (misprinted 12) puts Donaghmore in the barony of Lune, but he distinctly says it is outside its limits.

*Dún na Cairce* v. Carrac supra.

*Dún Léime ind Eich* v. Uí Forannáin.

*Delbna Ethrae* 9, misprinted *Delbna Ethnae* p. 11 is described pp. 132, 11 as 'Delvin, barony of Garrycastle, Meath'. This should read 'barony of Garrycastle, King's Co.' as there is no Delvin in the place. A similar error will be found in Eriu IV 169 where Bethre = *Delbna Bethre* or *Ethrae* is not properly identified.

*Delbna mór.* § 37. This is the only tribe of the numerous *Delbna* in ancient Meath which gives name to any modern district; it is the modern barony of Delvin, Co. Westmeath.

*Dronn Fáichnig* §§ 79, 80 or *Dronn* §§ 79, 81 (Drong index p. 132 is from the translation) Knockdrin, Castlejordan parish,

King's Co., in the ancient territory of Crích na gCeatach in the province of Meath. The place is still within the limits of Meath diocese. It is to be distinguished from Knockdrin near Mullingar = Cnoc Treithin; v. Onom. 504 and Comraire supra. Quite close to Dronn Fáichnig is Móin Fáichnig Thes. Pal. ii. 329, Boughna Bog stretching across the border of King's Co. and Westmeath.

*Faithche Meic Mecnán* said to be 'on Loch Sewdy' p. 132, but the Annals of Ulster i. 80 describe the place more accurately as *for brú Locha Seimídide* 'on the brink of Lough Sewdy'. This would be, as Hennessy suggests, the modern village of Ballymore, barony of Rathconrath.

*Fir Bile*, the barony of Farbill, Co. Westmeath, bordering on Co. Meath and King's Co. This territory is mentioned in § 32 where the editor misreads and translates it is a common name. The earlier form of the name is Bile found in the tract edited by R. I. Best in Ériu IV. 148, 28 and in Irische Texte i. 106, 20 = Hibernica Minora 64.

*Fir Tulach*, the barony of Fartullagh, Co. Westmeath, north of the ancient Kingdom of Hui Fáilge. An older form of the name, Fir Telech, appears in Thes. Pal. ii. 330. The pedigree of the kings of this territory will be found in LL 391 b.

*Fid Dorcha*, 'dark wood'. This place was at Lann q. v. The name is now obsolete, but of the sept-name Ui Dubáin, a tribe which was settled in Fid Dorcha § 39, a trace is left in the name of the townland Glendevine = Gleann Dubháin in Lynn parish, barony of Fartullagh, Co. Westmeath.

*Gortín Grogín* §§ 39, 41 in Ui Dubáin (= Fid Dorcha) and Guirtín Tire Bandála 'the field of the place of the tryst' § 86 in Fid Dorcha are clearly the same place. The latter name, is well explained by the chapter in which it occurs. The place is the modern Gorteen, Lynn parish, barony of Fartullagh, Co. Westmeath.

*Inis Conchada* § 62 was in Ui Thigernáin. This tribe was settled west of Rohonnell in the barony of Magheradernau and stretched along the western shore of Lough Ennel (v. Ui Thigernáin). Inis Conchada was probably the island now called Big Island or Dysart Island on the same lake.

*Inis na Cairree* v. Carrac supra.

*Inis Locha Maige Úath* v. Loch Maige Uath.

*Lám Airgit* § 14 gloss, that portion of the river Brosna between its ancient source at Bun Brosna and the northern end of Lough Owel; v. Brosnach.

*Lann maic Lúacháin* or simply Lann, Lynn, an old parish 3 miles south of Mullingar, now included in the parish of Mullingar and situated in Fartullagh barony; wrongly put in Delvin barony by the editor p. 133. The situation of the place is given wrongly by O'Donovan FM ii. 625; the mistake is transcribed in Onom. p. 476a. Mac Carthy AU Index 202a puts it under Lann Ela = Lynnal in King's Co., which is about thirty miles from the true situation. The place is wrongly equated with Lann Léire FM i. 342, also in O. S. Letters passim. The name of Lynn was pronounced in the Irish fashion as Loinn in 1837; this is the dative form substituted so frequently for the nominative. St. Colman's name is forgotten and the modern patron is St. Nicholas of Myra (O. S. Letters ii. 43). There are the ruins of a church and an old graveyard in Lann at the present day. Names of places mentioned as being near Lann and now obsolete are Craebach Laine § 17, Craeb Ullan in Uí Dubáin §§ 9, 17, 39, Adrad Motura § 27, Tulach Lonáin § 45 etc.

*Lec Fursa* § 98 rather than Lia Fursa as index, obsolete. Leac Lommáin near Port Lommáin is well known (O. S. Letters i, 176).

*Léim ind Eich* v. Uí Forannáin.

*Léne* v. Uí Forannáin.

*Less Dochuind* v. Uí Forannáin.

*Less Glinne* v. Uí Dubáin.

*Less in Daire* 'liss of the oak-grove' v. Ath in Daire and Cell Bec.

*Less na Con* in Uí Dubáin q. v. The editor suggests Lisnagon in the barony of Upper Kells, but this is impossible being more than twenty miles from the known situation of Uí Dubáin.

*Less na Moga* should not be equated with Ráithín in Pupaill as at p. 133. The passage in § 74 is misinterpreted; *andú* with *fri* (*ri*) means 'on the hither side of' being formed from *dú* as *andess* from *dess*. *Adú* p. 56, 30, should be translated 'from here'.

*Lethchluain* § 74 = leth na cluana § 8, cf. § 36; v. Cluain Gamna.

*Loch Maige Úath*. A comparison of the Annals of the Four Masters 1086, which say that the King of Tethba and his son were slain at Loch Maighe Úatha, with the Annals of Tigernach RC. XVII. 418, which have Loch Muige Lúatha, makes it certain that the reference in our Life is to Ballyloughloe, in the barony of Clonlonan, Co. Westmeath, about six miles east of Athlone. O'Donovan visited the place in 1837 and found the remains of a lake there which was then drained and just dried up. Four years previously it covered about two acres during the winter months. It poured out a stream which turned a mill in the townland of Craobh — as to which see Onomasticon 298 b — and flowed to the Shannon. One might also infer the identity of Loch Maige Úath with Ballyloughloe from the reference in our Life § 50. Mominocc is said to have a right to tithes in an island in it. This name Mominocc (= Mo-Mo-Én-óc) is a pet-name for 'Enán qui habitabat in loco ubi nunc est clarum monasterium in honore eius quod vocatur Druim rath (Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum i. 43). Druim rath, an alias of which is Druim Raithne, is the parish of Drumraney bordering on Ballyloughloe. Two places in it preserve the saint's name, Tobar Énán and Killininneen = Cillin Énán.

*Miliuc* § 79 apparently = Miliuc Fiaich, Onom. 539 a. This would be in Ui Fáilge which bordered Fir Bile and Fir Tulach. Cf. Aghameelick (= Achadh Milic), parish of Clonsast, barony of Coolestown, King's Co.

*Móin Lainne* 'the bog of Lynn' so called to the present day; it stretches from Lough Ennel to the railway line, a distance of nearly 2 miles. The Townland Ballinamona, barony of Magheradernan, preserves the name.

*Muilenn Cerr* commonly preceeded by the article as at § 97, Mullingar, Co. Westmeath. Beside it was Dún Bri § 58, referred to as a ndún § 59. An alias for Muilenn Cerr is Muilenn Déa if the text of § 59 be sound, and the *sruth* mentioned in the same section is the Brosnach.

*Port Indsi na Cairce*, *Port na hIndsi* v. Carrac supra.

*Ráith Cosemnaig* 'the rath of Cosemnach' § 75; this is a common name rather than a place name. The rath referred to

was in Fartullagh barony between Carrick and Tech Conáin § 41.

*Ráth Chúanna Mór* cannot be 'Rathcoon barony of Morgallion, Co. Meath'. It was in the territory of the Maic Airechtaig §§ 37, 8, as to which see *Ui Leccet* infra.

*Ráithín na gabann?* § 74 is probably Rathgowan (or Farranshock) 1 mile N. W. of Mullingar. Ardivoghan the next townland is clearly Ard uí Mhocháin; as to úa Mocháin v. *Intro.* p. VI.

*Ros Omna* 'wood of oaks', the townland of Rossan, barony of Upper Moyfenrath, near Kinnegad and Clonard and in Co. Meath. The place is said to be *i fus* § 74 and east (*tair*) of Lann § 79; near it were Dronn and Cell Uidrin, v. *supra*; it is 11 miles from Lynn.

*Tech Lommáin* at Portlommen. The saint's name is vividly remembered in the neighbourhood. A small area enclosed by trees is still called the 'Cross of Portlommen'; there is a reference to it in § 7. Delete the entry under Cross na Trumma in the Index.

*Tech Mochua*. Lann, Cluain Fota and Tech Mochua are said to form a line § 35. The editor thinks Timahoe in the Queen's county is referred to here and supposes that there is a reference to the Mochua whose life Plummer has edited *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* ii. 184 ff. But this is a mistake. The Timahoe which is meant is situated in County Kildare and lies in a straight line with Lynn and Clonfad, the latter of which is not exactly at the middle point, but very nearly so. Another name for Mochua is Dochua. From Dochua we have Tech Dochua maic Nemain referred to in the first note on p. 109. Tech Dochua maic Nemain is rightly identified with Ticknevin, barony of Carbery, County Kildare, *Proceedings of the R. I. A. Irish MSS. Series* i. p. 129. The passage in § 35 is interesting as showing the reason why Tech Mochua is said to be one of Etchen's churches.

*Tír Bandála* 'district of the tryst' was at Gortín i. e. Gorteen in Lynn parish.

*Ui Airmedaig* § 64 descended from Airmedach son of Conall Guthbinn † 635. They would thus be of the Clann Colmáin.

The Life brings them into conjunction with the father of their eponymous ancestor, thus adding another chronological impossibility. Cf. *Introd.* p. XII.

*Uí Domnalláin* (wrongly expanded *Uí Domnáin* § 50) in Fartullagh. Cf. *Uí Domnallán a bhFeraibh Tulach, Mac Firbis* p. 161.

*Uí Dubáin* in Fartullagh. Their pedigree *Dubán m. Fiachrach m. Oilella* § 79 may be connected with that of the kings of *Fir Tulach* given LL 391 b and by *Mac Firbis* p. 474. They were settled at *Lann* in *Fid Dorcha* § 39. Most of the place names mentioned as being in their territory are no longer preserved. However *Liss Dubáin* was probably at or near *Glendevine*, near *Lynn* (v. *Fid Dorcha*); it may be equated with *Less Glinde* said to be *i fus* § 74; *Gortin Grogín* v. *supra*; *Ráithín an Uisce* was probably at or near *Tullanisky* i. e. *Tulach an Uisce*, *Lynn* parish; (there is a *Rathaniska* in *Leny* parish, barony of *Corkaree*, ten miles north of *Lynn*, but this cannot be meant); *Clúain Maeil* is *Clonmoyle*, *Lynn* parish. The remaining places referred to in § 39 would probably be found in *Lynn* or the neighbouring parishes but for the fact that English place-names are extremely common in the district.

*Uí Flaind* § 65 belonged to the ruling family of *Fir Tulach*; v. pedigree of the Kings of Fartullagh LL 391 b.

*Uí Forannáin* or *Clanna Forannáin*, a branch of *Clann Colmáin* *Móir* q. v. They were settled east (*tair* § 45) of *Lynn* on the bank of the *Boyne* (*ibid.*). *Conall Guthbinn* was slain at that river § 69 at *Tech Maic Natfróich* (AU 634; sic leg. § 69, l. 28) = *Liss Duchoind* in *Uí Forannáin* in our Life. *Tech Maic Natfróich* (omitted in *Onom.*) is named from *Molaise* or *Laisren* of *Devenish* (*Fél. CXLV.*, *Sil. Gad.* i. 17), a saint who had some connection with *Meath* (*Plummer* ii. 138). He was of the race of *Corcu Raide* (*Corkaree*) in *Westmeath*, where *Cill Molaise* (so pronounced, but spelled *Kilmaglish* on maps) still bears his name. In *Uí Forannáin* were *Carrac Léime ind Eich* (= *In Charrac* p. 44, l. 5), *Dún Léime ind Eich* §§ 44, 45 and *Úaim Colmáin*, which were all in close proximity to one another, *Léne* § 44, *Liss Duchoinn*, *Cuillenn Mór* and *Cuillenn Bec* § 46. I can find no trace of these names in Southern Co. *Meath*, but *Carrac*

Léime ind Eich may be Carrick near the Boyne on the Co. Kildare side. *I fus*, used so frequently in the Life, denotes location between the speaker and a certain limit; we say *i bhfus don tsruth* 'on this side of the stream'. The limit implied may be the Boyne. In § 42 it is the middle of the grave-yard of Lann.

*Uí Gusáin* § 62, apparently on the western side of Lough Ennel near Cró-inis.

*Uí Leccet*, *Uí Maenacháin* or *Uí Mancháin*, *Uí Maeluma*, *Maic Airechtaig*, all descendants of Colman's uncles viz. Leccet, Anfossaid and Cummine; they are spoken of collectively as *bráthar* (g. pl.) *a athar* 'the kinsmen of his father' § 74. The following places were in their territory: Cnámros § 8, Ráith Leccet, Clúain Gamna, Lethchlúain, Less an Daire § 74, Áth an Daire, Ráith Chúanna Mór, and Senráith Chúanna § 8. They were not very far distant from Lann § 37, and were all ruled by the Maic Airechtaig, eranaghs of the monastery § 38, l. 22. As Less an Daire was S. W. of Cell Bec § 12 q. v. the territory of these septs must have extended towards the southwest from near Mullingar in the direction of Kinnegad to the Co. Meath border. It is worthy of note that Cummine's wife was the daughter of a prince of a neighbouring sept situated in Delvin barony § 37.

*Uí Thigernáin*. With the aid of the Laud genealogies (CZ. VIII p. 302) the pedigree of this sept may be drawn up as follows: Tigernán a quo Hui Thigernáin m. Aeda Sláne (+ 604 AU) m. Díarmata m. Fergusa Cerrbeóil m. Conaill Cremthainne m. Néill Nóigiallaig. They give their name to the district of Machaire ua dTighernáin or Magheradernan which with Magh Asail forms a barony extending nearly equal distances east and west of Mullingar. The earliest mention of the place is in Hugh de Lacy's charter by which grants of lands were made prior to 1186 to William Petit, the first of the name who came to Ireland. It is there called Matherothernan. From the Life of Colman we learn the names of a large number of places which were in it, but of these only a single one is preserved in popular usage to the present day, namely an Muilenn Cerr, now the town of Mullingar on the Brosna, midway between Lough Owel and Lough Ennell.

*Ulaíd Epscoip Aeda* 'grave of Bishop Aed'. Bishop Aed died at Ráith Aeda (Plummer i. 44 n. 16) i. e. Rahugh, a townland in a parish of the same name in the barony of Moycashel, two miles outside the border of the modern barony of Fartullagh, which is thus of less extent than was Fir Tulach. A stone called 'Bishop Hugh's stone' (*ulaíd*) and a holy well are to be found there still, concerning which v. Cogan's Diocese of Meath ii. pp. 521—2.

Of the following names I can find no trace in modern nomenclature: Bordgal and Lemchaill visible from Mullingar § 59; Úachtar Comartha west of Rohonnell in Ui Thigernáin § 61; Tír Fraech, Tír Mór, Bale úa nDungalán, Bale úa Lotrachán, Bale úa Fothatán, Duma Bolgc, Bale úa nDimmán, Less na Findan, Cnoc Domnallán, all in Ui Thigernáin § 62; Ros Dullen, Ard Cáin, Less an Pobuil, Ráith Drogcán, Dún Senchada, Ard Nessán, Less Conín, Ráith Donnchada, Less na hÚama, Less na Moga, Tulach ind Ois, Ráithín in Pupuill, Bale Asidta, all said to be *i fus* § 74; Less na Fingaile, Less Grúccáin, Less Droignéin, Ruba Mór Corracán, Clúain Dam, Tulach Lín, Tech Conáin, Ráith in Midg, Ráith Inraith, Ráith Críde, Craeb Ullan, Ráith Speláin, Tír na Leice, Tech Maic Conba, Ráith Cáirech, Less na Con, Loch Corr, Tír Baetán,<sup>1)</sup> Tulach Rúad, all in Ui Dubáin § 39; Ui Guill and Ui Dimma, kindred of Colman's mother and the Corcu Raide, on the western shore of Lough Owel near Portloman § 82; Cell úa Mucca § 63; Ui Thegthechán § 50; Tír Colmáin, Tír na Copán near Portloman § 10; Tech Laisrenn near Lynn Bog § 27; Tír an Disirt, Tech Colmáin, Caill Cellán in Fartullagh §§ 53, 54; Cross Clamán, Dún Brí at Mullingar 57, 58; Daire Aidnéin, Dair Colmáin, § 81; Ui Scoil and Cell Becrachán apparently in Fartullagh § 101; Craebach Laine, Cross Fursa, Cross na Trumma, Lec Fursa, Ulaíd Fursa, Ulaíd Epscoip Etchén, all at Lynn §§ 17, 97, 84, 85, 42.

In the foregoing I have not dealt with any places which were at a distance from ancient Meath. Lest an error not unfrequently made may become more common it may be added here that Ciarraige Lúachra is not identical with Kerry as the

<sup>1)</sup> The text has Baethán, but the place is probably to be connected with Cluain Fota Baetán, Clonfad, barony of Farbill.



editor translates p. 9 and indexes p. 131. Cíarraige Lúachra extended from the Shannon to Tralee thus embracing portion of Limerick and a part of North Kerry; v. John Mac Neill, *The Ancient Iverni*, *Journal of the Ivernian Soc.* April 1911.

In a few passages in the *Life* the editor has not been able to extract a satisfactory meaning. By way of conclusion I emend and translate one. In § 19 l. 33 *conicci* is due to a scribal misreading of *cu* as *on*. The passage should run and be translated as follows: . . . . *dia oilithre cuicci. Sárugud do Mochuta agus do Cholmán agus do nóemaib na himirci .i. mórfesar ar secht fichtib ar secht cétaib mína comailter amlaid sin; Ua Ferchair agus Ua Aedacáin agus Ua Dercáin agus na céle Dé uile ina ráthaiges-sin co bráth agus muindter Liss Móir uile* (del. corrigendum p. 135), ' . . . . . to the monks of Lann for any young cleric that would go on his pilgrimage to it. It is an outrage to Mochuta and to Colman and to the saints of the wandering, seven hundred and seven score and seven in number, if the covenant be not thus fulfilled; Ua Ferchair and Ua hAedacain and Ua Dercain and all the culdees, and all the monks of Lismore are a guarantee for it till Doom'.

Mullingar, St. Finnian's College.

PAUL WALSH.



Ludwig Christian Stern.

## LUDWIG CHRISTIAN STERN †.

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Wieder hat der Tod eine unersetzliche Lücke in das kleine Häuflein der Keltologen gerissen. Am 9. Oktober vorigen Jahres starb zu Berlin der Mitbegründer und langjährige Mitherausgeber dieser Zeitschrift, Professor L. C. Stern, Direktor der Handschriftenabteilung an der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, korrespondierendes Mitglied des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom, Ehrenmitglied der Society of Biblical Archaeology in London und der Königl. Irischen Akademie zu Dublin.

In ihm ist ein um unsere Wissenschaft während mehr als 20 Jahren hochverdienter Gelehrter dahingegangen, dessen Verlust alle Fachgenossen schmerzlich beklagen. Auch diese Zeitschrift, die seiner Mitwirkung ihre Entstehung und Fortdauer verdankt, wird den unermüdlich tätigen Forscher und stets hilfsbereiten Mitarbeiter schwer entbehren. Wer aber wie ich das Glück hatte, dem Verstorbenen näher zu stehen, der trauert mit den Seinen um den Verlust eines edeln, wahr und warm empfindenden, feinsinnigen Mannes, in dessen liebenswürdigem und anregendem Umgang jeder gerne weilte. Diese Eigenschaften treten auch in allem, was er geschrieben, wohlthuend hervor und haben ihm unter seinen Lesern manchen *cara écmaise*, manchen fernen Freund gewonnen.

Die folgenden biographischen Aufzeichnungen verdanke ich der Güte eines Bruders des Verstorbenen, des Herrn Professor C. W. Stern in Altona.

„Ludwig Julius Christian Stern wurde am 12. August 1846 als der siebente von zehn Geschwistern geboren. Sein Vater war derzeit städtischer Beamter in Hildesheim, trat aber 1849 in den hannoverschen Staatsdienst, was seine Versetzung an das damalige Amt Westerhof a. H. herbeiführte.

Von 1854 bis 1865 besuchte der Knabe das Gymnasium in Hildesheim und bezog nach bestandener Reifeprüfung die Universität Göttingen. Schon während seiner Schulzeit entwickelte sich bei ihm ein erstaunliches Sprachtalent. Außer den am Gymnasium gelehrtten Sprachen, darunter auch Hebräisch, vertiefte er sich privatim ohne Lehrer mit eisernem Fleiße in das Studium des Italienischen, Spanischen und der slawischen Sprachen, insbesondere des Russischen. Auch fing er schon damals an, sich mit Arabisch zu beschäftigen. Recht häufig erregte er die Sorge seiner Angehörigen um seine Gesundheit, da er sich gewöhnt hatte, die nächtliche Ruhe seinem unersättlichen Wissensdurst zu opfern.

In Göttingen hörte er Lotze, Teichmüller, Wieseler und Th. Müller, widmete sich aber namentlich unter Leitung von Ewald, Berteau und Benfey dem Studium der orientalischen Sprachen. Schon im Jahre 1866 löste er eine akademische Preisfrage über die Pluralbildung in der arabischen und äthiopischen Sprache. Seit der Berufung Brugsch's nach Göttingen wandte er sich auch der Ägyptologie zu und setzte dieses Studium von 1869 an am Ägyptischen Museum in Berlin fort. Im Jahre 1872 folgte er einer Einladung von Georg Ebers, ihn auf einer wissenschaftlichen Reise durch Oberägypten zu begleiten. Diese Reise legte den Grund einer lebenslangen Freundschaft zwischen beiden. Nach der Rückkehr von derselben wurde er als Bibliothekar bei der hauptsächlich aus arabischen Handschriften bestehenden vizeköniglichen Bibliothek in Kairo angestellt. Aber schon im April 1874 ward er durch Lepsius an die ägyptische Abteilung des Königl. Museums in Berlin abgerufen, bei der er im folgenden Jahre zum Direktorialassistenten bestellt wurde, während er gleichzeitig Beschäftigung bei der Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek fand.

Im Jahre 1875 gab er ein *Glossarium hieroglyphicum* zum Papyrus Ebers, 1878 eine Bearbeitung von Cesnolas *Cypern* und 1880 eine *Koptische Grammatik* heraus. Er reichte dieselbe der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Leipzig ein, die ihn darauf zum Doktor promovierte. Aus dieser Zeit seiner orientalischen Studien stammen eine große Reihe kleinerer Arbeiten, die er namentlich in der *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* veröffentlichte, bei deren Redaktion er von 1874 bis 1888 tätig war.

Wissenschaftliche Reisen machte er 1874 nach London, 1876 nach Italien, 1881 wieder nach Ägypten und 1883 nach Paris. Nach dem Tode von Lepsius wurde ihm durch das Ministerium die Verwaltung der Handschriften des ägyptischen Museums angeboten. Doch konnte er sich zur Annahme dieser Stelle nicht entschließen, ebenso wie er eine ägyptologische Lehrstelle, welche ihm von der Leipziger sowohl als der Göttinger Universität angetragen wurde, ablehnte. Vielmehr glaubte er sich durch mancherlei Sprachkenntnisse und langjährige Beschäftigung mit Handschriften verschiedener Art am besten dazu befähigt, eine Bibliothekarstelle bei der neubegründeten Handschriftenabteilung der Königlichen Bibliothek zu verwalten. Diese Stelle wurde ihm 1886 zuteil. 1889 wurde er zum Mitglied der Prüfungskommission beim Orientalischen Seminar ernannt, 1905 zum Direktor der Handschriftenabteilung befördert.<sup>1)</sup>

Was seine Lieblingslektüre betrifft, so ist mir bekannt, daß er Shakespeare, Homer, Aristophanes und überhaupt die Griechen bevorzugte. Noch auf dem Totenbette verlangte er nach seinem Homer. Aber auch mit altfranzösischer Literatur beschäftigte er sich mit Vorliebe. Als ich ihn das letzte Mal sah, lag Villon auf seinem Tisch. Unter den deutschen Dichtern schätzte er nach Goethe und Schiller besonders Rückert, dessen Andenken er seine Koptische Grammatik „in Bewunderung und Verehrung“ gewidmet hat.“

Dem Studium der keltischen Sprachen wandte Stern sich erst gegen Ende der 80er Jahre zu. Rasch arbeitete er sich ein und hatte sich bald auf mehr als Einem Felde zum Meister emporgeschwungen. Auch auf ihn lassen sich die Verse der griechischen Anthologie anwenden, mit denen einst Stokes das Erscheinen Windischs auf keltischem Gebiete begrüßte:<sup>2)</sup>

Ἀστὴρ πρὶν μὲν ἔλαμπες ἐνὶ ζῳοῖσιν Ἑρῶς,  
νῦν δὲ θανάων λάμπεις Ἑσπερος ἐν γηθιμένοις.

Wie Windisch ist auch er zu diesen Studien durch die Ossianische Frage angeregt worden. Mit ihr und der Finnsage, besonders in ihren späteren und spätesten Ausläufern hat er sich

<sup>1)</sup> Seine Tätigkeit als Bibliothekar ist in einem von Emil Jacob verfaßten Nachruf im *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1912, S. 36—41 dargestellt worden.

<sup>2)</sup> In seinen *Remarks on the Celtic additions to Curtius' Greek Etymology*. Calcutta 1875.

mit Vorliebe beschäftigt und wohl niemand hat je diese ins Ungeheure angewachsene Literatur so beherrscht wie er. Davon zeugt seine meisterhafte Behandlung der ossianischen Heldenlieder in der *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* (1895) und die kritische Würdigung einer neuschottischen Liedersammlung aus Caithness, die ihm als dem berufensten Kenner dieser Literatur von dort zugeschickt war, in dieser Zeitschrift (Bd. V). Auch seine Darstellung der schottischen Literatur in der *Kultur der Gegenwart*, so knapp sie gehalten ist, beruht in jeder Zeile auf eigener Forschung.

Seinem Beruf als Bibliothekar gemäß liefs er es sich anlegen sein, den Fachgenossen genaue Kunde über wichtige Handschriften zu geben. So behandelte er in seiner Erstlingsarbeit aus dem Jahre 1891 die irische Handschrift zu Leyden (Rev. Celt. XIII), dann den Stockholmer und Kopenhagener Kodex (Zeitschr. I und II). Auch den glücklichen Fund der altirischen Glossen aus Trier machte er alsbald in einer musterhaften Ausgabe den Fachgenossen zugänglich (ibid. VII). Vor allem aber hat er ihren Dank durch die photographische Vervielfältigung der Würzburger Glossenhandschrift, dieser Grundlage der irischen Sprachkunde, erworben und sich dadurch ein bleibendes Denkmal gesetzt.

Indessen blieb sein Hauptinteresse der Literatur der keltischen Völker zugewandt und hier lockten ihn vor allem zwei Aufgaben, an die sich noch keiner gewagt hatte: eine kritische Ausgabe von Merrimans *Cúirt an mheadóin oidhche*, dem berühmtesten neuirischen Gedicht, und eine ebensolche der Liedersammlung des größten keltischen Dichters aller Zeiten, des Kymren Dafydd ap Gwilym. Durch einheimische Gelehrte, besonders Douglas Hyde, unterstützt, verschaffte er sich so viele Handschriften des neuirischen Gedichtes als möglich und stellte aus ihnen den kritischen Text zusammen, den er mit einer deutschen Übersetzung und einem vollständigen Wörterbuch begleitet im 7. Bde. dieser Zeitschrift veröffentlicht hat. Die jetzt von Foley geplante Neuausgabe des Gedichts mag im einzelnen, auf eine Stern unbekannte Handschrift gestützt, manches zu ändern haben; doch wird Sterns Leistung, besonders sein ausführlicher kritischer Apparat, einen dauernden Wert behalten.<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Soeben, da ich diese Zeilen zum Druck fertigstelle, erhalte ich ein Exemplar der Ausgabe, welche der Herausgeber dem Andenken Sterns gewidmet hat.

Eine weit schwierigere Aufgabe war es, aus den schier zahllosen weit verstreuten und meist späten Handschriften der Dafydd ap Gwilym zugeschriebenen Gedichte einen zuverlässigen Text herzustellen. Trotzdem ihm auch hier ein einheimischer Gelehrter, J. Glyn Davies, hilfreich zur Hand ging, beschränkte Stern sich zunächst darauf, durch eine eingehende Schilderung des Lebens und der Zeitumstände des Dichters, eine Untersuchung der heimischen und fremden Einflüsse, die auf ihn eingewirkt haben, und durch Scheidung des Echten vom Falschen in der Überlieferung den Weg zu einer kritischen Ausgabe zu ebnen. Bei der unbegreiflichen Vernachlässigung des Studiums dieses Dichters in seiner Heimat wird es lange dauern, ehe Sterns Leistung überholt wird. Das Verdienst aber, zum ersten Mal die Fäden bloßgelegt zu haben, welche diesen eigenartigen Dichter mit der Literatur des Mittelalters verknüpfen, und ihm seinen Platz in der Weltliteratur zugewiesen zu haben, wird ihm auch dann bleiben.

Über Sterns kleinere Arbeiten auf keltischem Gebiet, die er alle dieser Zeitschrift zuwandte, gibt der Index zum 5. Bde. Auskunft. Der Abriss der kymrischen, schottischen und bretonischen Literatur in der *Kultur der Gegenwart* und seine Jahresberichte über die wichtigsten Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiet der keltischen Philologie in Vollmöllers *Romanischem Jahresbericht* (1895—1901), zeugen von einer seltenen Belesenheit und bibliographischen Kenntnis auf diesen Gebieten.

Manches mag er noch geplant haben. So weiß ich, daß er eine größere abschließende Arbeit über die ossianische Dichtung mit Übersetzungen aus der neuschottischen Literatur vorhatte, sowie eine Abhandlung über „Goethe als Celtist“, wozu er durch O. Heuers trefflichen Aufsatz über eine unbekannte Ossianübersetzung Goethes<sup>1)</sup> angeregt worden war.

So hat der Verstorbene, obgleich erst spät zu diesen Studien gekommen, wie wenige unermüdlich zum Ausbau unserer jungen Wissenschaft beigetragen. Möge sein Beispiel manchen unter den jüngeren Fachgenossen zu stets erneuter Tätigkeit anspornen!

<sup>1)</sup> Im *Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts*, 1908, S. 261—73.

## ERSCHIENENE SCHRIFTEN.

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Tomás Ó Máille, *The Language of the Annals of Ulster*.  
Manchester (University Press) 1910. XIII u. 207 S.

Die Bestimmung der Zeit, in der die irischen Literaturdenkmäler entstanden sind, ist bekanntlich sehr schwierig, weil wir verhältnismäßig wenig sicher datierte Denkmäler von einigem Umfang besitzen; so schwankt der Ansatz manchmal um Jahrhunderte. Eine gute Handhabe würde sein, wenn wir genauer wüßten, wann die einzelnen Änderungen, die wir in der Sprache der Literatur wahrnehmen, eingetreten sind. Um dieses zu bestimmen, hat der Verfasser die Sprache der *Annals of Ulster* sorgfältig untersucht, die zwar erst gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts zusammengestellt worden sind, in denen aber die Sprache der Quellen nicht wesentlich modernisiert worden ist. Er kommt zu dem Resultat, daß zwar die Sprache der Annalen bis gegen Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts nicht verwertbar ist, weil es sich meist um spätere Notizen oder Übersetzungen aus dem Lateinischen handelt, daß aber weiterhin der Sprachcharakter der Zeit der eingetragenen Ereignisse entspricht, also gleichzeitige Aufzeichnungen zugrunde liegen.

So untersucht er nun Punkt für Punkt jede Änderung der Laute und Formen, die sich in den Annalen bis etwa um 1000 n. Chr. zeigt, konstatiert ihr erstes Auftreten und sucht so feste Daten für die irische Sprachgeschichte zu gewinnen. Er hat so zweifellos manche wertvolle Resultate erzielt, auch neue Beobachtungen gemacht, wie die über die Flexion der Männernamen auf *-gal* (S. 140), des Namens *Cruachan* (S. 141). Die Gliederung des Stoffes in einzelne Kapitel scheint mir praktisch. Dagegen innerhalb der einzelnen Abschnitte hat er vielfach das Material ziemlich so stehen lassen, wie er es zuerst gesammelt hatte, und dem Leser wird nicht erspart, die Verarbeitung gewissermaßen selber mitzerleben und sich viele Wiederholungen gefallen zu lassen, die durch energische Zusammenfassung leicht hätten vermieden werden können. Vgl. z. B. die Aufreihung S. 11 ff. Da erfahren wir (S. 11), daß der Wandel von *-o* in *-a* ins 9. Jahrhundert weise, aber die Note 7 (warum nicht der Text?) berichtet, daß er schon im 8. Jahrhundert auftrete. Die Schreibung *Eog(an)* soll frühestens in die Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts gehören (S. 12), aber Note 2 führt ein



Beispiel von 786 an (in der Tat scheint mir *eu* und *eo* für Zeitbestimmungen gar nicht verwendbar, weil dialektisch; Wb. schreibt bekanntlich meist *eo*, das jüngere Ml. *eu*). Zu *Cuana* (ib.) erfahren wir a. 482, dafs -a wohl vom Kompilator herrühre; zu *Cuana* a. 489 dasselbe noch einmal, aber diesmal in einer Anmerkung (8). Und so waten wir mühsam weiter von Einzelfall zu Einzelfall. Ähnlich in anderen Kapiteln; z. B. S. 60—61 werden Schreibungen wie *Dunchoda* mit *o* besprochen, aber gleich darauf (S. 61 Anm. 4) eine neue Erklärung angedeutet, die doch gleich hätte erwähnt werden können, usw.<sup>1)</sup>

Wichtiger ist das Folgende. Wenn die Annalen im Allgemeinen die alte Schreibung bewahren, so giebt es eben doch Ausnahmen, wie das der Verfasser selber z. B. S. 20 f. in Bezug auf die sekundär eingeführte Lenierung der Mediae bemerkt. Ich zweifle nicht, dafs man mit solchen Neuerungen in weiterem Umfang wird rechnen müssen, als er getan hat. Muß es doch z. B. auffallen, dafs für die Schreibung *e* (für späteres *ia*) nur ein einziges sicheres Beispiel (*maccu Reti* a. 677) vorliegt (S. 71). So ist *Deilge Deilge* (S. 82) natürlich falsche Schreibung für archaisches *Delge Delge*. Und ich kann dem Verfasser nicht beistimmen, wenn er aus *mbleguin* a. 732 schließt, der Übergang von *ml-* zu *mb-* falle in diese Zeit (S. 95. 97), wogegen z. B. die Mailänder Glossen sich sträuben; lag es doch gar zu nahe für einen Schreiber, der nur *bleguin* und nasalisiertes *mbleguin* kannte, die scheinbar falsche Form *mleguin* zu korrigieren. So hat die Verwechslung von *nd* und *nn* durch die späteren Schreiber ÖM. verführt, diesen Zusammenhang aus Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts oder an den Anfang des 8. zu verlegen (S. 110), obschon er selber den Widerspruch der Glossen notiert (dafs *ro·finnatur* in Wb. einfach auf *rind-* zurückgehe, ist mir übrigens unglücklich, da von einer Schreibung *find-* nirgends eine Spur vorliegt; Wb. 5 b 33 ist der Akkusativ *ind clainn* geschrieben, also jedenfalls fehlerhaft, nicht *in clainn*, wie ÖM. druckt).

Auch sonst muß man auf der Hut sein, die Daten zu genau zu nehmen. Nach den Beispielen S. 151 könnte man schließen, der Eintritt von *dün* in die *s*-Flexion sei erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts erfolgt; aber schon Fél. Prol. 68 (also um 800) steht der Nom. Pl. *duine* im Reim. So wird man überall im Einzelnen nachprüfen müssen; aber manches ist gewiß sichergestellt, und man möchte sich eine ähnliche Untersuchung für die Periode von 1000 bis zum 17. Jahrhundert wünschen, für die fast noch grössere Unbestimmtheit herrscht.

Von Einzelheiten möchte ich noch bemerken:

S. 13 wird die Schreibung *Drumbaibh* a. 519 mit dem Wort 'remarkable' abgetan. Dafs aber *mb* auch für altes *mm* geschrieben wird, ist wichtig zur Beurteilung von Fällen wie *caimb* a. 747.

S. 16. Ob *nieth* wirklich auch im Vokal 'very old' ist?

<sup>1)</sup> Kleinere Versehen sind: S. 81 *Mac na Cerda* gehört in Col. b statt a; S. 141 zum Gen. *bachlu* fehlt das Zitat im Text und in Anm. 5; S. 169 statt *ruthochurstar* lies *ni-ruth* . . .

S. 18 Anm. 3. Nach dem Wortlaut könnte man meinen, der Nom. Pl. *gníma* in Wb. sei ein bloßes Schreibversehen, was unrichtig wäre.

S. 22 wird bemerkt, daß sich *ae* für *aí* im 8. Jahrhundert nicht findet. Es müßte aber schon hier darauf hingewiesen werden, daß *oe* für *oí* auch für diese Zeit belegt ist, so daß es sich lediglich um einen Zufall handelt.

S. 23. Der Genitiv auf *-án* in Wörtern wie *Colmán* wird als ein 'spelling' behandelt; vielmehr neigen diese Eigennamen offenbar zur Flexionslosigkeit; das *-n* ist nicht palatalisiert.

S. 25. 26. Hier hätte unterschieden werden sollen zwischen der Schreibung des Infektions-*i* vor mehrfacher und vor einfacher Konsonanz. So sind die Tabellen bedeutungslos.

S. 33 § 37. *cracibhe* (*cracibhe*) ist häufige mittelalterliche Schreibung.

S. 38 ff. (§ 47. 48). Hier vermißt man Sammlungen der Schreibung *c*, *t* statt *g*, *d* hinter Konsonanten, die von Interesse gewesen wären.

S. 50. *naue* ist nicht eine 'ältere Form'. Sondern weil man die Schreibung *aue* beibehielt zu einer Zeit, als man schon *úa(e)* sprach (SG), schrieb man umgekehrt manchmal *naue* für *núa(e)*.

S. 89. Das Verstummen des *u* in *Ériu* wird in die Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts gesetzt, aber als Beweis die Form *Éire* aus dem Jahre 1004 zitiert, wo es sich übrigens um das Eindringen des alten Dativs *Ére* in den Nominativ handeln könnte.

S. 97 ff. (vgl. S. 14). Hier ist in die zeitliche Bestimmung des Wandels von *ld* zu *ll* dadurch Unklarheit gekommen, daß die unsichere Herleitung von *gell* und *caill* aus *geld-* und *cald-* als feststehend angenommen wird; sie ist gewiß unrichtig.

S. 104. Auch hier ist das klare Verhältnis getrübt dadurch, daß in *builne* 'Schlag' ursprüngliches *ln* angenommen wird, man sieht nicht aus welchem Grunde. Vielmehr scheint für *ln* seit ältester Zeit *ll* eingetreten zu sein; die spätere Assimilation betrifft nur sekundäres *l-n*.

S. 128. Daß der Dat. *innarbad* 1051 möglicherweise schon auf die moderne Aussprache von *-adh* als *-ū* weise, scheint mir zu kühn; es ist einfach Anschluß an die gewöhnliche Abstraktendung *-ad*.

S. 151 § 165. Vielleicht wäre der Gen. *Muigi h-Ai* a. 734 wegen des *h* zu zitieren gewesen.

S. 161. 170. *co'remid* ist nicht in *roimid* zu ändern, sondern eine auch sonst vorkommende Angleichung an den Vokalismus von *ro'mem(a)id*.

R. Thurneysen.

Kuno Meyer, Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin, Life of Colmán son of Lúachán. Dublin, Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1911. (Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series, vol. XVII). XVIII u. 136 pp. 8°. 2 sh. 6 d.

This Life is edited from a single manuscript now preserved in the Town Library of Rennes in Brittany. With the exception of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick no other monument of Irish hagiography

possesses so much interest for students of our language, history, topography and folklore. As early as 1870 it was noticed by Todd, and later by Dottin in the *Revue Celtique*. Plummer has used it in the Introduction to his invaluable *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, but the abundant materials of various kinds which it contains have not been exhausted. Students may now congratulate themselves on having at a very low price a carefully prepared edition of the text, furnished with an admirable translation, as well as an introduction, glossary and indices. I have discussed above pp. 568—83 some of the questions connected with its many topographical references, and it is not my purpose to do more here than to bring the work under the notice of readers of the *Zeitschrift* and to note some places in it where alterations might perhaps be made with advantage.

In supplying marks of length and aspiration it is difficult for an editor to be thoroughly consistent, nor is the absence of them in a small number of cases likely to mislead anyone. Leaving aside instances like *cland* for *c[h]land* p. 8, l. 15 and *tochar* for *tōchar* p. 26, l. 17, the following changes in the text are suggested: p. 4, l. 26 omit *m*. *D[i]armata Deirg*, which must be a scribal insertion, as the name is in its proper place in the next line; p. 6, l. 6 for *de nach mathusa* read either *nach mathiusa* or *de nach mathius*; p. 8, l. 13. 23, read *Ernan* and cf. § 59, l. 16. 27; else *Ern(a)n* is meant, cf. Plummer II. 345; ib. l. 18, read *a n-ord*; p. 18, l. 19 read *crābdech*; p. 20, l. 13 read *chlamraid*; p. 24, l. 27 for *torsed* read *tōrgbad*; p. 34, l. 19 for *cac[h]* read with the MS. *cac*; p. 38, l. 9, for *Tulaig* read *Tulach*;\*) p. 42, l. 21 read *Gulban*; ib. l. 22 read *cumgaidis*;\*) p. 56, l. 29. 30 I would correct as follows: *robói hi Tir an Disirt etir 7 comad iar ndul adiu nogabad ifus*; p. 62, l. 26 for *ro* read *co*; p. 64, l. 22 for *i ngnesta* read *ingriesta*; p. 68 7 has evidently dropt out at the beginning of l. 26; p. 76, l. 19 for *a cella* read *[n]a cella*; p. 82, §§ 79—81, the word *Dronn*, dat. *Droinn*, *Droind* for *Drong* dat. *Droing* is probably due to a miswriting of the latter case which might take place because of the similarity of the sounds of *nn* and *ng* slender; p. 86, l. 20, for *greis* read *greis*.

In the translation p. 5, l. 30 omit 'son of Diarmait the Red'; p. 7, l. 10 read *dimicans*; ib. n. 3 read § 52; p. 9, l. 1, for '*cēt* means every beginning' read '*cēt* is equivalent to *tosach* (beginning)'; ib. l. 2, for 'a profitable beginning' read 'the first valuable person'; ib. l. 22 for 'the order' read 'their order'; p. 11, l. 5, read 'Luache' here and also in the text, as *Lúachet* or *Lóchet* is explained further down; ib. l. 6, for 'it' read 'she'; p. 15, l. 24 for 'watching' read 'taking care of'; p. 17, l. 16 for 'for' read 'depends on'; p. 19, l. 5 for 'his mother's' read 'Colman's mother's'; ib. l. 30, read 'depart in another direction to do thy reading henceforth, and farewell'; p. 21, l. 33, for 'may count as their exile' read 'may be their place of pilgrimage'; ib. delete n. 1, v. correction supra p. 582; p. 23, l. 35 for 'land' read 'land where

\*) Die Handschrift hat richtig *tul-*.

K. M.

\*) So die Handschrift.

K. M.

[illegible]

There are a few wrong entries in the indices some of which are corrected above p. 154—St. Pirrannan mac Find 129 b should be Pirrannan mac Aeda Find. There is an error on p. XVI regarding G. mac's pedigree. Colman's mother was not descended from Niall of the Nine Horigans but from Brian, son of Eochu Mugmedón, his brother. A further instance of an old spelling referred to p. VIII, n. 4, is *lauid* p. 14, l. 24, p. 46, l. 23.

<sup>1)</sup> The subject of *rosforait* is Colman and *e-sium* refers to Molaise.

<sup>2)</sup> *ingriasta* is for *ingriasta*; cf. *ut persequerentur* i. e. *co ingriastais* M. N. d. p.

It should be added that the book contains a useful glossary of rare words with full references.  
Paul Walsh.

The Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society, vol. I, part. 2, p. 48—55. A Bibliography of the published works of the late Dr. Heinrich Zimmer. Aberystwyth. 1911. 8 pp. With portrait.

The following items should be added to this bibliography.

28. Deutsche Literaturzeitung.

Anzeige von J. Loth, 'Chrestomathie Bretonne'. Col. 9—10, 1891.

Anzeige von J. Loth, 'Les mots latins dans les langues bretoniques'. Col. 6—11, 1893.

Anzeige von H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, 'Cours de Littérature Celtique', Tom. VI. La civilisation des Celtes et celle de l'épopée homérique. Col. 1788—89, 1899.

Anzeige von Franz Nikolaus Finck, 'Die araner Mundart. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Westirischen', 1899. Col. 1249—54, 1900.

Anzeige von Chr. Sarauw, 'Irske Studier', 1900. Col. 925—29, 1901.

Anzeige von An Tremener (Lec'hvien), 'Gwerziou ha soniou dibabet gant e vignoned diwar e baperou', 1900; 'Kanaouennou Kerne', 1900; F. Jaffrennou (Taldir), 'An Delen Dir', 1900; F. Jaffrennou, 'Leor Kanaouennou Brezounek' 1900; Marchariz Fulup, 'Trois chansons et poésies bretonnes', 1900; T. Ar Garrek ha Ch. Rolland, 'Ar Pev ar mab Emon, mystère Breton', 1900; L. Rennadis, 'Eur Pesk-Ebrel', 1900; F. Vallée, 'Krenn-Lavariou', 1900. Col. 1209—14, 1901.

Anzeige von Alexander Bugge, 'Contributions to the History of the Norsemen in Ireland', I.—III., 1900. Col. 1384—86, 1901.

Anzeige von André Lefèvre, 'Les Gaulois. Origines et Croyances', 1900. Col. 1697—98, 1901.

Anzeige von 'Imtheachta an Oireachtais' 1899; John Gregorson Campbell, 'Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland', 1900; Alex. Carmichael, 'Carmina Gadelica', 1900; John Rhys, 'Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx', 1901. Col. 2647—55, 1901.

Anzeige von T. Rice Holmes. 'Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar', 1907. Col. 486—87, 1909.

29. Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.

1. Ein weiteres irisches Zeugnis für Nennius als Autor der Historia Brittonum. Band XIX. 436—43, 1894.

2. Ein weiteres Zeugnis für die nordwelsche Herkunft der Samuel-Beulan-Rezension der Historia Brittonum. *ibid.* 667, 1894.

30. Irish Ecclesiastical Record.

Prostration in the early Irish Church. 3 Ser. vol. V 242—246, 1884.

31. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* Tom. XIII.  
*Chronica Minora Saec. IV—VII.* ed. Theodorus Mommsen. Vol. III.  
 1894. Nennius Interpretatus p. 143—218. (= Latin transl. of  
 the Irish Version of the *Historia Brittonum* by H. Zimmer.)
32. Fáinne an Lae.  
 Bendacht forsinn arddruid ocus for-rigsuide m-bard n-inse Bretan! [In-  
 vitation to the Gorsedd, to Dublin. Written in Old-Irish by  
 Professor Zimmer and read by Lord Castletown at the Cardiff  
 Eisteddfod 1899. With English translation.] Vol. IV, 22—3, 1899.
26. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.*  
*Add* Noch einmal altir. *bíu*. Bd. XXVI 468, 1885. — *Delete* 19. Der  
 palatale Zischlaut im Kashmiri. Bd. XXXVI 461, which is by  
 Ernst Kuhn. R. I. Best.

Edmund Hogan, S. J., *Onomasticon Goedelicum locorum et  
 trium Hibernicae et Scotiae; an Index, with identi-  
 fications, to the Gaelic names of places and tribes.* Dublin  
 and London. 1910. 4<sup>o</sup>, XVI u. 696 pp.

Mit diesem Werke hat der um die irische Philologie hoch-  
 verdiente Verfasser sein Lebenswerk gekrönt. Alle Fachgenossen  
 werden es ihm Dank wissen, daß er noch in vorgerücktem Alter ein  
 so groß angelegtes und schwieriges Unternehmen in Angriff genommen  
 hat und ihn beglückwünschen, daß es ihm beschieden war, es glücklich  
 zu Ende zu führen. Auf lange hin wird es die Grundlage für alle  
 weiteren Arbeiten auf topographischem und ethnographischem Gebiete  
 bilden und allen Forschern ein unentbehrliches Handbuch beim Studium  
 der Geschichte und Literatur Irlands und Schottlands bleiben. Der  
 Verfasser hat nicht nur aus gedruckten Texten, sondern auch aus  
 Handschriften geschöpft; überall verweist er auf seine Quellen; manchen  
 Ort hat er zum ersten Male, manchen gegen die landläufige Meinung  
 anders lokalisiert, so z. B. Carman, welches er an den Zusammenfluß  
 des Burren und Barrow verlegt. Hier möchte ich auf eine von Hogan  
 nicht benutzte Quelle hinweisen, die eine Fülle von Orts- und Personen-  
 namen enthält, den von Bliss und Twemlow herausgegebenen *Calendar  
 of entries in the Papal Registers, relating to great Britain and Ireland*.  
 Hier finde ich z. B. s. a. 1363 Ballynacurry, wol Baile na comraide, zur  
 Diözese Cloyne gehörig, oder 1398 Fydnor, Magonnarla, Fachy in der  
 Diözese Clonfert, oder 1402 Cathairbreslayn in Diözese Ross usw.

Zu einzelnen Artikeln bemerke ich folgendes. *Ath Caille* liegt  
 nach Fiannaig. 34, 2 in der Nähe von Ess Máge. Statt *Cell Arcalgach*  
 lies *Cell ar Chalgach* (LL 361 f.) und statt *Uí Briúin Archail* lies  
*U. B. ar Chaill* und vgl. Ériu IV 68 Anm. 3. Statt *Dolabglas* lies *Dola  
 Glais* (i nDolaib Glais oc Sléib Smóir = Smóil, CZ VIII 312, 22). *Druinnm*  
*Dá Dáirt* heißt LL 362 m. i. *D. D. Dartraith*. Statt *Brúduinn* lies  
*Brú* (ar Brú duinn, Anecd. I 26 § 15). Es ist derselbe Flusname wie

der des Brue bei Glastonbury. Über *Fidnach Bera* s. jetzt Ériu IV [67](#).  
Aus meiner Lektüre habe ich mir noch folgende Zusätze angemerkt.

- i nAírb, Baile in Scáil [10](#).  
Airbe Rofir, s. oben S. [555](#).  
Airec, abann fil i lLáicheis i n-Iarthur Laigen, Féil.² [40](#).  
Annóit Formáili, RC XV [447, 3](#).  
Ard Catha, Expuls. [10](#).  
Ard nDuach, Anecd. III [61, 7](#).  
Ard Sogain, CZ VIII [222](#).  
Áth Borrome: 6 A. B. anairsiar co Léim Concnlaind, Rl. [502, 149 b](#).  
Áth Cruthin, LU 70b 13.  
Áth Dá Én, Trip. [312](#).  
Berlach, Trip. [250](#).  
a Breonu, Ériu IV 163.  
Brinnmag, in Connanght, Anecd. II [65](#).  
Bucan, g. Bucain, Féil.² [240](#), Buchan in Schottland.  
rí na mBuide, Ériu IV [102 § 58](#).  
Caille an druad, Ériu IV, [230](#).  
Caille na slúag, CZ VIII 222.  
Caillin 6 Lughair i Temraigh, H. 3. [18, 469 a](#).  
Caimse, Baile in Sc. [10](#).  
Caladnet, ein Vorgebirge. Otia II, [82](#).  
Carrie in Chulinn, Cáin Ad. [14](#).  
Cathair (catháir?) Ulad, Ériu IV 148.  
Cell Bechaire, jetzt Kilbarrack bei Sutton, co. Dublin.  
Cell Chúla Baldeirg, Rl. [502, 91 i](#).  
Cell Garraisc, Rl. [502, 120 a](#).  
Cenél nÁeda Cróin, Anecd. III [61, 19](#).  
Cenél nAida Echlis, ib.  
Cithamair, B. in Sc. [36](#).  
Clárach, Fiannaig. [10 § 3](#).  
Cló, Anecd. II 66.  
Clúas Óla, Anecd. II 66, [19](#).  
(cath) Codar, B. in Sc. [53](#).  
Coidlem, Baile in Sc. [11](#).  
Coire dá Rúad, Anecd. I [12](#).  
Comailt, ein Berg, Anecd. III [27, 14](#).  
Comartha, CZ VIII [305, 28](#).  
Conlúan, Ériu IV 162.  
Corco Daulai (Dula, Daelai), Anecd. III [58](#).  
Corco Ditha (Dithlech), Expuls. [23, 27](#).  
Corco Uniche, ib. [23](#).  
Cúallech i mBréfní, LL [144 b 34](#).  
Cúl Chóiláin, B. in Sc. [36, 38](#).  
Cúl Crnithnechta, Anecd. III [62, 14](#).  
Cúl Mbrocholl, ib. [15](#).  
Cúla Bóendraigi, ib.  
Currech Sétnai, LL 49b.

- Daire Lagen, Exp. [26](#), Anecd. III [62, 5](#).  
 Dál Cuirinn hic Féic, Anecd. III [62, 5](#).  
 Dál Dorchon, Exp. [23](#).  
 Dál Niathlega, ib.  
 i nDarbais, in the SE. of Scotland, Féil.<sup>2</sup> 240.  
 Disert Crannatáin ar lár Duibfeda, Betha Crannatáin.  
 (cath) Druáig, B. in Scáil [11](#).  
 Druimm Brecc, Anecd. I [38](#) § [102](#).  
 Druimm Colpa, Misc. Celt. Soc. [338](#).  
 Druimm Corcáin fri Temraig autúaid, B. in Sc. [42](#).  
 Druimm Daoil, CZ VIII [222](#).  
 Druimm Dígais, B. in Scáil [11](#).  
 Druimm Ibair, Anecd. I [30](#) § [44](#).  
 Druimm na ndrúad, der alte Name für Cnucha, Eg. [90](#), 18b.  
 Druimm Segsa, ib. [38](#) § [104](#).  
 Druimm Undglaisse, ib. [11](#).  
 (cath) Dubaichi, B. in Sc. [10](#).  
 Dún ac Lodain, CZ VIII [222](#) § [3](#).  
 Dún Bile, Rl. [502](#), [91](#) i = Dún Baile.  
 Dún Cathraige, ib. [231](#), § [22](#).  
 Dún Colmáin Caiss, ib. [227](#) § [8](#).  
 Dún Cromm, LL [158](#) a [45](#).  
 Dún Urscatha, ib. [222](#), § [3](#).  
 Enach Dairén i nUib Failge, Féil.<sup>2</sup> [102](#).  
 Eoganacht Ráithlind, Rl. [502](#), [149](#) a = E. Ráithlinde.  
 Ess Dubthaige, Anecd. II [24](#) § [14](#).  
 Ess nGabra, ib. I [13](#).  
 Etarchu, Ériu IV [162](#).  
 Feith Echaille, Rl. [502](#), [121](#) a.  
 Fert Cairpri oc Loch Cenn, Anecd. III [60](#), [6](#).  
 Fetomuir, LL [47](#) a.  
 Fidgrinn, Ériu IV 163.  
 Finne, dat. Finniu, Ériu IV 163.  
 Fithecc, Name dreier Burgen, CZ VIII [312](#), [21](#).  
 Fochua (Fothua), Ériu IV 148.  
 Gaibthine, B. in Scáil [10](#).  
 i nGalaum Lagen, LL [362](#) a.  
 Grethlach Lis in Ruba, LL 44 a 9.  
 Ibar mac nAingcis fil for brú Essa Máige, CZ V [24](#).  
 Ibthine, dat. Ibthiniu, B. in Scail [10](#).  
 Inber Cinnbera, Anecd. I [15](#), [1](#).  
 Inber Crara, Ir. I. III [94](#).  
 Inber ind Ríg, im Lande der Sachsen, Anecd. I [14](#).  
 Inher na dá Ainmech, Otia II [82](#).  
 Inis maic Uchen, in Schottland, Anecd. I [1](#), [1](#).  
 Irlochair Arddad, Anecd. I [14](#), [6](#).  
 Laun Uchaill, Féil.<sup>2</sup> [102](#) = L. Duachuille.  
 Lecach Molaise, Ir. I. III [88](#), wol = Lec M.



- Léimm Lára, CZ VIII [226](#) § [9](#).  
 Léithín, Anecd. I [38](#), § [103](#).  
 Less in Ruba, LL [44](#) a [9](#).  
 Lethet Laidcinn i nArd Chatha, Exp. [16](#).  
 Lettir Ainge, B. in Sc. [56](#).  
 Lettir Daigri, ib. [51](#).  
 Lettir dá mbrúach, Fianaig. [10](#) § [2](#).  
 Libre, dat. Libriu, Ériu IV [163](#).  
 Loch Comru, Ir. I. III [104](#).  
 Loch Daim, B. in Sc. [11](#).  
 Loch dá thonn, Acall.  
 Lochdruimm, Ériu IV [162](#).  
 a Loegellaib, ib. [163](#), ó Laigillib, B. in Sc. [46](#).  
 ó Luaisc co Caissel, Expuls. [15](#).  
 Luglach, Ériu IV [162](#).  
 Mag Bregrais, Ir. I. III [17](#), [3](#).  
 Mag Denusa, Dinds. [152](#).  
 Mag Dínairne, CZ VIII [336](#).  
 Mag Dula, Ériu IV [162](#) § [25](#).  
 Mag Múi, B. in Scáil [10](#).  
 Mag Roscart, Ériu IV [163](#).  
 Mag Taline, Land [610](#).  
 Mag Ucht, Ériu IV [148](#).  
 Maigen Muinci, Anecd. II [38](#) § [21](#).  
 Maigen Nit, Rl. [502](#), [128](#) a [51](#).  
 Málann, f.: ic Málainn, Rl. [502](#), 86 a 26, a Málainn, Ir. I. III [86](#), [13](#).  
 Methalech, Anecd. III [62](#), [7](#).  
 Midgne, Ériu IV [163](#).  
 Móin Tuire, B. in Sc. [61](#).  
 Mong Múadain, Féil.<sup>2</sup> [110](#).  
 Muir, ein Fluß, Anecd. I [26](#) § [16](#).  
 Óenglais, in Buchan (Schottland), Féil.<sup>2</sup> [240](#).  
 Osrene, Ériu IV [162](#).  
 Port Dá Chaomhóg, Ériu I [111](#).  
 Ráith Chéin, ib. [112](#).  
 Ráith Chuilcín, ib.  
 Ráith in Potaire, Laud [610](#).  
 Ráith Muimne Chuire, Ériu I [112](#).  
 Ráith na gcuach, ib.  
 Ráith Saidbe, ib.  
 a Rechtaib, Ériu IV [163](#).  
 Rosad, ib. [162](#).  
 Ross Greda, Anecd. I [25](#) § [3](#).  
 Sabrudai (Sabralla R), B. in Sc. [20](#). Vgl. Tipra Sabraille.  
 a Sathraib, Ériu IV [162](#) § [25](#).  
 Scetne, Ériu IV [162](#).  
 Sescenn Sáil (sic leg.), Anecd. II [33](#) § [18](#).  
 a Seolaib, Ériu IV [162](#).

- Sliab Dremon in Schottland, Otia II 83.  
 Sliab Log, LL 333.  
 Sliab Sáeb, Ériu IV 166 § 22.  
 Sliab Tri nDé, LL 34 a 43.  
 Solán f., ein Fluß, jetzt Sullane, Anecd. I 26 § 16, Ériu IV 232.  
 (cath) Srubrach, B. in Sc. 46.  
 Sruth dá loilgech, CZ VIII 222 § 2.  
 Sruthar Matha, Dinds. 102.  
 Tech Tachru, Féil.<sup>2</sup> 86 = Tech Mošocrai.  
 Tedmne, Ériu IV 162.  
 Telchach f. ib.  
 Telenmag, B. in Sc. 61.  
 Termann Caimín, Ériu I 112.  
 Tilach Ólaind, LL 361 b = T. Ualand.  
 Tipra Sabraille, LL 353 c.  
 Torachail, Anecd. II 36 § 18.  
 (cath) Tuithmi, B. in Sc. 12.  
 Túath Athbiach .i. Uí Erthuile, B. in Sc. 56.  
 Túathleitr, CZ V 22 § 6.  
 a Tuiredaib, Ériu IV 162.  
 Tulach Crónsige hi Fernuch, Aned. III 61, 14.  
 Tulach Culinnáin, späterer Name für Bithlann, Betha Crannatáin.  
 Uarbél, LL 195 a 15.  
 Uí Íarthach, CZ VIII 226.  
 Uachtar Ocha, B. in Sc. 62.

Owen Eilian Owen, Gomerydd y Plant. Liverpool, 1911.  
48 pp. 4 d.

Dies zunächst für den Unterricht in den Sonntagsschulen Liverpools verfaßte Buch ist vorzüglich geeignet, um den Anfänger an der Hand von Gesprächen und kurzen Texten in das gesprochene Kymrisch einzuführen. Die Regeln über den Wechsel des Anlauts und das Geschlecht der Hauptwörter sind übersichtlich zusammengestellt. Kenntnis der Aussprache wird dagegen vorausgesetzt.

J. Glyn Davies, Welsh Metrics, vol. I, part I. London, Constable & Co. 1911. 8°. XVI + 80 pp. 4 sh. 6 d.

In diesem ersten Teile, dem bald ein zweiter folgen soll, beschäftigt sich der Verfasser mit dem seit dem 14. Jahrhundert beliebtesten Metrum der kymrischen Dichtkunst, dem *cywydd deuair hirion*, dem *cywydd* par excellence. Er untersucht nicht nur die Gesetze des Endreims, der Alliteration, der verschiedenen Arten von *cyngghanedd*, sondern auch die der Cäsur, des Rhythmus und der Verbindung der Kouplets und Strophen miteinander, ohne hier jedoch überall zu festen Regeln zu gelangen, wenn es auch an feinen und treffenden Beobachtungen nicht fehlt. Es werden sechs Haupttypen des Metrums unterschieden (S. 50), je nach der Stellung von Alliteration, *cyngghanedd* und Binnenreim. Eine Reihe von Gedichten dienen als Beispiele und werden auf

alle metrischen Erscheinungen hin analysiert. In dem auf S. 55 abgedruckten Gedichte scheinen mir die 'stanza links' in v. 6/7 zwischen *torf* und *arf*, in 10/11 zwischen *veryd* und *vyd*, in 14/15 zwischen *deau* und *deall* zu liegen.

Nach allem, was der Verfasser in § 32 über das plötzliche Auftauchen der *cywydd* in der kymrischen Literatur des 14. Jahrhunderts sagt, scheint es doch, daß dies neue Metrum auf einer Nachahmung des irischen *debide* beruht, eine Ansicht, zu der auch Stern hinneigte (s. Bd. V, S. 249). Wir sehen der Fortsetzung des auf drei Bände angelegten Werkes mit Ungeduld entgegen.

Kuno Meyer, Fianaigecht (Todd Lecture Series, vol. XVI).

Dublin. 1910. 8°. XXI + 114 pp. 2 sh. 6 d.

Zu der auf S. XVI ff. über Finn zusammengestellten Literatur läßt sich noch folgendes hinzufügen. LL 386b47: *Cathair Mór tra robói side tri bliadna i rígi Éirenn, go torchair a Muig Aga la Conn Cétchathach 7 la Lúaigne Temrach. Lúaigni Temrach tra curaid catha 7 irgaile íat, ar robói rigfianus Éirenn acu géin mhár, co rusdílgeim Finn mac Cumail íat íar tain 7 is íat robo tuailngidh* (leg. *túairenid*) *catha la Conn Cétchathach*. LL 379a35: *Fínd mac Cumail m. Baisgne &c., in cét-Finn rotnóil flana ar tús i nÉrinn*. Im Dindsenchas wird Finn noch öfter erwähnt, so in dem von Stokes nicht gedruckten Artikel Cenn Finichair, LL 200b1. Ebenda (191b45) wird ihm ein Gedicht in den Mund gelegt (*missi Fínd in flaithruire*). Andere ihm zugeschriebene Gedichte finden sich LL 191b1 (F. cc.), 191b31 = BB 376a, 192a14 (F. cc.), 193a.

Die kurze in CZ VIII 105 abgedruckte Erzählung *Cath Slebe Cáin* berichtet von einer Schlacht zwischen Finn und Goll. Hier wird auch *Oséne mac Fínd* erwähnt. Zu den Texten habe ich folgende Verbesserungen zu machen. S. 10, § 8 lies *Nimrumart-sa m'amasrad*, wo *amasrad* ein Kollektivum von *amus* 'Söldner' ist. Vgl. *nimrumart-sa m'óenchara* LL 125b10 (sic leg., see Ériu V 210, l. 60). Hier ist offenbar unser Gedicht nachgeahmt, wie ebendasselbst Z. 53 *cáin bláth forroscarsam* = *cáin bláth fa roscarsamur* § 44. S. 14 § 26, lies *m'fo[i]lge* statt *m'folai*. Ib. § 27, *Eubá Cáilti*, wohl *éu bá Cáilti* 'a brooch which was Caillte's'. Mit § 31 vgl. FM 987 = CZ III 36:

*ní tarla murchlad a múir dar dúil mar Dúinchad úa Braoin*. Diese Nachahmungen zeigen, wie bekannt und beliebt unser Gedicht war. S. 24, Z. 12 lies *ic áth* statt *i cath*, nach dem Gesetz der quantitativen Assonanz (*gái, sciath, liath*). S. 25, Z. 23 und S. 27, Z. 7 lies 'when they are' (*ó rumbiat*) statt 'when they shall be'. Die folgenden richtigen Lesarten verdanke ich Herrn Dr. Pokorny, der den gedruckten Text kollationiert hat. S. 30, Z. 4, lies *Thaithe*; Z. 5, lies *Esrú*; Z. 26, lies *fili*; Z. 29, lies *Luguid*; S. 32, Z. 2, lies *rigan*; Z. 13, lies *innond*; S. 34, Z. 9 hat die Hds. *drúthán*. Z. 18 ist hinter *Ailella* einzuschalten: *Docher Art aul isin cath sin 7 secht maic Ailella*; Z. 21 lies *fofráth fer hI 7 a heu*. S. 36, Z. 16 lies *fidbai*; Z. 20 lies *tocumti*. S. 38, Z. 18 ist vor *Is and* einzufügen: *Romarb Fínd*.

Kuno Meyer, Hail Brigit, an old-Irish poem on the Hill of Alenn. Halle a. S., Niemeyer. Dublin, Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1912. 1 sh.

Auf S. 7, Anm. 5 ist *An-folngid* (*An-ylongid*) nicht als 'great supporter' zu übersetzen, da ja das negative Präfix *an-* vorliegt, sondern etwa 'the intolerant'. Der Gebrauch von *fil* statt des altir. relativen *file* (S. 11) findet sich auch schon in den Schlufsversen von Colmans Hymnus (Thes. Pal. II 305), die dem Diarmait úa Tigernáin zugeschrieben werden, der 848 Abt von Armagh wurde. S. 12 § 5 lies *thrichat* statt *trichait*. S. 17 § 18 lies *reddened* statt *ruled*. Die Handschrift hat *verid*, was Thurneysen als Präteritum zu *rondaim* 'ich färbe' stellen möchte. Auf S. 16 kann ich zu Anm. 9 noch *imma n-aigtis luirg for leirg* LU 51 b 39 (sic leg.) hinzufügen. S. 21, Z. 10 lies *fuis* statt *fius*. S. 22 habe ich fälschlich *Forrgu* als nom. angesetzt. Es ist die Genitivform (Ogam *Vorgos*) von *Fuirg*, welches Adamnan *Forcus* latinisiert. John MacNeill macht mich darauf aufmerksam, daß Benna Iuchna (§ 19) ein Kenning für Adarca in Ui Failgi ist (s. Hogan, *Onom.* s. v. Adarca) und daß Colmán Mór nicht ein Sohn von Diarmait ist, wie ich S. 24 sage, sondern von Corpre mac Cormaic m. Aillello m. Dúnlainge (s. LL 39b). *úa* im Sinne von 'Enkelin' kommt übrigens doch öfter vor. So z. B. *Derb-Áil deg-úa Áeda Oirdnidi*, LL 141 a 1. Ferner Trip. 28, 19 und in *Cormacáns Circuit of Ireland*, ed. Hogan, § 56 (*Dub Daire úa Tigernaig*). Ich bin jetzt zu der Überzeugung gekommen, daß unser Gedicht von Orthanach úa Cóilláma verfaßt ist, mit dessen Gedicht *Masu de chlaind Echdach aird* LL 51 a es auffallende Ähnlichkeiten hat. Es stimmt nicht nur in den Eigentümlichkeiten des Metrums überein (Verbindung der Langzeilen und Strophen durch Alliteration), sondern auch in Besonderheiten des Ausdrucks und der poetischen Diktion. So findet sich z. B. die mir sonst nicht geläufige Formel *fó mind* (§ 20) dort 52 a 9 und 33 wieder. Auch das Lob der heil. Brigitta in beiden Gedichten (LL 52 a 49 ff.) ist bei einem Dichter, dessen Heimat Currach Lifi war, natürlich. Leider berichten die Annalen uns sein Todesjahr nicht.

K. M.

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**HERAUSGEGEBEN**

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